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D. Kravets

ORCID: 0000-0002-1963-9678

*Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv,
Lviv Polytechnic National University*

Д. Кравець

*Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника,
Національний університет «Львівська Політехніка»*

SOVIETIZATION OF WESTERN UKRAINE (1939–1941) IN THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE UKRAINIANS IN THE USA

*Радянізація Західної України (1939–1941)
у громадській думці українців у США*

The paper deals with the attitude of American Ukrainians in 1939–1940 towards the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine at the beginning of World War II. The public opinion of Western countries regarding the events of 1939–1941 needs additional study and exploration. The research is based on the articles published in the US press and journals (both American and Ukrainian) regarding the issue of the Soviet occupation, as well as the archival documents of the Ukrainian institutions in Northern America, Congressional records of the United States Congress. The article describes the state of the Ukrainian diaspora in America in the 1930s, the international position of the USA at the beginning of World War II especially in the context of the neutrality act and S. Welles' declaration.

Keywords: Western Ukraine, Sovietization, Ukrainian diaspora in the US, history of the public opinion, USA-USSR relations, 1939–1941.

Громадська думка країн Заходу про доленосні для багатьох народів Східної Європи події 1939–1941 рр. потребує додаткового вивчення та актуалізації. У статті коротко охарактеризовано стан української діаспори в Америці у 1930-х рр., міжнародне становище США на початку Другої світової війни (акт про нейтралітет, декларація С. Веллеса тощо). Незважаючи на дію Закону про нейтралітет, американська громадськість усе ж цікавилася процесами на теренах колишньої Польщі 1939 р. Після офіційного визнання СРСР з боку Вашингтона 1933 р. відносини між обома країнами пожевавились, а частина громадськості в Америці сприймала СРСР як єдину альтернативу «фашистській загрозі» в Європі. Українська діаспора в США відіграла значну роль у формуванні негативного образу СРСР та висвітленні справжнього стану справ у Західній Україні під

радянською окупацією. Авторитетні американські газети «The New York Times», «The Washington Post» згадували Галичину і Волинь під «советами» лише побіжно, а натомість українські видання «Свобода», «The Ukrainian Weekly», «Народна Воля» (Скрентон), «Народне Слово» (Пітсбург) часто описували ситуацію в цьому регіоні. Активно інформувало про справи в Західній Україні та Українське бюро, що діяло у Вашингтоні у 1939–1940 рр. Хоча новоприєднані до СРСР території були ізольовані від світу, деяка правдива інформація таки доходила звідти за океан. Газети інформували американську громадськість про «фальшиві» Народні Збори Західної України жовтня 1939 р. та подальший фарс пов'язаний із входженням до УРСР, про репресії радянських спецслужб, антирелігійну кампанію й трансформації в економіці. Українці Америки нерідко влаштовували масові заходи в Нью-Йорку чи Вашингтоні щоб поширювати правдиву інформацію про стан справ в Україні. На такі акції запрошувались і знані американські політики та журналісти. Дискусії навколо радянської політики на колишніх польських землях точилися і у Конгресі США.

Ключові слова: Західна Україна, радянізація, українська діаспора в США, історія громадської думки, відносини між США та СРСР, 1939–1941 рр.

Transformations in Eastern Europe after the beginning of World War II still remains a promising topic in history studies. Hitler-Stalin's division of Poland and annexation of its Ukrainian territories confused people's minds in Europe and the USA during 1939–1941. The American journalists used the expression «The Phoney War» to explain not only military actions, but also public opinion of Western countries at the beginning of the War. The topic to which this paper is dedicated to is promising for both Ukrainian and American historiography. For instance, the Columbia University dissertation «The Differences in Opinion Among the Ukrainians in Chicago in Regard to the Soviet Ukraine» by J. Zadrozny¹ can be mentioned.

The objective of the presented paper is to illustrate as much as possible how the so-called «Sovietization of Western Ukraine» was presented to American-Ukrainians in real-time. In order to stay within the 1939–41 timeframe to a feasible extent, the discussion is more descriptive than analytical. Knowledge about the Sovietization has grown considerably since 1991 and thus readers may draw their own conclusions. The methodological approaches of the paper have been influenced most of all by the principle of agenda-setting theory. Agenda-setting theory describes the ability of the news media to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda. Agenda-setting theory was formally developed by Max McCombs

¹ Zadrozny J. T. The Differences in Opinion Among the Ukrainians in Chicago in Regard to the Soviet Ukraine: a Study of the Opinions, Attitudes, and Beliefs of a National Minority in the United States (Illinois). Dissertation, Columbia University. 2014.

and Donald Shaw in a study on the 1968 American presidential election. Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of the media — the ability to tell us what issues are important. Two basis assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting: (1) the press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it; (2) media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues (McCombs, M. 2005. p. 544).

