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Whose World Is It?

> We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God.
>
> **PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**
> (Third Inaugural, Jan. 20, 1941).

Twenty-one years ago America turned its back on Europe. In vain President Wilson pleaded that sooner or later it would have to face the facts. Today we are confronted with the same choice that America decided negatively then: whether to strive to influence world events for the next century or more by acting quickly, decisively and boldly as we acted in 1933, in the words of President Roosevelt, to break the back of the depression; or whether to accept the advice of those who seek to hem this mighty land into a corner of the world map, strip it of its foreign trade, sap its influence in international affairs and relegate it to a position of some small, backward, illiterate helpless State of one-tenth its size.

And we mean Lindbergh, Dr. Hutchins, Hugh Johnson, Hanford NacNider, Joseph P. Kennedy, Verne Marshal, Senator Taft, Senator Wheeler, Representative Fish and a host of others with whose pessimistic, isolationist, timorous view of the state of affairs we cannot and will not accept because it is the negation of Americanism. Loyal Americans all, they want, however, to screen America off from the world. Un-

questionably patriotic, they seem to have lost that spirit that drove the pioneers into the wilderness to fight for a finer life. Our parents, who came thousands of miles to a strange land in their quest for happiness, are more like those pioneers than these native Americans who see no future for America other than a selfish, introverted, isolated existence that may be advisable for San Marino, but is certainly ridiculous and cowardly for the greatest productive nation on the face of the earth.

We Americans of the second generation, who still have, as it were, one leg in the muck that is Europe, seem to be placed in a position of having to remind these native pessimists of their own strength. And remind them we shall.

How big and strong is this Nazi juggernaut on glass wheels which we seem to fear? Here are a few incontrovertible facts:

Germany's Feet of Clay

Germany is SMALLER than the State of Texas (225,258 square miles as against 262,398 square miles).

It has slightly more than half the population of the United States and possessions (79,375,281 against 150,621,231).

It has roughly 43 per cent of the national income of the United States ($31,888,800,000 in 1938 as against $74,000,000,000 for the U. S. in 1940).

In the last year before the war, 1938, Germany exported only two-thirds as much as the United States ($2,116,744,000 as against $3,056,746,000).

Steel production, the yardstick of the strength of any nation, is even more revealing: Germany produced 29,617,000 metric tons of steel in 1939 as against the U. S. figure of 52,799,000 gross tons.

And most sensational of all, Germany built only an estimated 360,400 vehicles (cars and trucks) in 1939, as against 3,732,718 for this country.

Thus Germany is cut down to its true proportions when seen in the light of a few statistics. No nation is stronger than its productive capacity, and Germany is certainly no match for the United States in this.

By converting some of our vehicular construction into aircraft manufacture, we can not only outstrip Germany but the entire Axis several times over. For example, the C.I.O. has prepared a plan by which the auto plants can produce 500 pursuit planes a day. That would mean 150,000 a year working six days a week. Germany is reported building 3,000 planes a month maximum or a yearly total of 36,000. Lindbergh thinks Germany has a capacity of 60,000 planes a year. But 150,000 planes is by no means our capacity, for by utilizing all the aircraft plants and by restricting vehicular construction, 500,000 planes (as Eddie Rickenbacker recently suggested) is not impossible.

There is no reason why America can't put its entire Army into the air. Given time, we can make obsolete even Hitler's panzer divisions which may do 100, 200 or 300 miles a day. The American Army of the future, if this war lasts long enough, should be able to take to the air half a million strong and streak 300 miles an hour or 7,200 miles a day — which is far enough to reach the southern tip of Argentina, or Berlin.

Can Hitler outbuild us?

Not if he has to depend on himself alone.

The Aid-to-Britain Bill

The debate on the President's aid-to-Britain bill has clarified the issues. Now that everyone has spoken his piece and is starting to repeat, let Congress pass the bill so that we can really begin helping England instead of selling it everything at twice the regular price.

Our only complaint is the tactics some Administration supporters are using, apparently with the commendable intention of speeding the bill through Congress and winning the people's support. The first such method was calling the act "a bill to further promote the defense of the United States" when it is a measure to aid nations resisting aggression. And the second was numbering the bill 1776 in the House. Apparently some too clever politician forgot the meaning of 1776, the year America set about officially to send the Redcoats with their pompadours and perfumed women scuttling back to London. Do not misundertand. We support the bill as it stands, for the President has as much power to get us into war now without additional laws, if that is the only argument against it. What we oppose is national self-deception. America is too big for that.

