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UKRAINIANS IN CANADA



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CONCLUSIONS

THE UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

PART I: GENERAL

It is very difficult to arrive at a correct estimate of the number of people of Ukrainian extraxtion at present living in the Dominion of Canada. Figures quoted by various sources appear to be inaccurate and there is considerable confusion with regard to the various racial names and appelations. Thus Ukrainians are also found in various statistical reports under the names of Ruthenians, Russians, Austrians, Roumanians and Poles, apart from such local designations as Galicians or Bucovinians. Some sources place the figure as low as 350,000, while others claim the figure of 500,000 as being nearer to the truth. However, it is safe to say that the figure is well over the 450,000 mark.

Some of the Ukrainian settlers came to Canada at the close of the last century, but the real mass immigration dates from the beginning of this century. This movement was interrupted by the World War, but in the years 1926 to 1929 again a large number of the Ukrainian immigrants, chiefly young people, came to Canada under the new colonization scheme of the Federal Government.

The bulk of the Ukrainian settlers came here from the former Austrian Province of Galicia, now an integral part of Poland. A small number came from the former Austrian Province of Bucovina, now a part of Roumania, and only a few of them arrived here from the Ukraine proper, at present an autonomous body in the union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

There are approximately 45,000,000 Ukrainians in Europe today; 35,000,000 in the U.S.S.R., chiefly in the Soviet Ukraine, the Don Territory and Caucasia; 7,000,000 in Poland, 600,000 in Hungary (Carpartho-Ukraine); 1,500,000 in Roumania (Bucinia and Bessarabia); the balance being made up chiefly of political refugees in various European countries. In addition

there are nearly 1,000,000 Ukrainians living in Eastern Siberia and a few hundred thousand in Manchukuo; about 600,000 in the U.S.A. and a similar number in South America, chiefly in Brazil and Argentine.

(i) History

In order to understand the psychology and the aspirations of the Ukrainian Canadians it may perhaps be as well to dwell briefly upon the history of these people. After the ancient estate of Kiev, with whose organization the old Vikings are being credited, was destroyed by Tartar invasions in the 13th and 14th century and after the Western Ukrainian kingdom of Galicia and Vladimiria became a Polish dependency early in the 15th century, the Ukraine gave birth to a new military order - the Ukrainian Cossacks. They were freedom loving adventurers who felt restrained in the existing feudal states of Eastern Europe and who created in the prairies of the Ukraine a solid military organization that soon grew into a powerful factor and was destined to play an important role, not only in the Ukraine proper, but also in the affairs of the old European East. Along the lower region of the river Dnieper, the Cossacks erected a number of strong fortresses which, in conformity with their locality were named "Zaporozhska Seetch", (fortified place beyond the rapids). This Seetch eventually became the main bulwark of Cossack military strength and simultaneously a symbol of Ukrainian national independence.

The Ukrainian Cossack leaders were known as "Hetmans" (head men). One of these, Bohdan Khmelnitzky, after a successful war with Poland (1648-1653) signed a treaty, in 1654, with Muscovy. Some historians claim that it was this treaty that gave birth to the modern Russian Empire. One of Khmelnitzky's successors, Hetman Ivan Mazepa, at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century made an effort to break away from Russia. He secured the help of King

Charles XII of Sweden, but in the battle of Poltava, which the distinguished historian Sir Edward Creasy classified as one of the "decisive battles in world history", both rulers were defeated by Peter the Great. In 1775 the Cossack fortresses on the Dnieper were razed by order of the Empress Katherine II and the Ukraine became "Little Russia", a simple province of the new and rapidly growing Russian Empire.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century Russia was doing her best to preserve her medieval autocratic regime, suppressing all Ukrainian cultural and political aspirations, and even forbidding the use of the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian independence movement, inspired by the writings of Ivan Kotlarevsky of Poltava and Taras Shevtchenko, the latter the national poet of the new Ukraine, became a par excellence anti-Russian affair. At the close of the Nineteenth Century the Viennese administration became an important factor in the growing Austro-Russian competition over the control of the Slavic world and the late ambitious heir to the Austrian Throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, is said to have seriously considered creating for himself, his morganatic wife and his children, a new "Secundogeniture" in the golden-domed Ukrainian Capital on the Dnieper.

(ii) Revival of Independence Movement

The World War gave a new impetus to the Ukrainian movement for independence. A special Ukrainian legion was organized in Austria to fight against Russia, and, when in 1917, a revolution broke out in the latter country, a Ukrainian Peoples Republic was immediately proclaimed in Kiev under the government of the "Centralna Rada" (Central Council). Early in 1918, under the pressure of the Russian Bolshevik invasion from the north, the treaty of Prest-Litovsk was concluded by the Ukraine and the central

powers. German military forces, invited by their friends to help clear the Ukraine of the Bolshevik intruders soon commenced to behave as if they were in an occupied territory. They removed by force the Government of the "Centralna Rada" and imposed upon the Ukraine people a ruler of their own choice, in the person of General Paul Skoropadsky. After the collapse of the Central Powers in November 1918, Skoropadsky had to flee the country together with the retreating German army and the new government of the Directorate of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic came into power.

In the meantime the old Austro-Hungarian Empire broke to pieces and the Western Ukrainian Peoples Republic was proclaimed on November 1st, 1918, at the ancient Galician capital Lwow. It lasted only nine months under the perpetual fights with the Poles and in July 1919, it was finally occupied by Polish Forces. The remnant of the Ukrainian Galician army, approximately 80,000 men, then entered the territory of Greater Ukraine, and joining forces with General Simon Petlura freed Kiev, on August 21st, from Bolshevik occupation. The Russian Czarist-General Denikin, coming from the south entered Kiev on the following day but did not realize the seriousness of the situation, and instead of making a common cause with the Ukrainians created a general confusion and prevented the indispensable consolidation of the Anti-Bolshevik forces. At the same time a great epidemic of spotted fever broke out, depleting the ranks of the Ukrainian army tremendously. Shortage of arms and munitions did the rest. When Denikin, following the collapse of his initially effective cavalry offensive, finally decided to co-operate with the Ukrainians, both contracting parties were hopelessly worn out and unable to carry on. Denikin's flight to the Southeast and his evacuation of Novorossiysk are a matter of historical record. A small part of the Ukrainian army went to Poland with General Petlura, who in the meantime had established

free relations with Marshal Pilsudski; the major part of the army remaining in the Ukraine. The President of the Western Ukrainian Republic, Dr. Eugene Petruskevitch, proceeded to Vienna with his closest collaborators and established there a new political centre from which he continued his political fight for the independence of Galicia. The decision of the Council of Ambassadors of March 15, 1923, which gave Poland sovereignty over Galicia put an end to his action. All Ukrainian territories again became parts of various neighboring nations, the Greater Ukraine normally retained the position of an autonomous republic within the framework of the Soviet Union. The military struggle for Ukrainian independence was over, but the political struggle, largely with the support of the Ukrainians living abroad - here, in the United States and in other countries - continues to this day.

(iii) Early Ukrainians in Canada

The first ten years of Ukrainian immigration into Canada witnessed hard pioneering work with little or no time for any Ukrainian politics. An over-whelming majority of the new settlers, being from Galicia, gathered around the newly established Greek Catholic Church, communities and reading halls. Just before the outbreak of the World War their first Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop, Rt. Rev. Micetas Budka, was sent to Canada to look after their spiritual weal. Only a few of the leaders known today showed any signs of activity.

The war found the Ukrainians in Canada entirely unprepared and there appeared to be nobody on hand to show them some way out of an unexpected and very delicate situation. Their spiritual leader, Bishop Budka, instead of trying to find some means whereby they could have been brought closer to the position of Canadianism, hastened to issue a pastoral letter wherein he requested his flock

to preserve their loyalty to the Austrian Crown. According to his own admission, he simply did not anticipate any British-Austrian conflict and as an Austrian citizen and former army officer he could not think at the time of any better step. The letter, of course, was speedily withdrawn after the Austro-British war declarations, but the damage was already done. Caught in the cross fire of conflicting sentiments, the Ukrainians in Canada resembled a guideless flock of sheep surprised by a storm.

The momentous events in Russia in 1917 had a profound bearing upon the situation and their outlook. Learning of the disintegration of the Russian Empire and the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic in Kiev, a number of committees were organized to aid the Ukrainian Cause abroad. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with the subsequent proclamation of the West Ukrainian Republic in Lwow provided a new impulse for their activities. When in 1920 the West Ukrainian Government, after losing the territory to the Poles, settled down in Vienna and tried in a diplomatic way to obtain a national status for Galicia, the Ukrainians in Canada gave their wholehearted support.