Ukrainians constitute a large and influential national minority group in the United States. The huge role of the Ukrainian diaspora in forming a positive image of Ukraine is undoubted. The current war in Ukraine has highlighted that non-state actors play a larger role than ever before in this new age of warfare. Among other non-state actors, the influence of the Ukrainian diaspora is pervasive (Mulford, J. 2016, p. 90). The first wave of Ukrainian immigration to the United States started in the early 1870's and ended in 1914 with the onset of World War I. The immigrants came from one of three Ukrainian regions: Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia. The second mass immigration has often been called the «military» immigration and what it lacked in numbers, it made up in quality. Most immigrants were educated, some with college degrees. The 1920s was a period of great self-questioning and reappraisal for the Ukrainian community in the United States, both in terms of religious and political identity. The Communists grew in strength and influence as did Ukrainian monarchists loyal to the former Hetman of Ukraine, Pavlo Skoropadsky. The major question over the next decade of the Ukrainian-American history was no longer whether one was Ukrainian, but, rather, what kind of Ukrainian one was: Catholic, Orthodox, Communist, Monarchist (Hetmanist), or Nationalist. The Ukrainian National Association (UNA) was the most important and influential Ukrainian organization in the U. S. Bolstered by the «military immigration» and the rise of Ukrainian nationalism within the community, the UNA was able to continue its focus on Ukraine providing moral and financial support for people of the Ukraine (Kuropas, M. 1996, p. 67). One of the oldest and the most popular Ukrainian newspaper in the U. S. «Svoboda» («Liberty») provided the most thorough and detailed coverage of all events that took place in Ukraine (industrialization, the Great Famine, Polish pacification etc.) comparing to any other periodical in North America. Ukraine (both Soviet and Western) was featured in the press of the Ukrainian-American community almost on a daily basis. «The Ukrainian Weekly», «Narodna Volia» (Scranton) «Narodne Slovo» (Pittsburg), Bulletins of the Ukrainian Information Bureau in Washington D.C. were these periodicals that shaped the public opinion of Ukrainian diaspora during 1939–1941.

As an outcome of the Hitler-Stalin treaty (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) signed on September, 17 and meeting little or no Polish resistance, the Red Army was able to take over most Belarusian and Ukrainian-inhabited lands and thereby «reunite» them with their respective Soviet Belorussian and Soviet Ukrainian «motherlands».

Despite the Neutrality Act, the United States followed the situation in Europe after September 1939. It should be mentioned that US-Soviet relations were activated after Washington's recognition of the Bolshevik state in 1933. A famous U.S. pro-Soviet journalist Louis Fischer (1896–1970) claimed that American public opinion played a significant role in this recognition (Fischer, L. 1931, p. 28). Even earlier in the 1920s the Soviet Union looked pretty attractive for some Americans. The USSR during the years after the October Revolution became the conscience-model of the most world's intellectuals. There have been several different waves of travelers to the Soviet world. The first was romantic revolutionists, journalists such as John Reed and Lousie Bryant (Feuer, L. 1962, p. 120). For many people, Bolsheviks were the only hope against newly established fascist regimes in Europe. To those who found the Soviet dictatorship, violence and repression not unlike Mussolini's fascist regime, «The Nation» editor Oswald Villard replied that there was «this difference: the Bolsheviks are working for the good of the masses of the working people» (Feuer, L. 1962, p. 147). That explains why American publicity talked more about Hitler's occupation of Poland in September 1939 with a little mention of the Soviet invasion in former Polish Western Ukraine.

In the late 1930's, there were some signs of potential agreement between the USSR and the USA, at least in the moral fervor with which both denounced aggression. The Soviets backed President F. Roosevelt's appeals for peaceful settlement of European issues; the State Department included the Kremlin on its mailing list for declarations on world peace. However, after the Nazi-Soviet Pact, signed on August 23, 1939, relations deteriorated rapidly. With the outbreak of the Soviet-Finnish War on November 30, 1939, attempts to improve relations were frankly discarded on both sides. The United States imposed «moral embargoes» on trade with the USSR; the Soviets replied with charges that the United States was trying to spread an imperialist war. In July 1940, Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles issued a statement that strongly condemned the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union and freezing their property in this country¹. The Welles's statement says: «The people of United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force»². The Hitler-Stalin Pact put an end to many pro-Soviet thoughts in the U. S. society. One of the oldest U. S. journals, «Harpers Magazine» commented on this issue in 1941: «Pact accomplished at least one constructive result in the United States. It rudely awakened many people from their dream of Soviet dedication to peace and democracy. Scarcely three weeks later, when the Red Army attacked the doomed Poles, old shibboleths about democratic,

¹ Barnes J., Harriet M. America and Soviet Union // Far Eastern Survey. 1941. Vol. 10. №. 15. P. 172–178.