Let us not clutter up the issue with such nonsense as Britain is vital to America (we grew up as a nation without Britain's aid, and in fact, despite its continuous opposition). Let us not say we must help England because we cannot defend ourselves alone against Hitler's little Nazi band of swivel-armed gunmen. England's Navy has never been our first line of defense, it is not now, and we hope we never will become so weak that it will have to be. And let us not be so frightened at our supposed weakness that we have to import foreigners to tell us we need "union with England now" to preserve our civilization (as happened in New York recently).

Let us state firmly that we want to help England because the English are our friends, and that we want to see Germany, Italy and Japan defeated because they have characterized themselves by word and deed as our intransigent enemies. And let us then proceed to lend every aid despite the consequences. Away with the selfish argument that we ought to help England for our own narrow, petty interests. Self-preservation is not yet involved and probably wouldn't be even if England fell. We

want to help England in order to restore the supremacy of the English-speaking peoples in the world and to rejuvenate the spirit of liberalism that has been steadily reduced to a plaything of intellectuals devoid of meaning for the masses during the past forty years.

We must help England so that we shall have a partner in rebuilding the world according to our taste and not according to the pagan tyranny of Hitler, the Asiatic oppression of Stalin or the militaristic despotism of Japan, whose "new world order" was old when Egypt ruled a slave empire based on "racial superiority." For the simple reason that we are strong and might still makes right in politics as well as in nature, we should take it upon ourselves to construct our own "world order" based on the freedom of the individual, which Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler describes as the essence of liberalism.

The Why of Dictatorships

We must remember that Germany, Russia, Italy and Japan are dictatorships because their more civilized neighbors refused to help the people gain actual control or to maintain control of their own governments. They are totalitarian States because they have never learned any other way of life. Each has a background of centuries of despotism. The proof of their lack of an understanding of democracy, which is our new world order, is easy to find. The German Reichstag passed the Enabling Act empowering Hitler to govern by decree and thus voted itself out of existence. The Russian people permitted the Bolsheviks to overthrow the more or less democratic regime of Kerensky. Italy accepted Mussolini when a few machine guns would have turned his March on Rome into another Caporetto. And only this month the Japanese Parliament agreed to relinquish its rights to question the Government on policy. (Can anyone imagine searing-tongued Senator Carter Glass saying: "Frank, you can do anything you please from now on. I'll keep my mouth shut."?) These States have never had real democracy. But their politicians made the mistake of describing it as such, and their people, believing them, came to hate democracy as a source of their unhappiness. With England and America ruling the world, the people of these coutries can be inspired to straighten their backs and face the sun. Then no dictatorship could ever again chain them to a caisson's wheel.

We had a splendid chance of doing just that after the World War, but America withdrew into its shell. France, ruling the League of Nations with an iron hand, froze temporary injustice into a permanent status quo. (The fruitless appeals of the Ukrainians under Soviet and Polish oppression to the League are a case in point.) And France, whose democracy was so inadequate that its governments invariably

had to ask for power to govern by decree, perished as a result. France will undoubtedly rise again, but the France of tomorrow will have to be vastly different from the immoral, penny-pinching, debt-defaulting France of yesterday to be a force in the world.

Forward, America!

To summarize: Why should we run before every unshaved, hair-lipped gangster who comes along with a gun in his hand? Who is Hitler and his corpulent, medal-encrusted satellites to talk about race superiority and domination of the world? Since when did little Japan, as big as Montana and not half as tough, get the sign to establish a Yellow Empire in Asia? What have Fascism, Nazism and the little cross-eyed Japs who talk so much about leading others contributed to world civilization, education, the arts and sciences or even industry during the past decade? Hitler has shown that by regimenting 70,000,000 people for eight years, he could overthrow the Government of France in 37 days of actual fighting. Bismarck needed only 28 days of open warfare to capture Emperor Napoleon III. Mussolini had 18 years to work at his own special brand of Fascism, and he has yet to make his people fight when they don't want to (and more credit to them). And the myopic Emperor of Japan, whose ancestors came right down from the sun (probably on a sliver of lightning) — after four years in China, his brave assassins of civilians have succeeded only in conquering a few ports and inland cities and killing a million Chinese and are now proceeding to withdraw to easier conquests.