Space does not permit to depict in detail all the changes which have taken place among the Ukrainians in Canada during the post war period, and which in a great measure lead to the present orientation of political forces at work among these people.

The Ukrainians in Canada are divided by various post war social and political philosophies into two distinct and uncompromising camps: Communist or Marxist and National-Patriotic.

PART II: COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

(A) The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association

The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association is an organization of revolutionary Ukrainians politically subordinate to and controlled by the Communist Party of Canada.

According to a recent statement made by its National Executive Council, this organization has 300 branches in as many cities, towns and farming communities across the Dominion. It is the most efficiently organized group of Canadian Ukrainians and is well managed by the dictatorial methods of the National and Provincial Leaders. Its membership is approximately 9,000, and according to a conservative estimate the organization exerts influence over 50,000 people.

The history of this movement is briefly outlined in a joint "Declaration" of the Central Executive Committee and the National Ukrainian for Agitation and Propaganda Bureau of the Communist Party of Canada sent to the Executive Committee of the Communist International at Moscow during the early part of 1931. The Declaration reads, in part:

"The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association was originated in 1918, after the Canadian Government had declared the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada an illegal Bolshevik organization, after many of its members were arrested and jailed in the concentration camps whilst others were deported, and after its organ "Rabotchy Kured" was suppressed for Bolshevik propaganda. The Association has been formed in order to have legal connections and some legal possibilities of activity in the difficult years of reaction (1919-1921). In it were gathered, in the first place, the ex-members of the U.S.D.P.C., who were joined later on by many other Ukrainian workers and farmers interested in its educational and cultural activities. Thanks to these the publication of a new organ, the "Ukrainian Labour News" (which is today the Party's organ, in the Ukrainian language), which was probably the largest factor in organizing the Communist Party of Canada since its inception".....

"After the Communist Party of Canada had been organized, voices were raised in its Central Executive Committee and in Party Conventions that the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association is no more necessary and should be liquidated. But the ULFTA grew to be a mass organization which numbered thousands of members and gathered around itself tens of thousands

of sympathizers. It became a factor par excellence for organizing and educating Ukrainian workers and farming masses and also a mighty weapon against Ukrainian church, religious, nationalist and counter-revolutionary organizations. In opposition to the religious and nationalist "peoples homes", the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association has erected nice structures - Labour and Farmer Temples - against religious dope and nationalist anaesthetics and counter-revolutionary poison. The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association gave the Ukrainian Workers and Farmers of Canada the Marxist-Leninist teachings, class consciousness, proletarian art etc.; against choirs that sang "Kyrie Eleinson", the ULFTA organized proletarian choirs and orchestras who brought among the workers and farmers proletarian revolutionary songs; against religious and nationalist childrens schools, it organized and established workers' childrens schools and took workers' children in the cities under its influence; against religious and nationalist institutions which prepare lawyers, doctors and teachers for Ukrainian black-guards, monarchists, Petlurites and Fascists, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association organized Higher Educational Courses for workers and farmers to arm them with the knowledge of Marxian and Leninist teachings for the struggle against the enemies of the working class".....

"It is estimated that there are around 400,000 Ukrainians in Canada and they constitute numerically the third nationality here. They are ninety-nine per cent labourers and farmers (the latter a preponderant majority). After the world war Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada by thousands. In the past came here the poorest strata of proletariat and poor Ukrainian peasantry, the majority illiterate or half-illiterate, unaccustomed to organization and not class conscious. There were no professional and skilled Ukrainian workers and they were compelled to work in the poorest paid and most difficult occupations or to settle on the wooded and swampy farms. From such workers and farmers had our Ukrainian comrades to build up their organization But the resulting successes today are great, in deed, if we take into consideration these difficult conditions under which they had to work and struggle."

The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association represents the oldest Ukrainian Political Group established in Canada after the world war. Its leaders are former socialists and radicals and its membership consists chiefly of people with atheistic propensities. The success of the Russian October Revolution had a profound influence upon these people, and it is a historic fact that the leaders of this organization were in no small measure responsible for the formation of the Communist Party of Canada in 1921. For a while the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, together with the Finnish revolutionists, were the main stay of Communist Party Finance. There is concrete evidence to show that the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association was officially represented

at the Provisional Conference held in December 1921, which gave birth to the Workers Party of Canada and which, in 1924, became the Communist Party of Canada as it is known today. Following the Constituent Convention of the Workers Party of Canada in the Spring of 1922, the leaders of the U.L.F.T.A. were most active and instrumental in extending the newly formed Communist Political Party throughout the Dominion. Many branches of what is now known as the Communist Party of Canada were organized by the leaders of the U.L.F.T.A., and in a great many instances within the framework of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association.

Today the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association serves as an important auxiliary of the Communist Party of Canada, and under the supervision of the latter conducts Communist propaganda throughout the country.

The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association also maintains direct connections with the Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine. It can be said that the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association is directly controlled by Moscow; it represents the Bolshevik aspirations among the Ukrainians in Canada. The control exercised by Moscow is emphasized in a letter containing instructions sent by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Canada on the tasks of the U.L.F.T.A.

This letter states in part:

"The Party and particularly the Ukrainian comrades must resolutely set out to realize the following basic tasks in the organizations of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association:

(a) To actively mobilize the Ukrainian workers in pressing economic conflicts and growing mass movements of the Canadian workers. To aim continuously to draw Ukrainian workers into the general proletarian mass organizations, above all, in the strengthening of the Workers Unity League and the Revolutionary Trade Unions

(b) To see to it that the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association carry on mass educational work, having a clear cut class character, circulate the Communist Press, counter-act the propaganda and agitation of the counter-revolutionary White Guardist Ukrainian Groups, give support and defend the Soviet Union and widely spread among the Ukrainian workers and poor farmer the achievements of the Soviet Ukraine and of the Soviet Union in general

(c) To endeavour to train for the Communist Party of Canada and for its work new active and revolutionary members."

Starting as a small group in 1918, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association during the twenty-one years of its existence has grown into an organization of large proportion. This growth is reflected in the report submitted to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party on the occasion of the U.L.F.T.A. Convention held at Winnipeg, from February 1st to 10th, 1939. This convention was attended by 160 delegates from all over Canada; the report showed the following standing of the organization at the end of 1928:

"General Branches - 88, with a paid up membership of	2651
Women's Section - 52 Branches, membership	1335
Youth Section - 40 Branches, membership	262
Societies affiliated with the ULFTA (5) membership	190
Total	5438

This report further indicated that the organization had 56 dramatic groups and choirs attached to the various branches, with 1622 members; 76 mandolin and other orchestras with 1073 members; 50 childrens' schools with 2204 pupils attending.

According to this report, the Association then owned 63 buildings with a total value of \$696,717.67.

This report further disclosed that substantial financial assistance had been rendered to the "working class revolutionary press, to the striking workers, political prisoners, and over \$25,000 for the 'flood victims' in Western Ukraine".

Ten years later the records of the organization disclose that it owns buildings and property valued in excess of \$1,000,000.

(1) Press

One of its greatest achievements is its well edited press, having direct connections with Moscow. The organization publishes a daily - "Narodna Gazetta" and a weekly - "Farmerske Zyttia" (Farmers' Life); the latter devoted principally to agitation among the Ukrainian Farmers of Western Canada. The circulation of the former is placed at 12,000 copies per issue, while the circulation of the latter is in the neighbourhood of 8,000. Up until the Fall of 1937, it also published a bi-monthly magazine "Robotnycia" (Working Women) the organ of the Women's Section of the U.L.F.T.A. Discontinuation of this paper was decided upon at the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the U.L.F.T.A. In place of this bi-monthly, it was decided to allot sufficient space in the "Ukrainian Labour News", as the "Narodna Gazetta" was then known, and also in the "Farmers' Life". In addition to the periodicals enumerated above, the organization published hundreds of pamphlets and other propaganda material.

(ii) Women's Section

The Women's Section constitutes an integral part of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, and its special task is to attract Ukrainian women to the organization. A Women's branch exists in most places where a branch of the parent organization is incorporated. At the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the U.L.F.T.A. held in 1937, the Women's Section met in special session with forty-five women and thirteen men delegates in attendance. The main report by Mrs. Lysets showed that the Section had participated in all "class fights" and had played a particularly prominent part in the movement against war and Fascism.