² «Welles Declaration, Department of State Press Release, 'Statement by the Acting Secretary of State, the Honorable Sumner Welles'. July 23, 1940. History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, NARA, RG 59 <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/144967>

peaceful Russia began to reappear. Stalin had invaded to stop the Nazis. Americans expected the Red Tzar to lose no time in stabbing the Nazi Fuhrer in the back»¹. For many people in the U. S., occupation of Western Ukraine was only Stalin's preparation to attack Nazi Germany. In these rapid changes of opinion toward the Kremlin, a vast confusion reigned in people's minds.

The Neutrality Acts were another reason why U. S. public opinion was so buffed by the events in Eastern Europe at the beginning of World War II. By the time war broke upon the world, the American public had presented a perfect picture of confused indecision regarding the foreign policy which the U.S. should follow. A vast majority was clear that trade should be stopped with the dictators, though even on this question, 21 percent registered «Do not know»². By the middle of September, however, only 57 percent favored the sale of planes and other war materials to England and France, though 78 percent approved the sale of food supplies. This poll was taken while Poland was being overwhelmed by Germany, and Soviet troops were marching in on the East to seal her doom. This unexpected Russian action probably confused some people³. The Blitzkrieg failed to materialize except in Poland, the Russian invasion of Poland and Hitler's «peace offensive» somewhat confused the issue, and finally, the War settled down to a long-drawn-out economic struggle. As the sense of relative security returned, opinion about military neutrality likewise dropped back to normal⁴. It should be mentioned that Germany attempted to strengthen the isolationist element in America (Bytwerk, R. L. 2018, p. 54). The U. S. Congressional Quarterly «Editorial Research Report» just before the beginning of the World War II underlined the crucial role of Western Ukraine for potential Hitler's attack on the USSR : «The easiest and direct route to the Soviet Ukraine lies through Poland. And Eastern Galicia, belonging to Poland would logically form part of future Ukrainian national state»⁵. It was with these facts in mind that famous American journalist Walter Lippman said in his syndicated newspaper column on December 10, 1938, that «It will be an operation like that on Czechoslovakia, though on a grander scale; it will again be movement «to liberate oppressed minorities». The principal oppressed minority will be the Ukrainians of Polish Galicia»⁶.

In the United States, the main sources of information about the situation in Western Ukraine after the Soviet occupation were American and Ukrainian-American media (newspapers, journals, radio). None of the U. S. newspapers had a

¹ Wolfe H. Keep an Eye on Russia // *Harpers Magazine*. 1941. Vol. 182. P. 534.

² J'acob E. Philip. Influences of World Events on U.S. Neutrality Opinion // *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 1940. Vol. 4 (March). P. 55.

³ J'acob E. Philip. Influences of World Events on U.S. Neutrality Opinion // *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 1940. Vol. 4 (March). P. 56.

⁴ J'acob E. Philip. Influences of World Events on U.S. Neutrality Opinion // *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 1940. Vol. 4 (March). P. 64

⁵ Nazi objectives in Eastern Europe // *Editorial Research Report*. 1939. Vol. 1. P. 30.

⁶ Nazi objectives in Eastern Europe // *Editorial Research Report*. 1939. Vol. 1. P. 30.

correspondent in Lviv, so their reports were mainly based on other press agencies' materials and information from correspondents in Moscow. Newspapers of the Ukrainian diaspora were more engaged in spreading information about the Soviet regime in Galicia and Volhynia, and according to Edward Hunter, «the foreign-language newspapers [*in the U. S.* — Auth.] learned how to mobilize public opinion and how to exercise political pressure» (Hunter, E. 1960, p. 21).