Are these the men we are going to accept as equals?

Is it going to be their world or ours?

It's about time we looked into these dens of thieves on both sides of the ocean.

It's about time we took it upon ourselves to do a little of our own establishing of world orders.

America, the fusion of a hundred nationalities, the melting pot of generations of the earth's most courageous and enterprising people, the culmination of Confucius's dream of a democracy based on equal justice for all, must climb out of the mire of indifference, take a look around at the mess things are in, roll up its sleeves and drive all the spittle-drooling, mustache-drooping, back-alley born racketeers, whether Russian, German, Italian or Japanese, out of the homes of civilized people.

As the first step, let us lend real aid to those who are now engaged in this task,

Only thus can we insure peace for more than one generation.

Only thus can we help all oppressed people, including the Ukrainians, to become free.

Roman Lapica

Alexander Archipenko

By EDWARD SEREDYNSKY

(Conclusion of The Story of Ukrainian Art.)

Modern art today is fashionable. An exhibition at the Museum of Modern art draws record-breaking crowds. Whereas in 1910 the followers of modern art were few, today their number is legion. Nevertheless, though modern art is of our time, it must be restated anew to each generation. Therefore Alexander Archipenko, as a pioneer in modern art, again attracts our attention.

ALEXANDER ARCHIPENKO
A Japanese earthquake landed him in America.

Alexander Archipenko, like Ilya Repin, is of Ukrainian birth. Perhaps the only other point of similarity is in their approach toward art. Both were leaders of revolt. Repin was at his best when he protested against the stringent, nationalistic Russian spirit. Archipenko is at his best when he struggles to free himself from the restrictions of academic world art.

Repin, however, had his limitations. He became confused after coming in contact with world art in Paris. Archipenko, on the other hand, threw Paris and the entire art world into confusion. Archipenko is the first artist of Ukrainian birth to gain such world-wide attention and fame.

Alexander Archipenko was born in May, 1887, in Kiev. At an early age, he displayed the traits of individuality and vitality that were to appear later in his work. He refused to follow a career in engineering planned for him by his father, who was a mechanical engineer teaching at the Polytechnic Institute in Kiev. In 1902 he entered the art school in Kiev. Beginning with the study of painting, Archipenko changed soon to the study of sculpture. In 1905 he was expelled for objecting to the "old-fashioned academicism" of his teachers.

Impatient and recalitrant as Archipenko was in his youth, he was still able to retain the more healthful elements of his environment. "All that I learned of art in Kiev," he told me, "I had to learn myself. There existed no museums nor such opportunities for an art education as exist today for children in New York City." Of Byzantine art that he saw in Kiev. Archipenko says: "It attracted me — hypnotized me — but did not influence my later work." Of the books that he read in his early childhood, Andreyev's use of symbolism in literature made the greatest impression. "Since that time, I looked always for the deeper significance of life and tried to express its spirit."

During his childhood, Archipenko came in contact with the work of his father, the engineer, and his grandfather, the painter. From his father, Archipenko gained a taste for experimentation. His father was continually planning various projects and working on inventions. It is from him that Archipenko developed a feeling for the mathematical relationship of objects in space. Archipenko insists, however, that no one consciously trained him in these matters and his conclusions were derived by a process of independent reasoning.

In 1906 Archipenko spent a short time in Moscow. Moscow, the aggrandizer, but not the creator, could offer him nothing more than he had learned in Kiev. We find Archipenko next in Paris. Still the student and not the master, Archipenko studied for two weeks at the L'Ecole des Beaux Arts. Rodin, the master sculptor and teacher of his generation, held no attraction for young Archipenko. Of Rodin, Archipenko states that his method was "to throw clay on a pedestal and form the material with his fingers, and whole reminded me of dough thrown on a table."

The Louvre Art Museum became his school and teacher. There he studied not the academic classic art but the ancient archaic art of Greece, Hellenistic and Byzantine art. During his studies in Paris, Archipenko was aware of the "oppres—

sion of this vast art heritage from the past and I continually worked to free myself. My early work shows some traces of the past. but I was able, in the end, to achieve my own personal style."