(iii) Youth Section

The Youth Section of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association constitutes by far the most advanced single Communist

youth movement in Canada. It operates in close co-operation and under the direction of the Young Communist League of Canada. It plays an important role in the Canadian Youth Congress Movement and its leaders are young people who have been well trained in the art of agitation.

In conformity with the "broadening out" or "United front", a policy of the Communist International, the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the U.L.F.T.A. decided to change its name to "Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation". At this convention the Youth Section met in special session with 67 delegates present. The report presented by the Secretary showed a total of 59 branches with a membership of 2,000. Since then the membership has increased considerably and it is estimated that it stands at present at approximately 4,000.

Considerable attention was given during the last year to the task of building up the Youth Section with the result that it is being looked upon today as a formidable factor in the Ukrainian Communist Movement, reaching into practically every community of Ukrainians in Canada.

In order to popularize the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation, celebrations were held on March 12th of this year in most of the larger cities of Canada to commemorate the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Ukrainian National Poet, Taras Shevchenko. The largest public halls had been engaged for this purpose, and prominent public speakers representing various schools of thought addressed the gatherings. These concert-meetings had been arranged for several reasons:

- (a) To whitewash an organization which by reason of its affiliation is on record as a Communist Association.
- (b) To deliberately mislead the people, particularly English speaking Canadians, into believing that these concerts were sponsored by all the Canadian youth of Ukrainian descent.

- (c) To create the impression that these concerts had the support of the majority of the citizens of Ukrainian extraction, and consequently to identify the majority of the Ukrainian people in this country with Communist activities.

Vigorous protests were made by the Nationalist Ukrainian Organizations who, in no uncertain terms, condemned the activities of this so-called Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation, characterizing it as a Communist instrument, as being anti-Canadian, anti-democratic and anti-Christian.

As part of the broadening-out campaign, the National Committee of the U.L.F.T.A. staged a musical festival on a grand scale in Toronto on July 16th of this year. Approximately 1,500 young singers, dancers and musicians from various parts of the Dominion attended and the main feature was a performance staged by a men's string orchestra of approximately 800 musicians. The main object of this festival was to present the U.L.F.T.A. and the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation to the public as artistic and cultural organizations.

E: Workers' Benevolent Association

This organization, ostensibly a mutual benefit society, came into being early in 1923. It was organized by the leaders of and within the framework of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association. In it, the Communist Chieftains saw a great possibility of creating substantial reserve funds which could be used to finance the Communist Movement. In addition to paying sick and death benefits to the members, it also acts as banker for the Communist Movement. It gives general financial support (donations) to the various Communist organizations. Proof of this is contained in the minutes of the meeting of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Canada held March 8th, 1929, containing a report

on the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association Convention held in February of that year. Under the sub-heading "Convention of the Workers' Benevolent Association", the following appears:

"The necessity of developing a serious class of educational work and propaganda within this organization and certain important changes in the constitution effecting benefits were stressed by many delegates and finally decided upon. It was rightly pointed out that the W.B.A. contains a large mass of raw material, workers who did not belong to any other organization and are still far from participating in the class struggle. There is a large number of members who joined the organization in order to get benefits in case of sickness and assistance for their families in case of death. They must be drawn into the class struggle and the organization must be developed into an assisting instrument in the class struggle

"The convention of the W.B.A. proved to be the largest of all conventions hitherto held by the association. The report of the Central Executive showed that there are 116 branches of the association in Canada with a membership of over 8,000. The Association paid in the last five years, 9,325,300 sick and death benefits to the members. Liberal assistance was given to different working class purposes. In 1928 alone, the "Ukrainian Labour News" and "The Worker" received from the treasury of the association \$950.00. The convention responded to the call for assistance from different quarters: \$100.00 was given to "The Worker"; \$25.00 to "The Young Worker"; \$25.00 to "The Young Comrade"; \$25.00 to "Der Kampf" etc. etc. Assistance was decided upon for the "Ukrainian Labour News", Needle Workers, Industrial Union, etc. etc. The association bought two magnificent buildings with 104 acres of land near Winnipeg...The influence of the organization among Ukrainian workers is growing."

(Note: The publications named above are all organs of the Communist Party of Canada.)

The W.B.A. has a Provincial Charter in Manitoba. A Bill asking for Dominion incorporation of this association was held up by the House of Commons Banking Committee on June 1st, 1938, on the grounds that the society was a Communist organization and its insurance and benevolent features only blinds to advance Communist propaganda.

The financial report of the W.B.A. presented at its convention held in conjunction with the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association showed at the end of the second quarter of 1937 cash assets amounting to \$115,588.73. The financial statement of the association as per March 31st, 1939, shows assets totalling \$195,992.59 (vide Appendix "A")

The Workers' Benevolent Association owns what is known as the Parkdale Institute near Winnipeg, Manitoba, which is being used, in addition to an orphanage and old folk home, principally as an educational centre. It is in this institution where the so-called "Higher Educational Course" of the U.L.F.T.A. is conducted each year. The officials of the W.B.A. are all well tried and trusted members of the Communist Party of Canada. The W.B.A. is an auxiliary of the U.L.F.T.A., and as such is under the control of the Communist Party of Canada.

C: Alliance for the Defence of Western Ukraine

Formerly known as Todowyrnazu (Society for the Liberation of Western Ukraine), this Society constitutes an important section of the Communist Movement and has of late assumed mass proportions, playing an important role in the field of Communist propaganda among Ukrainians of Canada. One of its primary functions is to collect funds and solicit moral support for the Communist cause in the western Ukraine as well as Canada. According to the report submitted by Liszczyński, Secretary of the organization, to its annual convention held in July of 1927, the organization then had forwarded approximately \$15,000 to Poland and approximately \$9,000 had been spent in assisting the revolutionary movement in Canada.

The change of name took place at a convention of Todowyrnazu held in Toronto in February of this year at which it was reported that the organization had a membership of approximately 8,000. The change was made mainly on purpose to give the organization a greater scope and in order that it may be able to more effectively combat agitation emanating from the Ukrainian Nationalist Camp. It was through this organization the Ukrainian Communists, speaking on behalf of fifty thousand Ukrainians in Canada, addressed

the memorandum to the President of the Republic of Poland in June of this year (Vide Appendix B). This memorandum expresses the political line pursued by the Communists at that particular time. Today this line has been almost completely discarded and an attempt is being made to slander the former Polish Government and justify the invasion of Poland by the army of Stalin.

D: The Worker's and Farmer's Publishing Association

The Worker's and Farmer's Publishing Association constitutes an integral part of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple, corner of Pritchard and McGregor Streets, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Its existence bears witness to the organizing skill of the captains of this section of the revolutionary movement. Equipped with up-to-date printing machinery, it is capable of turning out a daily, a weekly and numerous books, pamphlets, leaflets and other propaganda material, not only for the Ukrainian section, but for other languages and branches of the Communist Movement. Only well-trusted members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League are employed in the printing shop. The role of importance played by this association is reflected in a letter sent by Matthew Popovich under date of April 7, 1931, to Tim Buch, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Canada. In this letter, Popovich draws attention to the indebtedness of the Communist Party in Winnipeg to the Worker's and Farmer's Publishing Association. In this connection it says: "The bill is now very heavy and I have no illusions that same will ever be paid." The bill in question was made up as follows:

"C.P.C. D.E.C. #7.....	\$1828.19
Y.C.L., Winnipeg, Man.....	95.35
L.A.W.I. Union, Winnipeg, Man.....	111.90
I.U.N.T.W., Winnipeg, Man.....	38.25
Workers Unity League, Winnipeg, Man.....	11.70
Conference for Unemployed Insurance, W'pg. Man...	127.50
I.U.N.T.W. Strike Fund Committee, Winnipeg, Man..	32.25
The Furrow.....	461.10
Farmers Unity League.....	10.65
L.A.W.I.U. Port Arthur, Ontario.....	11.00
C.E.C. of C.P.C.....	171.30
Total.....	\$2899.19

Referring to Popovich's letter, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada under date of April 18th, 1931, wrote to the District Bureau of District No. 7 (Manitoba) of the Party, in part, as follows:

"The Political Bureau has recently received a statement from the U.L.F.T.A. printshop, showing that the various Party organizations.....