Speaking of the Polish–German War and the resulting occupation of Western Ukraine by Soviet forces, the «Ukrainian Weekly» (Jersey City, N. J.) in its editorial, «Poland's Undoing», of September 23, commented: «Let us hope that in the future no power that attempts to subjugate the Ukrainians, such as Soviet Russia today, will repeat Poland's tragic mistake»¹. Recalling how the victors of the last War failed to support the Ukrainian issue at the Peace Conference and how, consequently, they must pay dearly for that failure by having to fight the present War with Germany an editorial in the September 23 issue of «Ukraine» (New York) says: «Intensely nationalistic, as even American correspondents and «The New York Times» have begun to refer to them, they need only the most miserly support to begin the task of driving their occupants out»².

Ukrainian Revolution (1917–1921) activist and «Svoboda» newspaper correspondent Eugene Onatskyi underlined the critical role of diaspora in creating the right image of the situation in Ukraine. In a letter to University of Minnesota Professor Alexander Granovskyi, he insisted on collaboration with Ukrainian Informational Bureau in London. E. Onatskyi also mentioned a necessity of a press release for the United States public, which should be based on Ukrainian Central Committee³* in Krakow information⁴. Among popular Ukrainian editions in America like «Svoboda», «Narodna Volia» there was an Information Bureau in Washington established to promote Ukrainian case among U.S. community and officials (Кравець, Д. 2019). «In order to acquaint the American people with Ukraine and the movement among its people for national independence, a Ukrainian Bureau, sponsored by American citizens of Ukrainian descent, has been established in Washington. Purposes of the Bureau include diffusion of information on the history and present-day social and economic conditions of the Ukrainian people»⁵. Eugene Skotzko, director of the Bureau, said that the goal of the Bureau was to give «a true interpretation of the Ukrainian national question and work for the proper and friendly understanding of that question by the American public»⁶. It should be mentioned that the Bureau was founded by «Organization

¹ Poland's Undoing // The Ukrainian Weekly. Sept. 23. 1939. P. 1.

² Soviet Occupation of Western Ukraine // Ukrainian Bureau (Washington D. C.). 1939. № 31. P. 1

³ The Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) — Ukrainian public social welfare institution in 1939–1945 that existed in the General Government, recognized by the German authorities.

⁴ Immigration History Research Center Archives (University of Minnesota), Onatsky E. papers, Box. 42 (Лист Є. Онацького до О. Грановського від 4.11.1939).

⁵ Ukrainians Establish Publicity Bureau // The Evening Star (Washington D. C.). 24 March. 1939. P. 3.

⁶ Group Here Seeks To Make Ukraine Democratic State // The Washington Post. 25 March 1939. P. 5.

of State Rebirth of Ukraine» (ODWU) which represented a nationalist (right) movement among American Ukrainians. After the demolition of Poland by Nazi and Soviet regimes, E. Skotzko reassured U. S. officials that despite recent Polish anti-Ukrainian policy in Western Ukraine, Bureau respects the Polish right to independence. On September 13, 1939, a letter to Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, and to the Ambassadors of Great Britain and France in Washington Ukrainian Bureau director underlined: «The Ukrainians do not deny the Poland right to independence. They think that at the end of War Poland should be an independent country, yet limited to her ethnographical boundaries»¹.

On territories occupied by Soviet troops, elections for a national assembly of Western Ukraine were held on October 22, 1939. The people were encouraged to vote for a single slate of candidates who favored annexation to the Soviet Union. Four days later, under the protection of the Red Army, the assembly requested that Western Ukraine be annexed to the Soviet Union. On November 1, 1939, the request was approved by the all-union Soviet government in Moscow, which assigned Western Ukraine to Soviet Ukraine. The Soviet authorities were obliged to demonstrate some kind of legitimacy for their rule (Flewers, P. 1992, p. 9). According to «The New York Times» (TNYT) 1, 484 of 1,495 candidates were elected, including 239 women. 90% of the electorate voted for the candidates nominated by the various committees hurriedly organized by the Soviets, such as peasants committees, provisional administrations, factory workers². «TNYT» article entitled «Ukraine Votes Soviet Tie» mentioned fake assembly in Lviv and further steps of the Soviet government to incorporate Western Ukraine: «A delegation of 660 persons left Lwow to Moscow to inform the Supreme Soviet at its session of a decision of the Polish-Ukrainian populace to adhere to the Soviet Union»³. Another «TNYT» material regarding this issue also had the eloquent title «Western Ukraine Set Up»⁴. «TNYT» correspondent in Moscow G. Gedye described in details the welcoming of the Western Ukrainian delegation in the Soviet capital. Foreign newspapermen reporting these sessions of the Supreme Soviet were greatly hampered by the refusal of the Soviet authorities to allow the presence of an expert translator-stenographer⁵. That is why international journalists were using information from the Soviet official TASS press agency, and that shaped the true picture of Western Ukrainian «reunion» with the USSR.