In 1909 he ventured forth and presented his work with the Independents at the Autumn Salon in Paris. His display created "caustic comment and stormy controversy" and his succeeding exhibitions have intensified the turmoil. In 1910 he parted company with the Independents and sponsored his own one-man shows in Hagen, Berlin and other cities of Germany. After the war he continued exhibiting in Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Czechoslovakia. In 1923 he came to the United States. In fifteen years he held forty-five exhibitions throughout the country. He came to America rather accidently. Invited to appear with his own exhibition in Japan, an earthquake intervened and his show was postponed. Rather than return to Europe by way of Siberia, Archipenko chose the route through America. During his journey, he was attracted by life here and decided to remain. He now conducts a winter school in New York and a summer school in the Catskill Mountains in Woodstock, N. Y.

About New York City, Archipenko comments: "It is impossible to work here. I don't know why, but I know of no artist who can work in New York. They work, it is true, some day and night, but at only commercial or decorative art. No fine art, of importance, is produced in this city. I know many excellent European artists but they can't work here. It is like transplanting a tree from the warm earth and placing it in water. It cannot grow. The best work I ever did in this country was in California, where I did quantities. In New York City I have not been able to do a thing for two years, except some minor pieces. I hope to return to California next year and continue my work."

Archipenko the Artist

Archipenko is never superficial and always profound. His art appeals more to the intellectual than to the sensual nature of man. And he is aware of the difficulties of the artist working in such directions in America. "My work is better understood in Europe." he says. "The American mind is impatient and can see nothing in abstract art. Even students and artists here want only to learn quickly and produce just as quickly something that has practical use or that appeals only to the practical mind. In my school and in my lectures at various universities in this country, I teach abstract art, but I give my students complete freedom of interpretation. I think it is a mistake for European instructors here, such as the Bauhaus School in Chicago, to compel their students to follow the principles of modern art as taught in Europe. They must make proper allowances for the American mind and

psychology. Americans are not yet ready to understand abstract art."

In discussing his study, "The Boxer," perhaps the earliest example of abstract art in sculpture, Archipenko patiently explained his viewpoint. "The mathematician uses symbols to express abstract ideas, and I am doing the same thing in art. Just as the mathematician manipulates familiar symbols to arrive at new ideas, I use known materials but in new arrangements together with new ideas to arrive at something that has never been done before." He agrees, with reservations, that this work could be called a study of rhythm in the third dimension.

"THE BOXER"
Terra cotta, 1913.

"The Boxer" was completed in 1913 and was hailed by the German critic, Dr. Erich Wiese,[1] as the successful solution of the threefold problem of plastic art — the problem of "creating, form and modeling of space." Another critic, Hildebrandt, describes "The Boxer" as the most abstract and most accomplished work in pure plastic art of our time.

Much of Archipenko's early work in Europe was in abstract art. He had to struggle coutinuously to make his ideas understood. New ideas always meet with resistance because of a mental lag between the old and the new, as Dr. Margaret Mead points out in connection with social progress. We are living in an age changed physically by the machine — science and industry — and changed intellectually by the abstract theories of Einstein. But though we may be modern also in the clothes we wear, the food we eat and the materials we use, our ideas are still old.[2] The modern artist like Archipenko faces this difficulty of interpreting the new world to people whose conception of art dates back to the old romantic and classic periods.

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[1] Wiese, Erich. Alexander Archipenko. Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst,

[2] For further analysis of this thesis see An Appreciation of Archipenko, by Ivan Goll, and Modern Art, What? Why? by Anita Brenner, The New York Times Magazine, Dec. 8, 1940.

The comparison is often made unjustly that Archipenko is to sculpture what Picasso is to painting or what James Joyce is to writing. Often critics go so far as to say that Archipenko "is imitating Picasso." To all such statements, Archipenko says: "They are untrue. It is ridiculous. You would not say that because Picasso used planes to express the features of a face that Picasso is African. Yet that is the method used in Negro art."

Picasso, in his painting, eliminates until he reduces the object to its simplest geometric form. Archipenko, in his sculpture, molds geometric forms and shows a distinctive feeling for the mathematical relationship of objects in space. But he arrives at his results independently and through his own individual reasoning. "You cannot work with wood as you can with metal. Glass is different from paper. And when you use these materials you must understand their proper texture and relationship to each other and their position in space."