"The total amount owing to the printshop by Party organizations and auxiliaries, reaches the impressive sum of \$2,899.19. Obviously a halt must be called to such accumulation of debt, particularly when this accumulation is all based upon the credit of an organization which means as much to the Party and the movement in general as does the U.L.F.T.A.....

"The Political Bureau also owes money to the printshopThe Political Bureau debt is small, but our responsibility extends to such debts as the "Furrow", etc.....The Political Bureau urges the Bureau of District 7 to make a serious effort to make a substantial payment on account..... We are paying immediately for the Pamphlet with the Plenum resolutionsand from now on everything printed for the National Office will be paid C.O.D.

"We realize that the District Bureau equally with the Pol-Bureau is feeling the pinch of hard times. But this is all the more reason why we should not at this time allow careless ness in this matter to affect one of the few establishments such as the U.L.F.T.A. printshop, which we have.

The machinery and equipment installed in the printshop of this Publishing Association is valued at more than \$150,000.

E: The People's Co-operative Association

Formerly known as the Workers' and Farmers' Co-operative, this branch of the Ukrainian Communist Movement plays an important part in the Ukrainian Communist activities throughout the country. Co-operative stores, creameries, and wood wood yards are in existence at most of the leading centres, operated under the direct leadership of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association. These co-operatives have grown into fairly large business concerns, particularly in centres such as Winnipeg and Toronto. Some of the financial statements which have been made available would indicate that these establishments are operated on a sound basis showing a

considerable turnover. In most instances, Communists and Radicals of other nationalities support and patronize these institutions.

F: Schools

The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association is maintaining schools for children in connection with most of its branches throughout the country. These schools are more or less of a permanent character with a regular attendance; they are conducted in strict conformity with the general Communist scheme of education and propaganda. Considerable attention is being given the teachings of music and drama. The classes are being held in the "temples" and the hours are usually from 5-7 p.m., except Saturdays when the classes are being held during the forenoon. Generally speaking, these schools are carried on outside of school hours, in the children's own time, and do not, as a rule, interfere with the attendance of the public school. Latest reports would indicate that the total attendance is between 6000 and 7000.

In addition to these children's schools, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association is holding special schools for the training of competent leaders. There is being held every year a so-called "higher educational class" attended by talented young people selected from various parts of Canada. Held at Winnipeg, this "higher educational class" receives the active co-operation of the chief leaders of the movement who are domiciled in that City. The curriculum of this school is, perhaps, broader in scope than any other of its kind (Communist) in the country. During the last few years many agitators have been trained in this school who are now doing field work in the Ukrainian populated districts of Canada.

For the purpose of developing local leadership, the U.L.F.T.A. is also conducting training schools in the various provincial centres.

League devoted themselves mainly to the task of "enlightening and arousing the national consciousness" of the early Ukrainian immigrant. At the same time, this group waged a struggle against the Ukrainian Catholic Church, of which most of them were members, on the grounds that the church and its priests were not sufficiently loyal to the Ukrainian cause and too servile to Rome and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Canada.

The Great War and the resurrection of the Ukrainian State in Europe created new conditions for the Ukrainians in Canada. The formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the early twenties and the creation of the Self Reliance League in 1927 at a Congress of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Societies at Saskatoon, may be attributed to the state of conditions arising from the war. The Orthodox Church was then headed by Wasyl Swystun.

At this juncture, it may be advisable to say a few words regarding the religious problem confronting the Ukrainians in Canada at that particular time. Originally, most of the Ukrainians had been of the Greek Catholic faith, i.e. Catholics of the oriental rite, united with Rome. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had preserved its married clergy, the ancient slavic language in its service, and even the Julian calendar. After the Ukrainians settled down in Canada and organized a number of their church communities, efforts were made to abolish all these peculiarities and to make the Ukrainian Church uniformly Roman Catholic. These efforts were strongly resented by many Ukrainians who wished to see the church in its original form, and the first visible symptom of this opposition was the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada by Wasyl Swystun. A few years later this Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, originally under the jurisdiction of the Syrian Archbishop, Germanos, of New York, officially acknowledged the supremacy of the newly organized Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Kiev, Soviet, Ukraine. The Metropolitan Archbishop, W. Lipkowsky, head of the Kiev Church, delegated

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Archbishop John Theodorovich as his representative for North America. The latter established his headquarters in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and today is still regarded as the Head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autokephalous Church of Canada. These two churches, the Greek Catholic, headed at present by Bishop Basil Ladyka, and the Orthodox Autokephalous, whose Canadian Administrator is the Reverend S.W. Sawchuk, are the two leading Ukrainian churches in Canada. The Greek Catholic Church, although numerically strong, plays an insignificant role in the life of Ukrainian-Canadians. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which at the beginning was expanding rapidly, suffered a serious set-back some three years ago as a result of internal dissension over the question of whether it should remain entirely independent or engage the spiritual leadership of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople.

Some six years ago another Ukrainian Orthodox Church started missions and parishes in Canada. It was a church founded after the war by a former Greek Catholic priest, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Zuk of New York. This church is connected with the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople and its present head, Bishop Bohdan Shpilka, resides in Bronx, New York.

(ii) Organization

The Ukrainian Self Reliance League is based on no particular political philosophy. It is founded on the principle of "self-reliance", as the name of this organization suggests; self-reliance in all individual and collective endeavours of the Ukrainian nation in Europe. Therefore, this group is in opposition to all other Ukrainian groups here and abroad which, in the main, rely on help from Foreign States in the hope that they will aid them in the emancipation of the Ukrainian people. The program of this League does not contain any political dogma and the members are more concerned with the welfare and the future of the Ukrainians in Canada than with any political movements concerned with the

European situation. The Self Reliance League and its affiliates, owing to their organic connection with the Orthodox Churches, appear to be quite influential in Western Canada. They unite what may be termed the Ukrainian-Canadians, both from the standpoint of Canadianism and the Ukrainian people.

Its subsidiaries or affiliates are as follows:

- (a) The Association of Ukrainian Youth of Canada (Sunk.)
- (b) The Association of Ukrainian Women in Canada (Suk.)
This is the women's section of the parent league with approximately 100 branches in Canada.
- (c) The Association of the Ukrainian National Homes (Sund.)
This is the amalgamation of the educational community halls controlled by the League. There are approximately 50 of these homes in the country.
- (d) The Ukrainian War Veterans League.
They organized approximately two years ago in Montreal.
- (e) The Ukrainian Institute of Peter Mohyla, Saskatoon, Sask.
This institution is merely a dormitory for university and high school students where they are taught and trained in culture.
- (f) The Ukrainian Institute of M. Hiushevsky, Edmonton, Alta.
Organized and conducted on the same pattern as the institution at Saskatoon.
- (g) The Ukrainian Voice.
Official organ of the Self Reliance League and its auxiliaries published weekly in Winnipeg since 1909. Its circulation is said to be in the neighbourhood of approximately 10,000.
- (h) The Herald.
Official organ of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church published in Winnipeg.
- (i) The Ukrainian Tribune and Review
Published monthly in English at Edmonton, Alta.

The Ukrainian Self Reliance League constitutes an integral part of Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. It may be described as its political department.

B: The Ukrainian National Federation

This may be described as the only Ukrainian Nationalist political organization in Canada of note, having influence over a fairly large section of the Ukrainian population of Canada of the post-war classification. Its headquarters are located in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, and each of the Prairie Provinces has its executive council with headquarters in Saskatoon, Edmonton and Winnipeg. Quebec and Ontario have a joint executive council with headquarters in Toronto. The national president is Dr. John Gulay, and its secretary V. Kossar, both situated in Saskatoon. The U.N.F. also referred to as the U.N.O. (Ukrainian Nationalist Organization) was organized in 1928 from the ranks of an organization known as Ukrainska Strilecka Hromada (Ukrainian War Veterans Association) which was organized in or about the year 1921.

The membership of the U.N.F. is mostly composed of Ukrainians who came to Canada during the post-war period. For a while it consisted almost exclusively of unnaturalized residents and it is only lately that the U.N.F. has attracted a considerable number of Ukrainians who are either naturalized or Canadian-born.

Extremely nationalistic, the idea of the emancipation of Ukrainian people from foreign rule: Russia, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, predominates with these people. Their ideology is based on the teachings of Professor D. Doncov, contained in his book entitled "Nationalism". His philosophy, briefly speaking, rests on the principle that a nation may rely only on its own strength and determination.