The isolation of newly annexed Western Ukrainian territories was a serious issue for U.S. media to cover the situation there. The Soviet press, of course, was unreliable. It was more reliable to refer to the news coming from the foreign cor-

¹ Immigration History Research Center Archives (University of Minnesota), Onatsky E. papers, Box. 4. «Ukrainian Bureau in Washington. Letter to the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, and the Ambassadors of Great Britain and France in Washington. September 13, 1939».

² The Hoax Election in Western Ukraine // Ukrainian Bureau. Washington D. C. № 22. 1939. P. 3.

³ Ukraine Votes Soviet Tie // The New York Times. Oct. 30. 1939. P. 8.

⁴ Western Ukraine Set Up // The New York Times. Oct. 29. 1939. P. 27.

⁵ Gedye G. Soviet Embraces Western Ukraine // The New York Times. Nov. 2. 1939. P. 10.

respondents in the countries adjoining the USSR, intercepted across the border, as well as from the fugitives. Whatever letters from Ukraine (under the Russian rule) coming abroad have passed through Soviet censorship, and all of them betrayed a fear on the part of the writers not to say anything that would lead them before repression¹. For example, Ukrainians in Romania who were listening to Bolshevik radio broadcastings thought that the «real» Ukraine had been revived in Galicia, but new refugees from the Lviv region brought less optimistic news². In October 1939, E. Onatsky wrote to «Svoboda» newspaper editor Luka Myshuha: «Generally we do not have any proven news from that region, except Bolshevik radio broadcastings. We are absolutely sure that Polish influences on our Western lands are rooted out, but Muscovy instead about to implement»³. Western Ukraine was isolated not only from the rest of the world but even from the rest of the Soviet Union and the foreign correspondents were not allowed to go there. All news about what was going on in that part of Ukraine was received from the official Kremlin spokesman. Scranton's «Narodna Volya» informed about the newly established borders between Western Ukraine and other Soviet territories: «A pre-war border still exists because it is impossible to move between Lviv and Kyiv without special permission»⁴.

Within the new territories annexed to the Soviet Ukraine, Soviet system of government and socioeconomic organization was quickly implemented. Six new oblasts were created, industry and trade were nationalized, and within a week of its election, the National Assembly of Western Ukraine called for the confiscation of large landed estates. Before the end of 1939, about 6.7 million acres (2.7 million hectares) of land were expropriated from large landowners (mostly Poles), former Polish state officials, and churches and their monasteries. Less than half of this land (1.1 million hectares) was redistributed among landless rural dwellers and owners of farms of less than twelve acres (five hectares). The bulk of the confiscated land was given instead to the new Soviet-style state farms (28 by the summer of 1940) and, especially, to collective farms, of which reached nearly 3,000 by June 1941 (Magosci, P. 2010, p. 662). «TNYT» article based on Reuters press agency materials informed that one of the main goals on mentioned earlier National Assembly in Lviv was the approval of the confiscation of landed estates which were divided between peasants, and the nationalization of banks and large industries⁵. «Narodne Slovo» (Pittsburg) confirmed: «Communization is in process. Bolsheviks are taking peasant's lands and trying to create collective farms, Ukrainian banks, stores, and all private trading are closed»⁶. Bolshe-

¹ Conditions in Ukraine // Ukrainian Bureau (Washington D. C.). June 10. 1940. P. 3.

² Західна Україна під совітською окупацією // Народна Воля (Скрантон). 3 лют. 1940. С. 2.

³ Immigration History Research Center Archives (University of Minnesota), Onatsky E. papers. Вох. 42. Онацький Євген — лист до Л. Мишуги. 19.10.1939.

⁴ Західна Україна під совітською окупацією // Народна Воля (Скрантон). 3 лют. 1940. С. 2.

⁵ Western Ukraine. Steps for Incorporation in Soviet Republic // The New York Times. Oct. 12. 1939. P. 8.

⁶ Вибори в Західній Україні // Народне Слово (Пітсбург). 19 листоп. 1939. С. 2.

vik soldiers and officials bought everything they could reach. Purchases have been packed and delivered to their homes across the Soviet Union. The government started to confiscate such packages because things like that were destroying the image of «Soviet paradise and capitalistic hell»¹. Soviets temporarily tolerated private merchants to please the masses, but after that, lack of essentials and high prices came («... one egg in local market costs 4 rubles, and a workers day income — 7 rubles»²). Ukrainian-American journalist M. Bozhko described a letter he received from the city of Radehiv (near Lviv): «They feed us only with manifestations... huge lack of food, impossible to find any leather to repair cloth or shoes ... it's better to die than live like that»³.