Turning to a photographic reproduction of his work modeled in wood and metal, Archipenko emphasized how he arrived at the final figure by following these principles. Going through his studio, he indicated how he used the figure X in some of his work. Here and there stood a bronze torso, broad at the top and the base but narrow in the center. The figure was not merely a mechanical production based on the figure X but possessed a warm vital quality. When he came to his statue, "Hero," Archipenko vigorously denied the charge made by the director of the Museum of Modern Art that it was a direct imitation of Picasso and explained in detail how he created the work.

Popular with the public is the series of female bronze figures. S. J. Bulliet writes in "Apples and Madonnas": "Though much of his work is beyond grasp of laymen — even of artists and connoisseurs — so expert is his technique, so flawless his taste that he forced into popular appreciation a series of nude female figures, elongated beyond nature, but so marvelously beautiful as pure form that even the more obtuse are hypnotized into forgetting comparison with bodies of flesh and blood."

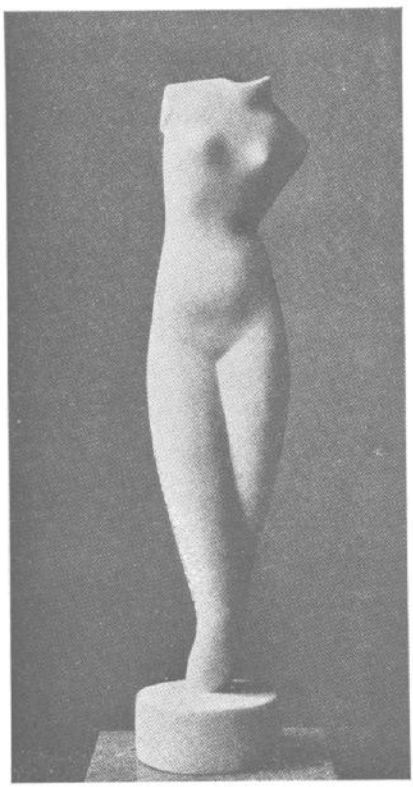
Only now is the public beginning to realize the influence of Archipenko's style in figure representation. Today modern decorative drawing, modern frescoes and modern faience sculpture employ the same proportions as that introduced first by Archipenko.

Archipenko the Discoverer

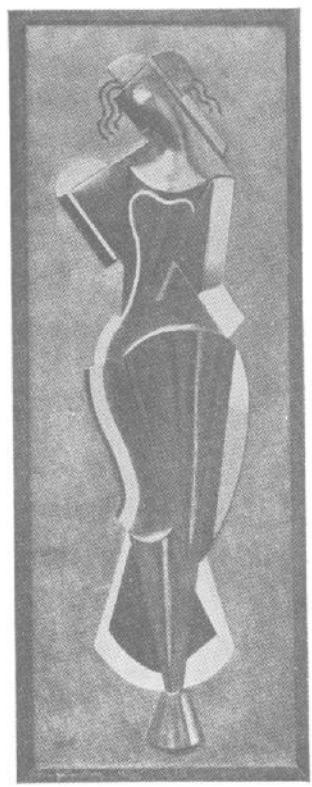
The most impressive quality of Archipenko's work is his gift for experimentation. He uses wood, glue and metal in the same figure. He works with the same ease in bronze, silver and faience (fine, richly colored glazed earthenware). He uses

materials that have long been forgotten and relegated to "dead art." But his methods are distinctly his own.

It was this constant experimentation with all types of material and his searching for new possibilities of arrange-



"WHITE TORSO"
Marble, 1916.



"WOMAN"
Decorative Panel
in three metals.

ment that led him to the invention of sculpture painting. He constructed the Columbus egg, a plastic work, using every possible material: wood, glass, sheet iron and papier--mache. But he did not stop there. He exercised his ingenuity in coloring these materials and thus arrived at sculpture painting.

"Sculpto-painting is the union of form with color," he explains. "There is no influence at all of Egyptian sculpture on sculpto-painting. The Egyptians used color on their statues but their conception of color and modeling were altogether different. For instance, I do not paint a face pink as would naturally be done. Instead, I try to discover the spirit — the

hidden meaning — behind the work and express it."