In its first stages the organization, then known as the Ukrainian War Veterans Association, had no European affiliations, and when the late leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in Europe, Colonel Eugene Konovaletz, who was assassinated a year ago in Rotterdam, Holland, presumably by G.P.U. agents, visited Canada in 1929 in search of new financial resources, he did not think them

as being of any great importance. Consequently, Konovaletz concluded his first agreement with the Ukrainian Self Reliance League which, however, did not last. After the U.N.F. came under the influence of Konovaletz and when the necessity of straight political work arose, a weekly newspaper "The New Pathway" was organized in Edmonton. Later this paper was transferred to Saskatoon, where it is still being published as the official organ of the U.N.F. The organization also became officially affiliated with the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization in Europe known as O.U.N., and which had been outlawed in Poland and the Soviet Union. There is evidence to show that the leadership of this organization was in close touch with Hitler and his departments, but at the outbreak of the current war it was said that, upon the order of Hitler, the Nationalist centres in Berlin, Vienna and Prague had been disbanded and the leaders arrested.

The O.U.N. originally known as the U.W.O. (Ukrainian Military Organization) was founded in 1923 by a handful of Ukrainian political and military refugees led by Colonel Eugene Konovaletz. Its primary objective was to create revolutionary disturbances in the Ukrainian provinces of Poland, particularly in Ukrainian Galicia. It accomplished this work in a rather clumsy fashion and soon fell in disfavour with the legitimate Ukrainian Nationalist leaders in whose eyes such work could only provide the Poles with a new excuse, resulting in further suppression of the Ukrainian aspirations in Poland.

Konovaletz, during the early stages of organization devoted more time and energy to the U.S.A. where the people were more prosperous. In Jersey City he renewed his friendship with Dr. Lucas Myshuha, editor of the Ukrainian daily newspaper "Svoboda", the official organ of the prosperous fraternal organization "The Ukrainian National Association". Dr. Myshuha was also the principal leader of an organization called "Obyednanya", a federation of Ukrainian Societies, whose chief purpose was to collect funds for

charitable and pedagogical Ukrainian institutions in Poland. Thus the two chief financial resources were successfully tapped by Konovaletz, and Dr. Myshuha became the semi-official ambassador of the O.U.N. for North America. After his return from the U.S.A., Konovaletz resided for a certain time in Geneva, Switzerland until a Communist plot against his life was discovered. He then moved to Holland and travelled a great deal in Western Europe. After the advent of Hitler, a complete reconciliation took place between his regime and the O.U.N. and a number of the leaders of the O.U.N. moved again to Berlin. Later, after the "Anschluss", Vienna became the official headquarters of the Ukrainian Nationalist leaders. Capt. Yary, an old collaborator of Colonel Konovaletz, was appointed as the Chief Representative of the O.U.N. in Berlin.

As already intimated, Konovaletz was assassinated in Rotterdam, Holland. The explanation generally accepted was that he became the victim of a Soviet plot, but there were also stubborn rumours in circulation that he had been "put aside" by an agent of the German Gestapo, as he "knew too much", and also had some special schemes which did not conform to the Ukrainian plans of the Fuehrer. It was also said that Konovaletz's friend, Capt. Yary, knew of his approaching doom, but for some reason did not warn him. After his death, an old associate of Konovaletz's, Colonel Andrew Melnyk became the nominal head of the O.U.N.

For a long time the political orientation of Ukrainian Nationalists centred around Berlin and hopes were frequently expressed that Hitler, in his attempt to smash the Soviet Union, would aid the Ukrainians in Europe to set up their own state, probably along totalitarian lines. The U.N.F. and its leadership, however, seldom stressed the form of government the future Ukraine was to assume; they apparently were more concerned with the idea of the liberation of the Ukrainian people living under foreign domination.

Whatever pro-Nazi and pro-Hitler sentiment the membership had entertained or applied to their activities appears to be of a very controversial nature, and any tendencies or sympathies displayed in Canada towards Germany have been rudely dispelled by the following events:

- (a) The annexation of Carpatha-Ukraine by Hungary with Hitler's and Mussolini's consent (the Ukrainian Nationalist here and elsewhere believed that the Carpatha-Ukraine had been established with Hitler's consent and would be used as the nuclei of the future state and as the spearhead in Germany's plan to free the Ukraine from the domination of Moscow and the consequent creation of an all-inclusive Ukrainian state)
- (b) The Non-Aggression Pact between Moscow and Berlin.
- (c) The invasion of Poland by the Red Army and the subsequent occupation by Soviet Russia of the Western Ukraine.

These factors have had a tremendous effect upon the U.N.F. and other Ukrainian Nationalists in Canada.

Like the Self Reliance League, the Ukrainian Federation also has a number of subsidiaries at its command.

They are:

- (i) The Association of Ukrainian Youth (Mun.)
Organized as a youth section of the U.N.F. with its own executive council and branches throughout the country.
- (ii) The Ukrainian Women's Section.
- (iii) The Red Cross Section.
Organized within the branches of the U.N.F. from ranks of girls and young women.
- (iv) The Ukrainian War Veterans Section.
This group which, since the formation of the U.N.F., has been largely absorbed by the parent body, has ceased to play an important role in the Ukrainian Nationalist set-up.
- (v) The Ukrainian Aviation Club.
This Section has been organized several years ago in Oshawa, Ontario, by the Provincial Executive of the U.N.F. through the efforts of Colonel Morey de Morand of Toronto, one Anten of Oshawa, Rev. L. Standret now of the United States, and Michael Wladyka of Oshawa, who appears to be the President of the Club.

According to recent figures published in "The New Pathway", the organ of the U.N.F., the membership of the club consists of 40 young men, some of whom have been trained as pilots in Oshawa and at a Toronto flying club. Pilot Anten and Colonel de Morand are conducting an instructional class at Oshawa.

This club owns one aeroplane which is being used for instructional purposes.

As already intimated, the official organ of the U.N.F. is "The New Pathway" (Mow Shlah) published bi-weekly in Saskatoon.

C: The Ukrainian Hetman Organization

In comparison the United Hetman Organization is rather insignificant, so much so that other organizations are in the habit of almost disregarding its existence. The originator of this movement on this continent was a Ukrainian journalist, a Dr. Joseph Nazaruk, who lived in Canada from 1921 to 1923, collecting funds for the "West Ukrainian Government". He then moved to Chicago and was for a time editor of a weekly newspaper. There, he also founded the first Ukrainian Monarchist organization called "Hetman Sitch" which became closely associated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Walter Bossy, at present a resident of Montreal, met Dr. Nazaruk in the U.S.A. and upon his return decided to start a similar movement in Canada. The first Canadian Hetman Sitch was organized in Yorkton in or about the year 1927. It was originally allied with the Canadian Boy Scouts Association.

Like in the United States, the Canadian Hetman Sitch Organization became a strictly Catholic affair inspite of the fact that Hetman Skoropadsky, who was acknowledged as the supreme leader of the organization, and the whole population of the Ukraine were of Greek Orthodox faith. Notwithstanding the formal support given it by the Greek Catholic Church, the Hetman Movement for some

Notwithstanding the formal support given it by the Greek Catholic Church, the Hetman Movement for some reason never assumed any great proportions and even now, after so many years of propaganda, the Hetman Sitch locals in the various Canadian cities have a comparatively small membership and only a small circle of followers. One explanation is that Paul Skoropadsky cannot win the sympathies of the plain Canadian-Ukrainian farmers and workers, principally on account of his reactionary anti-peasant record from the time of his rule in the Ukraine in 1918. Another explanation is that the leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church are not anxious to promote a lay organization like the Sitch and extend its influence among the members of their parishes. The Hetman Movement in Canada is, at the present time, as feeble as it was at the time it was born and even the recent visit of Skoropadsky's son, Danylo, to Canada did not contribute to its growth.

The headquarters of this organization are now situated in Sudbury, Ontario. Its supreme head is known as the Chief Commissioner. This position is filled today by one, Nicholas Stuss, an employee of the International Nickel Company at Sudbury, Ontario. The general secretary is one, J. Gawalko, also of Sudbury. All the officials are appointed by an order of the General Commissioner for Canada and the United States, Dr. Simenovich of Chicago, Illinois, where the permanent headquarters of the organization for this continent are situated. The appointment must be approved by Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, who is said to be residing in Germany.

The organization has only a few branches throughout Canada with a membership not exceeding 500. Its activities are confined largely to the following towns and cities: Montreal, Toronto, Windsor, Hamilton, Kitchener, Oshawa, Sudbury, Kirkland Lake, Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton. Approximately 75% of the members wear uniform and are under semi-military discipline.