The Soviet authorities wished to be viewed as the liberators of Western Ukraine from «bourgeois» Polish colonial rule; however, in an attempt to «win the hearts and minds» of the people, they initiated a policy of Ukrainianization. The bilingual schools set up in Ukrainian villages during interwar Polish rule were ukrainianized, as were the gymnasia in the larger towns and cities. The Polish university in Lviv was renamed as the Ivan Franko University and it was also ukrainianized. A branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was established. Both institutions were being staffed by some leading non-Communist scholars from the interwar period (Ivan Krypiakevych, Mykhailo Vozniak, Ilarion Svientsits'kyi). From the Soviet standpoint, ukrainianization also meant de-polonization. Consequently, all Polish cultural institutions in Lviv and other Eastern Galician towns and cities were abolished as symbols of the «feudal and bourgeois past». Aside from these institutional developments, there were also enormous demographic changes. As eastern Poland was being occupied by the Red Army in late September 1939, the initial power vacuum and calls for revenge against all symbols of Polish rule gave rise to renewed civil conflict and bloodshed between Ukrainian and Polish villagers. After the order was established, the Soviet government initiated a policy of arrests and forced deportations of all potentially unreliable elements in the population (Magosci, P. 2010, p. 661). «Svoboda» correspondent E. Onatskyi also underlined Soviet ukrainization of a region: «I do not have any news from Western Ukrainian lands except that «Dilo» newspaper been replaced by «Vilna Ukraina», M. Rudnytskyi is assigned as an editorial assistant. Among official M.P.s prof. K. Studynsky was presented. In his speech, he said that to be a citizen of Soviet Ukraine was one of his dreams, but he finished the speech with non-canonical «Glory to Ukraine»⁴. Most of the popular Ukrainian newspapers in the U.S. were anti-Soviet, so that is why they did not inform much about the spreading of the Ukrainian language in Western Ukraine.

¹ Західна Україна під совітською окупацією // Народна Воля (Скрантон). 3 лют. 1940. С. 2.

² Божко М. Вісти з Західньої України // Народне Слово (Пітсбург). 18 квіт. 1940. С. 3.

³ Божко М. Вісти з Західньої України // Народне Слово (Пітсбург). 18 квіт. 1940. С. 2.

⁴ Immigration History Research Center Archives (University of Minnesota), Onatsky E. papers, Вох. 42. Онацький Євген — лист до Л. Мишуги, 19. 10. 1939.

The Soviet Union «brought» its own institutions and practices to Western Ukraine. Everyone now had to register for an internal passport. With the registration of citizens came a military draft. Registration also allowed for the smooth pursuit of a major Soviet social policy: deportation (Snyder, T. 2010, p. 128). The deportations took place in three waves during the first half of 1940. Among the deportees were several categories of people: the interwar socioeconomic elite (mostly Poles); persons suspected of real or alleged anti-Soviet attitudes (mostly Poles and Ukrainians); government officials, police, and civil servants in former Poland (mostly Poles); villagers living along the German-Soviet demarcation line (primarily Poles and Ukrainians); small-scale tradespeople (mostly Jews); and Polish citizens who fled into the Soviet zone during the German invasion in September 1939 (mostly Jews). Of the estimated 550,000 persons in those categories deported from western Volhynia and Eastern Galicia to Siberia and other parts of Soviet Central Asia, about four-fifths were ethnic Poles. As a result of such demographic engineering, the urban centers and many rural areas in eastern Galicia lost their Polish character (Magosci, P. 2010, p. 662). «Narodna Volia» (Scranton) published a letter of a Ukrainian refugee in Romania with some details about Soviet repressions in Galicia: «For a few days only Red Army behaved decently, but after the GPU apparatus came the true nightmares began. All «public enemies» were isolated, sometimes even without open arrests. Specific people have just been told to take their I.D.'s and get ready for departure to another region of USSR»¹. One of the first steps taken by the newly arrived Soviet army in Western Ukraine after Poland's defeat was to introduce the corps of militia for the sake of «public order». The Bolsheviks deliberately selected for these service individuals with criminal leanings, capable of effectively terrorizing the population².