Tracing with his finger, Archipenko pointed out how the blue paint on a polychrome terra-cotta figure mingled and united with the form. Carefully he showed in several figures how color is used to bring out certain qualities in sculpture not possible before. "Color cannot be used indiscriminately," he emphasized. "It must take into account the texture, line, the material and form." To Archipenko sculpto-painting is "fundamental truth in art, for no object in nature is entirely colorless." Sculpto-painting remains one of his distinctive discoveries.

In 1924 Archipenko invented movable painting, called "Archipentura," an electric apparatus to display a painting "in real action." He made this discovery through his concepts of life and painting, he says. He states: "There are three fundamental concepts of the reflection of life in art. One supposes that life in the art of painting consists in fixing that which the eye sees. The other declares that fixing the emotions on the canvas expresses life. The third holds that life in art consists in the fixation of the painter's logical conclusions. I point out a new concept — which does not exclude the preceding one but adds to painting, concrete energy. And since energy is life itself, Archipentura may, with justification, be termed 'living painting.'" [3]

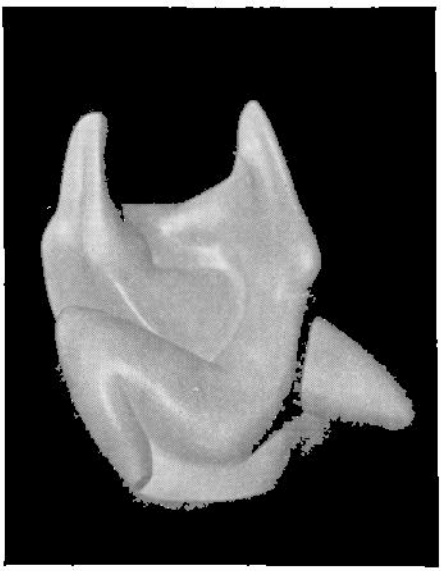
Operated electrically, the apparatus transforms an abstract painting gradually into a concrete form. This transformation brings out the features and movements of the female body, as painted by Archipenko, and gradually returns to its original abstract shape. No matter how unnatural the abstract painting may seem to the inexperienced eye, the apparatus proves that Archipenko's abstractions are the result of concentrated observation of the female form, according to Bulliet.

It is impossible to interpret all the achievements of this protean artist, for Archipenko is never content to remain at one stage. He explores to the utmost the possibilities of his material. Using various combinations of materials, he will express an abstract idea. In another figure the materials may be the same but a different idea is expressed through sculpto-painting. Archipenko goes still further. Through the use of his own unique arrangements, he will blend silver with terra-cotta. Again he may manipulate sheet iron with some other metal so as to render the plastic value. not by lighting from above, but by reflection of the materials in the statue. Here again he is preoccupied with symbolism. He seeks to create a symbol of the living being as seen in the light of actual reflection of the things which surroud it.

---

[3] Archipenko. Catalogue of Exhibition and Description of Archipentura. The Anderson Galleries, New York, 1928, pp. 3-5, 8.

More difficult to appreciate is Archipenko's technique of molding space. Sometimes he eliminates a head or breaks off an arm or a leg to produce a certain effect. In the torso studies this technique forces the eye to concentrate only on that part of the body as desired by the artist. At other times "holes" are used with an entirely different purpose in mind. Just as a convex surface has its opposite, the concave surface, and similarly in music there are notes and the opposite, silences, so, too, nothingness has an existence for Archipenko, and he uses concave surfaces, "holes," to heighten the vitality of the statue. The concave technique is another of his methods that has been widely imitated. In connection with this phase of art, what he once said is worth repeating: "Art is created for all, but all are created for art."



"CONVERSATION"
Terra cotta, 1935.

To summarize Archipenko's methods: 1. He uses all materials. 2. He develops all possible arrangements. 3. He molds space.

Archipenko's Place in Art

Archipenko declared emphatically at a Chicago banquet in 1937: "I am a Ukrainian, whether I want to or not, for hundreds of years..." His art, however, again quoting him, "is no more Ukrainian than Chinese." His art is modern and belongs to the world.