The U.H.O. pursues the following aims:

- (a) Re-establishment of a Ukrainian state as a traditional monarchy with the ex-Hetman, Skoropadsky or his son, Danylo, on the throne.

- (b) Establishment of a social system called "Classocracy" (The rule of the classes) whereby the Hetman would occupy a position similar to that of other Monarchs and the Government would be run by the elected representatives of all classes of people, intellectual, the middle class, merchants, financiers, farmers, labourers, etc.

The organization publishes a weekly paper at Toronto, known as the "Ukrainian Toiler"; it is edited by one, M. Hethman. Its circulation is small and it appears to be continually in financial difficulties. It is difficult to state what the editorial policy of this paper is. It is noted for its display of pro-British sympathies. The organization is continually at war with the radical groups, particularly with the Communists.

At the outbreak of this war, the U.H.O. has pledged its full support to the Canadian Government; reaffirmed its loyalty and urged its followers to stand fast by Britain and France. Young men are urged to join the Canadian defence forces wherever they can, thus showing their loyalty to the country of their birth or adoption.

The Hetman Movement in Canada, as well as in the United States, is a rather tame affair, whose chief purpose seems to be to demonstrate to the people in Europe that Paul Skoropadsky is still a popular figure among Ukrainians. Similar Hetman groups are also in existence in France, in Poland and in some of the South American countries.

D: Other National-Patriotic Groups

- (i) The Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Society (Toawrystwo Wzaimna Pomich)

It consists of approximately 100 branches in all the principal cities in Canada, with about 5,000 or more membership of both sexes. Its headquarters are in Winnipeg. The membership comprises of all creeds and political opinions, barring Communists, of course. The members are highly patriotic and are not engaged in any political activities.

- (ii) The National Home (Community Hall) Societies

There are several hundred of these societies owning their community hall in most of the Ukrainian communities in Canada. They are all patriotic, non-partisan, and engaged purely in educational dramatic and social activities. (A number of these societies are amalgamated with the Ukrainian Self Reliance League, the SUND). It is impossible to state the number of membership constituting these societies. It is, however, interesting to note that most of these halls maintain all the facilities for stage productions. These societies are also divided into various sections: dramatic, singing, literary, women's, athletic or sports, and the children's school sections.

- (iii) The "Prosvita" Reading Room Societies

These societies are founded on about the same basis and order of things as the Community Hall societies. Their main objective is to promote education ("Prosvita" means in Ukrainian "education" or "enlightenment", and other cultural pursuits. The two largest societies of this kind exist in Winnipeg. There are over a hundred of these in Canada.

(iv) The Student's Clubs

There are several clubs comprising middle school and university students of Ukrainian origin whose activities are purely of a social and literary nature. Such clubs are known to exist in Toronto, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and other college or collegiate towns.

(v) The Athletic Clubs

These are purely sporting and social clubs uniting the Canadian Ukrainian youth. In large centres, such as Toronto, Winnipeg, etc., these athletic clubs even form local Ukrainian Sports Leagues, composed of baseball teams etc. Ukrainian baseball clubs or teams exist in practically every Ukrainian Canadian community.

(vi) The Professional Clubs

These clubs mainly exist in Toronto, Winnipeg, and one or two larger cities in Western Canada. They are purely social in their nature uniting the Ukrainian professional men and women: lawyers, physicians, dentists, nurses, clergymen, etc.

The Ukrainian Professional Club of Toronto is headed by Dr. Wm. Yarmey, President, and the Rev. John Kowalevich, Secretary.

(vii) The Public and Middle School Teachers Societies

These exist in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, uniting most of the teachers (approximately a thousand) of Ukrainian origin who are engaged in public school teaching. These associations hold their annual conventions in the capital cities in conjunction with the Provincial Teachers Association conventions.

The teachers of Ukrainian origin appear to be a class of people who exert a considerable influence over all sections of the Ukrainian communities because of their official position. In most sections of Western Canada they perhaps constitute the only class of educated people in the Ukrainian community. There are, for instance, 87 teachers of Ukrainian descent in but one school division, namely, Smoky Lake, Alta. There are too a number of school inspectors of Ukrainian birth in Western Canada.

Some of the teachers are now members of the Provincial Legislature in the Prairie Provinces, six in number.

(viii) The Radio Broadcasting Group.

There are two known Ukrainian radio broadcasting clubs actively engaged in regular commercial radio transmission: one in Toronto, the other in Hamilton, Ontario, utilizing both the Hamilton Radio stations.

Jack Samotilka (Jack Dale, the well-known Canadian radio star) of Toronto is the head and organizer of the Ukrainian Broadcasting Bureau in Toronto. This group of singers and musicians have been giving regular programs from one of the Hamilton stations for the past five months.

The other company is a private concern of a Hamilton Ukrainian who has transmitted his weekly program over the Hamilton station for the past two years.

(ix) The Ukrainian United Church

This is a Home Mission section of the United Church of Canada. In comparison, its numerical strength is negligible. There are several church congregations and missions in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, and several localities in Western Canada. Well-known ministers of these churches are the Rev. John Roberts Kowalevich in Toronto and the Rev. Eustace in Winnipeg. In some cities the Ukrainian section of this church is a part of the Church of All Nations, conducted by the United Church.

The "Canadian Ranok", published in Winnipeg and edited by Dr. Hunter of Teulon, Manitoba, is the official organ of the U.U. Ch.

(x) The Ukrainian Presbyterian Church

This Ukrainian Protestant Church has a negligible following: There are several U.P. congregations in Canada, among which may be noted the large congregation in Oshawa, Ontario, and smaller ones in Toronto and Edmonton. Rev. John Jacenty is the minister in Oshawa, and the Rev. M. Fessenko in Toronto.

CONCLUSIONS

The actual membership of the three non-Communist Ukrainian Organizations in Canada, i.e. The Self Reliance League, the National Federal and the Hetman Organization, including their subsidiaries, is not large. The combined membership, according to well-informed sources, does not exceed the 10,000 mark. The U.N.F. must be conceded the leading position with a membership of over 5,000. It is the most aggressive of the three. The Self Reliance League, being more or less the lay organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, has considerable influence but its numerical strength is less than that of the U.N.F. It is less than 5,000. The United Hetman's Organization membership is not over 500. None of these organizations possess any real property to speak of. However, as the Self Reliance League is part of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, its members control the church property which is considerable. The P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, used as a dormitory for young people attending university and high school, is the chief spiritual centre of the whole Orthodox Movement; it is really the property of the Orthodox Church. In Winnipeg, the hall of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral on Sinclair

and Burroughs Streets used to be the chief Greek Orthodox community centre and the Self Reliance League also had its headquarters there. Some three years ago, however, the congregation controlling that property severed its connection with the Greek Orthodox Church and proclaimed its independence.

Since that time the members of the S.R.L. foregather either in the editorial offices of the "Ukrainian Voice" or at the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox building on St. John Avenue. The largest Greek Orthodox building, however, which at the same time houses the Self Reliance League, is located in Toronto. In addition, the S.R.L. has at its disposal hundreds of church halls, reading halls, people's homes which are connected with the Greek Orthodox Church. The U.N.F. has very little real property. It owns a big hall in Saskatoon known as the Ukrainian National Hall and two or three small community halls in Ontario mining towns like Sudbury and Timmins. At other points, members of the U.N.F. and its subsidiaries assemble in rented buildings. The Hetman Organization cannot boast of any real property except an old wooden building in Winnipeg, which formerly belonged to the Polish St. John Benevolent Association, and a large old brick building in Toronto which was purchased last year.

Recent events in Europe had a profound effect upon the aspirations of the Ukrainian Organizations, resulting in a new political orientation. During the Czecho-Slovakian crisis, rumour became current to the effect that the Nationalist Organizations had received instructions from Berlin to make peace and pool their resources. From there on, it became evident that some rapprochement took place between the U.N.F. and the Hetman group. That an understanding of some sort was arrived at is borne out by the "Declaration" submitted to the Foreign Office at London in March of this year. (Vide Appendix C.) But as far as Canada is concerned, it must be stated that no actual fusion ever took place and the U.N.F.

and the Hetman Organization have always been at loggerheads, although professing a common aim, kept on fighting each other.