More news about Soviet repressions came in 1940. Pittsburg's «Narodna Volia» informed: «In Lviv, all prisons are full. In recent times, more Polytechnic students and members of the Ukrainian student movement in Lviv have been arrested... Former membership in the pre-war Ukrainian organizations is already a reason for the arrest. It is reported that prof. Rakovsky and Ukrainian law theorist V. Starosolsky were arrested for the second time»³.

Likewise, in the USSR anti-religion campaign was one the main tools of Sovietization. Although neither of the traditional Ukrainian churches was destroyed, their influence was increasingly undermined by the new Soviet authorities. Regarding the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, the authorities tried through various administrative means to weaken the role of the institution and its very popular leader, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi (Magosci, P. 2010, p. 664). A couple of Basilian order monks who managed to cross the Soviet-German border informed

¹ Західна Україна під совітською окупацією // Народна Воля (Скрантон). 3 лют. 1940. С. 2.

² News from Western Ukraine // Ukrainian Bureau (Washington D. C.). Jan. 27. 1940. P. 3.

³ Вісті з Західної України // Народне Слово (Пітсбург), 1 серп. 1940. С. 4.

the American public about Bolsheviks' atheism agitation. «Western Ukrainian youngsters asked those agitators uncomfortable questions and forced them to leave. Even among Red Army soldiers were a lot of religious peoples»¹. Despite Soviets forced people to close churches, many agreed to pay additional taxes to keep local churches and priests from closure and arrests. People were still visiting churches and did not care about Soviet agitation².

The isolation of Western Ukraine from the rest of the world caused some fake news. For example, the «Vatican's secretary of state confirmed the report that the head of the Greek Catholic Church, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, has been murdered in Lviv by the Soviets»³. This report was reposted by many other newspapers in the U. S. Ukrainian catholic newspaper «America» published a memoirs of American journalist O. MacCormick who personally met Metropolitan Sheptytsky in 1938⁴. Popular «Svoboda» instead reposted the information about deportation of A. Sheptytsky to Russia⁵. Metropolitan was familiar with the U. S. public because he has been to America in 1922. A. Sheptytsky personally pleaded with President H. Harding on behalf of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian Church during his visit to this country.

Communist and pro-Soviet press in the U.S. advocated for USSR policy toward Western Ukraine. There wasn't anything American in them in those media except their address. They represented a sector of the foreign-language press in the United States about which the American public was generally ignorant and unconcerned because the communist organs were small and few. But they were coordinated, each in a different language and in a different industrial sector that shows a tactical selection of publishing areas, those most highly dangerous to American security. There was a pink sector of the press, infiltrated by communism, as well as the small Red press, whose importance is derived from conspirational connections (Hunter, E. 1960, p. 22). American pro-Soviet press marked all liberal Ukrainian groups as «fascists» playing on well-known fears in Western societies. For instance, New York magazine «The Hour» used such expressions as «Pro-Nazi Ukrainian-American Newspaper, «Svoboda», «ODWU and the Hetman in the United States; these twin fascist-Ukrainian bands», «They presented themselves as patriotic American citizens. As intended proof of their anti-Nazi inclinations, they formed a committee with the professed purpose of 'aiding the Allies»⁶. Pro-Soviet organizations Ukrainian Workers Union and Ukrainian

¹ Всюди «Свобода». Монахи-втікачі оповідають про Західну Україну // Народне Слово (Пітсбург). 18 січ. 1940. С. 2.

² Божко М. Вісти з Західньої України // Народне Слово (Пітсбург). 8 лют. 1940. С. 2.

³ Soviets Murdered Metropolitan Sheptytsky // Ukrainian Bureau. Washington D. C. № 22. Nov. 11. 1939. P. 3.

⁴ Американська кореспондентка про Митрополита Шептицького // Америка (Філадельфія). 7 листоп. 1939. С. 2.

⁵ Вивезення митрополита Шептицького до Росії. Свобода. 7 жовт. 1939. С. 1.

⁶ Ukrainian Fascists in U.S. Army // The Hour (New York). Jan. 4. 1941. P. 2.

Workers Bookstore (New York) published a book «Liberated Western Ukraine and American Ukrainians»¹. The authors accused critics' of the USSR in spreading rumors and fake news. Despite that «The Hour» was a marginal periodic still, its anti-Ukrainian materials were mentioned during U. S. Congress debates in 1940².

