

to Russification and the Ukrainian language was forbidden by the decrees, ukazy, of 1863 and 1876.

The soul of the Ukrainian nation, however, could not be destroyed. From the exploited mass of peasants there emerged a great spiritual leader, the greatest poet of Ukraine, the immortal Taras Shevchenko, who advocated the dignity of the human being, freedom, truth, equality, justice and the brotherhood of man. His poetry spread like a prairie fire and was memorized by all Ukrainians. The spirit of Ukraine was revived.

When the Tsarist empire came crumbling down under its own overburdensome weight of tyranny, despotism, bureaucracy and inefficiency, the Ukrainians were the first to break out of the "prison of nations." Ukraine followed the course of self-determination. At first, the Central Rada of Kiev the Ukrainian Parliament, in September 1917, demanded a reconstruction of the empire into a free federation of autonomous republics. The so-called democratic Russian Provisional Government of Kerensky outrightly rejected this demand and upheld an indivisible, monolithic Russia. When the Bolsheviks seized power under Lenin they recognized the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1917 and declared, "Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly." This evidently was duplicity, for when the Bolsheviks failed to take control of the Ukrainian Parliament, they set up what they called a "Ukrainian government" in Kharkiv and called upon the Russian Red Army to help conquer Ukraine.

It was under these difficult circumstances that the Ukrainian Parliament, in the name of the people, proclaimed the Fourth Universal in Kiev, the capital, on January 22, 1918. This act established an independent national democratic republic of the Ukrainian nation. A year later on January 22, 1919 the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian territories, as sections had previously been under Austria-Hungary and other countries. Thus was established a united Ukrainian National Republic, which in reality restored the Ukrainian State of the Cossacks and the original state of Prince Volodimir the Great of medieval times. This year free Ukrainians are celebrating the fiftieth anni-

versary of the reunification of all Ukrainian lands within their own sovereign state.

The Ukrainian National Republic was a modern state modelled upon those of the western world. It recognized the highest principles of democracy—freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, association and personal freedom. All minorities, including the Jews, were granted "national-personal" autonomy and representation in the government. The Ukrainian National Republic was the very antithesis of totalitarianism, despotism, colonialism and imperialism, and therefore has much in common with Canada.

The Ukrainian state should have received the recognition of the Western Allies, who unfortunately applied the Wilsonian principle of the self-determination of nations only to central Europe—Germany, Austria and Turkey. The principle of self-determination was not applied to the Russian empire. The communist regime continued the policy of an indivisible monolithic Russia under the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and crushed by force the many independent states that had emerged after the fall of tsardom, including Ukraine. By failing to support the new national states, the western powers allowed communism to win in the Russian empire, and the principles of Russian imperialism, colonialism and totalitarianism to continue on a larger scale. Thus, the U.S.S.R. emerged as the largest colonial power in the world and the greatest threat to western life, democracy and freedom. The western world could have prevented the restoration of Russian colonialism at the end of the First World War, by having recognized the freedom of the captive nations. Today we are facing the grim consequences: constant warfare of the cold war and the non-achievement of peace.

The acts of January 22, 1918 and January 22, 1919 are celebrated annually by the free Ukrainians throughout the world, including our Ukrainian citizens of Canada. These acts marked the victory of principles now written in the charter of the United Nations, of which Canada is a signatory. Free Ukrainians and the free people of all the subjugated nations of the Soviet Russian empire and its satellites will continue to celebrate their independence days and impress upon the western world that freedom is indivisible. The principles of the United Nations must be applied by all the other members, to the Soviet Union, which is a member, and self-determination, complete