The political orientation of the U.N.F. at present revolves around Great Britain and France. Its press and leadership contend that the future destiny of the Ukraine is in the hands of Great Britain and France; that both Hitler and Stalin must be crushed. The Quebec and Ontario councils of the U.N.F. have even passed a resolution at the outbreak of this war, urging Great Britain to emancipate the Ukrainians and establish a Ukrainian State under Great Britain's protection. At the same time, the U.N.F. offered to organize a Ukrainian Corps of 25,000 men to fight against Germany on the side of the Allies. General Sikevich, Col. de Morand, Capt. W. Kossar, Capt. E. Gulay and two others were appointed and given the task of organizing and training the proposed legionnaires. In this connection, it is of interest to note that other Ukrainian patriotic groups and their press have ridiculed this idea of forming a Ukrainian division in Canada. Calling the suggestion highly impractical, they contend that the whole Ukrainian population would have to be united and mobilized to carry out such a stupendous undertaking. The Ukrainian National Federation has neither the influence, men or finance to organize and train 25,000 men. Even General Sikevich, who appears to be well esteemed by all Ukrainians excepting the Communists, has refused to head the legion unless all the Ukrainian National Organizations will give the idea their full support.

Recent developments would indicate that the U.N.F. and its membership is loyal to Canada and Great Britain and that their declaration and offer is sincere inspite of their former tendencies and misplaced sympathies.

APPENDIX "A"

General Financial Statement of The Workers' Benevolent Association - March 31st, 1939.

ASSETS:-

Cash in hand.....	\$ 517.42	
Cash in Bank.....	<u>743.05</u>	\$ 1,260.47
Bonds.....	59,570.19	
Mortgages.....	<u>71,842.07</u>	\$ 131,412.26
Small loans.....	447.10	
Orphanage debtors.....	347.89	
Uncashed cheque.....	<u>20.00</u>	\$ 814.99
Value of land and buildings.....	61,619.92	
Office furniture and equipment...	<u>884.95</u>	\$ 62,504.87
		\$ 195,992.59

LIABILITIES:-

Death fund.....	\$ 5,804.63
Sick Benefit fund.....	119,884.62
General fund.....	718.57
Convention fund.....	3,937.34
Realty.....	62,318.92
Orphanage maintenance fund.....	<u>3,328.51</u>
	\$ 195,992.59

Assets Total March 31st, 1939.....	\$ 195,992.59
Assets Total Dec. 31st, 1938.....	<u>\$ 193,256.58</u>
Increase in assets for 1st quarter 1939.....	\$ 2,736.58

R E V I E W

RECEIPTS TOTAL since establishment.....	\$ 791,928.13
Expenditures total since establishment.....	<u>660,936.04</u>
BOOK BALANCE on Dec. 31st, 1938.....	\$ 130,936.09

APPENDIX "B"

Memorandum submitted to the President of the
Republic of Poland by the Ukrainian Communists
of Canada.

His Excellency I. Moscicki,
President of the
Republic of Poland.

The "Democratic Alliance for Defence of Ukrainian People" in Canada, in the name of 50,000 members and adherents of its organization and on behalf of the majority of Ukrainians in Canada, hereby begs to submit to the President of the Republic of Poland the following memorandum which has as its object:

(1) The defence of elementary rights of existence of 7 million Ukrainian people residing on the territories of Western Ukraine (East Galicia, Lemkowyna, Volyn, Polesia and sections of Peedlyasia and Cholmschchyna) in the confines of the Republic of Poland.

(2) The creating of lasting unity and brotherly solidarity between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples for the establishment of sound democracy and for the defence of their homeland from fascist aggression.

(3) The granting to the Ukrainian people--in the confines of Polish Republic of national and social rights guaranteed to them by the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain and entered into by the Republic of Poland and the Allied and associated States, as well as by the Treaty of Riga entered into by the Republic of Poland and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

By article 8 of Versailles Treaty of June 28th, 1919, it is enacted that:

....."the citizens of Poland who belong to national, religious denominations or language minorities--are entitled to same treatment, the same rights and factual guarantees as all other Polish citizens."

By article 9 of the same treaty, dealing with the rights to use languages and schools by national minorities, it is enacted that:

....."in cities and districts in which live large sections of Polish citizens of various nationalities, the Polish Government provides for freedom of public education of the said citizens in their own language."

By articles 66, 67 and 68 of the Treaty of St. Germain, guaranteeing equal rights to all citizens of the Republic of Poland, irrespective of race, language or religion, it is enacted:

....."no restrictions are to be placed upon any citizen in the right to use any language in private conversations, business relationships, religious teachings: in the press, public notices and public gatherings".....

By article 7 of the Treaty of Riga, it is enacted:

....."the Republic of Poland grants to the citizens of Ukrainian, Russian and White Russian nationalities who reside in Poland, all the rights guarantee full freedom for the development of culture, language, religious teachings and practices."

Faithfully carried out, the above noted solemn undertakings to safeguard the rights of minorities, would create the possibility for the development of a large measure of unity of interest between the peoples comprising the national minorities within the Republic of Poland and the Polish people themselves.

The Ukrainian people love their homes and land upon which they have lived from time immemorial. The rights of citizenship and democratic guarantees outlined above, provided the basis upon which Ukrainian and Polish people could stand shoulder to shoulder in fraternal solidarity against any Nazi schemes of disruption within the Republic, as well as against the danger of foreign Nazi aggression. It will immeasurably strengthen the resistance which the Ukrainian and Polish people together can offer against Nazi aggression should it be attempted.

But the Treaties before mentioned although entered into and subscribed by the Republic of Poland, have been repeatedly violated by the authorities of the Polish State, and the Ukrainian people have been deprived of the most elementary rights in all spheres of their existence:

In the economic sphere:

- (a) The Ukrainian people are forbidden to buy land in the territory inhabited by them.
- (b) The Ukrainians are forcibly evacuated from the border regions.
- (c) Territories heretofore occupied by Ukrainians are now being settled by specially selected Polish military forces.
- (d) The Polish Government refuses to give any assistance to the Ukrainian people for the maintenance of Ukrainian cultural, educational and public institutions.
- (e) The Ukrainian people, although economically and financially impoverished, are being heavily taxed and the Polish Government often resorts to expeditionary forces to terrorize the people.

In the political sphere:

- (a) The Ukrainian people have been denied equal rights as citizens. The limited citizenship rights which the people heretofore enjoyed have now been abrogated.
- (b) The Ukrainian progressive societies and political parties are forbidden to exist or function.

- (c) The right to free speech, press and assembly has been violated.
- (d) The Ukrainian people are being forcibly Polonized and Roman Catholicism is being imposed upon them.
- (e) Every attempt on the part of the Ukrainian People to restore their rights as citizens of the Polish Republic is being met with brutal suppression at the hands of authorities and the imposition of fines, imprisonment and detention in concentration camps.

In the cultural-educational sphere:

- (a) On the territories inhabited by the Ukrainian people, over 3,600 Ukrainian public schools have been closed by the Polish Officials. The remaining schools, maintained by the Ukrainian communities, have been forced to curtail their activities.
- (b) More than 1,000 branches of the educational societies of "Prosvita" and "Ridna Shkola" have been liquidated as well as large sport organizations, such as "Luh" and "Sokil".
- (c) The use of Ukrainian language has been greatly restricted. It is forbidden to use Ukrainian language in government institutions on the territories inhabited by the Ukrainians, and even children have been punished for speaking Ukrainian at schools.
- (d) More than 200 Orthodox churches have been burnt or otherwise destroyed in Volyn and Cholmschyn--others forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism with the approval of Polish Officials.

All this clearly emphasizes the degree of national and political oppression inflicted upon the Ukrainian people on their native lands. This system of destruction and disregard for the welfare of national minorities disarms the people and makes them impotent to combat the fascist war aggressors whose aim is to enslave both the Ukrainian and Polish people. Instead of promoting permanent brotherly solidarity between the Ukrainian and Polish people for united action to defend their common interests, particularly towards peace and progress, the grave injustice committed against the Ukrainian people by the Polish authorities divides the people and creates chauvinistic antagonism and discord between these historically democratic and peace-loving people.

The oppression inflicted upon 7 million Ukrainian people, helps to weaken the defensive capacity of the entire population, of the Republic of Poland in the face of military preparations on the part of Hitler Germany directed against the Republic, and also prepares fertile ground for Polish and Ukrainian fascists who desire to see Hitler carve up the territories now inhabited by the Ukrainian and Polish people.