American Ukrainians spread information about Western Ukraine not only using press publications, but they also organized a few public events dedicated to the situation in the Soviet-occupied zones. 3000 Ukrainians and Americans went on record November 26, 1939, as opposed to the Nazi-Soviet invasion and occupation of Western Ukraine. At the mass protest rally in Cooper Union Hall in New York (where Abraham Lincoln once pleaded the cause of the enslaved people). The rally was sponsored by the Joint Committee of Ukrainian American Organizations of Greater New York, consisting of more than 40 organizations. Speakers were Ludwig Lore, liberal columnist of «The New York Times Post», Roger Shaw, author and foreign editor of «Current History Magazine», Dmytro Halychyn, secretary of the Ukrainian National Association, Walter Dushnyck, editor of the «Ukraine» and «The Trident», Stephen Shumeyko, editor of «The Ukrainian Weekly», Roman Lapica, director of the Ukrainian Press Service and others³. Another rally was held on May 24, 1940, in Washington. 805 delegates representing 1425 Ukrainian organizations from every locality in the United States participated in an imposing Ukrainian-American National Congress. The Congress was sponsored by the central Ukrainian organizations, and all the political and non-political groups, without exception, took part in it. The purpose of this gathering of the delegates was to voice the desire of the Ukrainian Nation in Europe. Outside of the numerous Ukrainian speakers, short speeches were also delivered by a good number of the United States Senators and Representatives, namely, Sen. Davis and Sen. Guffey of Pennsylvania (11 in general)⁴.

The U. S. officials and M. P.s had no doubt about the repression policy of the Soviet Union on newly annexed territories of Western Ukraine. A Wisconsin congressman Stephen Bolles during one of his speeches in Congress, declared: «My colleagues of the House, can we longer be wedded to Muscovite barbarism or the butchery of Stalin? I ask the Committee on Foreign Relations to make an early report on that resolution and that we are given the opportunity to vote upon it promptly. [Applause]»⁵. Well-known journalist and Minnesota congressman Harold Knutson attacked some pro-Soviet orientation in American public agenda: «The American people have branded the invasion an act of unjustified and brutal aggression. The action against Poland was equally unjustified, and those

¹ Визволена Західна Україна і Американські українці. Нью-Йорк, 1939.

² Congressional Record. Proceedings and debates of the 76th Congress. Third Session. Vol. 86. Part 11 (September 7, 1940 — September, 30, 1940). P. 1238.

³ Protest Rally Held in Cooper Hall, New York, Nov. 26 // Ukrainian Bureau. (Washington D. C.), Dec. 9, 1939. P. 3.

⁴ Ukrainian Congress held in Washington // Ukrainian Bureau (Washington D.C.), Jun. 10. 1940. P. 1.

⁵ Congressional record. Proceedings and debates of the 76th Congress. Third session. Vol. 86. Part 1 (January 3, 1940- February, 7, 1940). P. 290.

who are responsible for these acts of rapacious aggression will never be able to convince the world that they were justified by military and political necessity»¹.

In the presented paper, we briefly described real-time public opinion of Ukrainian community in the U. S. toward Soviet policy in Western Ukraine. What was really happening in Western Ukraine, how was the «election» conducted, how does the bulk of the Ukrainian population receive the Soviets and their order — no one in America really knew. Most of the American media in 1939–1941 analyzed A. Hitler’s actions in Europe with little information about the USSR role in starting the global war. Even during debates in U. S. Congress, Germany was mentioned much more times than the USSR threat. That is why the American-Ukrainian media resources were one of the most reliable sources of information about events that were going on in Western Ukraine during 1939–1941. All of Ukrainian American organizations (except communists) criticized Soviet policy practices and tried to report all available information.

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I. С. Міронова

ORCID: 0000-0002-3039-742X

*Чорноморський національний університет
імені Петра Могили*

С. Ю. Сургова

ORCID: 0000-0002-3840-2924

*Чорноморський національний університет
імені Петра Могили*

I. Mironova

Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University

S. Surhova

Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University

СТАНОВИЩЕ ДЕПОРТОВАНИХ У ТРАНСНІСТРІЮ РОМІВ (НА МАТЕРІАЛАХ ГОЛТСЬКОГО ТА ОЧАКІВСЬКОГО ПОВІТІВ)

*The Situation of the Deported Roma to Transnistria
(Based on Materials from Goltsky and Ochakovsky Districts)*

Дослідження присвячено становищу ромів на території Голтського та Очаківського повітів губернаторства Транснїстрія у 1942–1944 рр. Установлено, що ці повіти були місцями найбільшої концентрації депортованих ромів з Румунії, Бессарабії та Буковини. Висвітлено особливості системи організації праці депортованих ромів румунськими окупантами у «трудовах таборак» зазначених повітів; реконструйовано фрагменти повсякденного