In order to prevent Western Ukraine, and together with it Poland, from becoming a place d'armes of fascist aggressors, it is necessary to mobilize the forces of Ukrainian and Polish people in the struggle against the military designs of Hitler Fascism.

To create and mobilize such a force of the people, the Government of Republic of Poland must grant to the Ukrainian people, full democratic rights which would guarantee and protect its future in all spheres of life.

In this most critical moment, the peoples and governments of democratic nations are joining their forces to stop the war aggressors and thus save peace and the lives of millions of men, women and children. Recognizing the urgent necessity for creating brotherly unity between the Polish and Ukrainian people in the struggle for peace and against aggression--the "Democratic Alliance for the Defence of Ukrainian People" is making this representation to His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Poland, to grant and safeguard the just rights of the Ukrainian People.

These rights are:

- (a) To guarantee by law all democratic rights, privileges as well as duties of citizenship of the Ukrainian people.
- (b) To carry through a system of democratic self-determination in all these areas inhabited by the Ukrainians.
- (c) Recognition of the right of free speech, press and organizations, as well as freedom of action for progressive societies and political parties.
- (d) To guarantee by law equal right to the use of the Ukrainian language in all government and public institutions on the territories inhabited by the Ukrainian people, especially in Western Ukraine.
- (e) To open Ukrainian schools, public, secondary and high, in all the areas predominantly Ukrainian.
- (f) Release of all political prisoners, anti-fascists, etc., and do away with the concentration camp--- Bereza Kartuzka.
- (g) Immediate cessation of terror and pacification directed against the Ukrainian people whose only desire is to live at peace with all other peoples.

In presenting this memorandum the "Democratic Alliance for the Defence of the Ukrainian People" sincerely hopes the President for the Republic of Poland will give it his early consideration and rectify the injustices hereinbefore enumerated.

(Sgd) W. YARMOLUK

National Chairman

(Sgd.) P. LYSETS

National Secretary

APPENDIX "C"

Declaration submitted to the Foreign Office
by the Ukrainian Bureau in London.

D E C L A R A T I O N

The grave danger to world peace during the European crisis which resulted from internal minority problems in Czecho-Slovakia, has shown clearly to the Powers of Europe, as well as the rest of the World, that minority problems within the artificial boundaries of post-war European states composed of several nationalities are dangerous sources of strife and are productive of great international conflicts. At this moment, we, the British citizens of Ukrainian origin, enjoying the privileges of Free Government, feel that it is our supreme duty to raise our voice in the interests of World Peace, the British Empire, and a just and permanent solution of the Ukrainian problem. That problem involves the largest subjugated nationality in Europe today. We are supported also by Canadian citizens who, though not of Ukrainian nationality, are friends of Ukrainian liberation.

The Ukrainian problem concerns the vital interests of over forty millions of Ukrainian people, a number equal to the population of France or Italy, who inhabit a solid area of more than one million square kilometres between the Carpathian and the Caucaucus Mountains in a great arc north of the Black Sea.

The entire territory and its people with state traditions dating from 862 A.D. were again united into one Sovereign Ukrainian State by the Act of January 22nd, 1919, on the basis of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination.

Blockaded and attacked from the North by Soviet Red Armies, from the East by the Monarchist Russian Armies of Generals Denikin and Wrangel, from the West by Poland, and from the South by the Armies of Roumania, this newly created power in Eastern Europe for three years without support from the Great Allied Powers heroically endeavoured to defend its borders from these enemies and at the same time to check the waves of Russian communism threatening Western Europe. However, under the weight of simultaneous and successive blows of overwhelmingly greater armies, and burdened with the outbreak of a deadly typhus epidemic, Ukraine finally collapsed before it was able to exert its stabilizing effect upon post-war Europe. This rich Ukrainian state, so important economically and strategically, was nevertheless, partitioned, its people degraded to the level of 'minorities' and divided between the nationally-mixed powers, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Poland and the Soviet Union. By incorporating considerable parts of the Ukrainian territory and population within their political boundaries, all these states from the very beginning of their existence after the Great War and the Russian Revolution, became the breeding grounds of dangerous national struggles, oppressions, hatreds and fears, as well as potential sources of a new world war.

During the past twenty years the Ukrainian people, under the four occupant powers have experienced various degrees of cultural, religious, economic, and particularly political oppression, including mass pacifications, and famine policies. Not the least of the grievances was the fact that this great nation was deprived, through censorship, suppression, and terrorism, of an opportunity to speak freely of its Cause in the international forum.

It is for this reason that we, the citizens of Ukrainian origin in the free British Empire, together with the friends of the Ukrainian people in Canada are moved on behalf of the Ukrainian Nation in Europe, to draw to the attention of the British Government and other World Powers, the following points concerning the Ukrainian problem:

(1) In the interest of the balance of power and of a lasting peace in Europe the creation of the Ukrainian Sovereign State in the spirit of the Acts of January 22nd, 1919, embracing all ethnographically Ukrainian Territories is a historic necessity of wide international significance.

(2) The Ukrainian territories now within the political boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Poland and the Soviet Union, must be regarded and dealt with, not as separate minority problems in each case, but as integral parts of the Ukrainian cause as a whole.

(3) To avoid further complications similar to that of the recent European crisis arising from the minority problems of Czecho-Slovakia, we strongly urge and earnestly request the Great Powers, signatories of the Munich Pact, to appoint without delay an International Commission for the final settlement of the Ukrainian problem in Europe.

This declaration has been endorsed by the representatives of the Dominion Executives of Ukrainian Organizations and Churches, members of the Dominion and Provincial Parliaments, and other prominent Canadians:

VLODYMIR KOSSAR
President of Ukrainian National
Federation of Canada.

RIGHT REVEREND BASIL VOLODYMYR LADYKA
Bishop of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic
Church of Canada.

PETER J. LAZAROVICH
President of the Ukrainian
Self-Reliance League.

MOST REVEREND JOHN THEODOROVICH
Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox
Church of America and Canada.

DR. JAMES THOMAS ANDERSON
Ex-Premier of Saskatchewan.

ARTHUR L. BEAUBIEN
Member of Parliament.

GEORGE E. DRAGAN
Ex-Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Alberta.

S. W. CALVERT
Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Alberta.

THEODORE D. PERLEY
Ex-Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Manitoba.

ISIDORE GORESKY
Ex-Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Alberta.

WILLIAM HAYHURST
Member of Parliament.

NICHOLAS A. HRYHORCZUK
Ex-Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Manitoba.

J. S. LAMONT
Member of the Legislative Assembly
of Manitoba.

WILLIAM LASOWSKY
Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Manitoba

MICHAEL LUCHKOVICH
Ex-Member of Parliament.

JAMES O. McLENAGHEN
Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Manitoba.

PETER A. MISKEW
Ex-Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Alberta.

JAMES M. POPIL
Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Alberta.

JOSEPH T. THORSON
Member of Parliament.

WILLIAM TOMYN
Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Alberta.

WALTER A. TUCKER
Member of Parliament.

WILLIAM J. WARD
Member of Parliament.

JOSEPH WAWRYKOW
Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Alberta.

DMYTRO YAKIMISCHAK,
Ex-Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Manitoba.

OREST ZERERKO
Member of the Legislative
Assembly of Saskatchewan.

ERNEST C. HOFF
Professor of Agricultural Economics,
University of Saskatchewan.

EDWARD La PIERRE
Director Conservatoire National
du Musique, Montreal University.

F. S. McCALL
Principal, Alberta College.

RIGHT REVEREND GERALD MURRAY
Bishop of Saskatoon.

JAMES S. THOMSON
President of the University of
Saskatchewan.

GEORGE W. SIMPSON
Professor of History
University of Saskatchewan.

RIGHT REVEREND BOHDAN SHFYLYK
Bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox
Church of America.

NICHOLAS STUSS
Chief Commissioner of
United Hetman Organizations.

VOLODYMYR SIKEVICH
Lieutenant General and former
Attache of the Ukrainian Legation,
Budapest.

NOTE: This Declaration was drawn up and signed before the events of March 14th and 15th, which appear to have changed the character of the Munich Accord. It is issued nevertheless because the Committee believes that the Ukrainian National Problem exists, and will continue to exist, irrespective of the particular foreign policy pursued by any Government, and that it is essential for all Governments to appreciate the urgency of the situation and to understand the fundamental character of the Ukrainian National Movement.

(Sgd.) Representative Committee of
Ukrainian Canadians:

T. K. Pavlychenko

Julian Stechishin

Rev. Father Michael Pelech

A. Gregorovich