Archipenko, the man, still retains some elements of Ukrainian character. He is highly individualistic as well as industrious. When I tried to associate him with some art period or artist, he denied such connections with much the same determination of a Ukrainian who is asked: "Is a Ukrainian like a Russian or a Pole?" The Ukrainian struggles to retain his identity and individuality. Is Archipenko like Picasso? Is he Cubist? Archipenko is neither. Archipenko in art can be only Archipenko and no one else.

Archipenko is no sporadic artist. He is industrious and prolific. By 1930 no less than twenty-eight European galleries had purchased his works, and those in private collections are even more numerous. He has exhibited on three continents,

Europe, America and Asia. A listing of exhibitions, reproductions, articles and monographs on his art occupies three and a half pages in the March, 1936, issue of The Index of Twentieth Century Artists.

To classify Archipenko in modern art is useless. As soon as the art savants have decided where to place him, he moves on to a newer stage. He has been called an Expressionist, a Cubist and Futurist. He is none of these. He is the first expressionist sculptor, the first cubist sculptor, the first sculpto-painter and the first to employ different materials in one figure. He is ultra-modern.

Today Archipenko is no longer a young man. He is misunderstood and his supremacy is challenged by vociferous partisans of other artists. He feels he must always struggle in his work, for he feels a weight on his shoulders. The Ukrainian word best describing what he meant, he told me, is "hnat," literally oppression.

Yet despite this depressive outlook, Archipenko still holds his place. Of the recent exhibition of contemporary American sculpture at the Bucholz Gallery in New York City, Time wrote on Jan. 13: "Deftist sculptures exhibited were by Ukrainian-born Abstractionist Alexander Archipenko, German-born Heinz Warneke, Spanish-born Jose de Greeft..."

It is part of the irony of life that critics and the public recognize Archipenko's international reputation and significance yet are reluctant to grant him the position that should be his. As no other man Archipenko has led the way. He is a product of the technical era, capable of assimilating the past and the present and synthesizing all the theories that have been accumulating since 1910 to create a new art. Truly this is the mark of genius.

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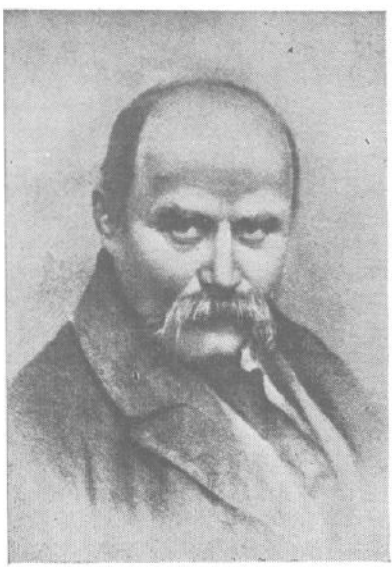
Taras Shevchenko in the Historic Perspective

By DR. GEORGE BACHUR

Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God. Tyranny and oppression always hide themselves behind grandiose slogans, euphonious titles and sublime intentions, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the white man's burden, Aryan superiority, or even such misused abstract words as democracy, justice, religion, God. Being actively opposed to all forms of oppression, the man whose memory we annually honor defied Tsarist autocracy to the end of his days. Tyranny in any form moved him deeply, and he denounced all injustice in the most forceful manner. In the face of injustice he never capitulated. His moral nature cried out against the sordid life which the majority of his people were condemned to endure. This dynamic man was Taras Shevchenko, (1814-1861) the greatest national poet of the Ukrainian nation, the product of centuries of development.



TARAS SHEVCHENKO
The Bard of Ukraine.

A Society without Masters and Slaves

Sixscore and seven years ago there appeared in Ukraine this spiritual colossus who when still in his youth sensed in the hearts of his countrymen their yearning to be free again; he embodied these yearnings, hopes, protestations in his songs, poetry, art. He felt the sufferings of his people as no one else did before him because he was one of them. To those who were meek or indifferent he transmitted his enthusiasm for freedom and bade all the underprivileged to straighten their backs and to banish their cringing attitude and submission born of long subjection to serfdom. His voice was the voice of his oppressed people. Experiencing and seeing extreme misery, grief-stricken and stirred to the depths of his being by the wanton injustice and cruelty of the feudal system un-

der which they suffered, Shevchenko poured his protests into his verses. Because of these bitter verses he was sentenced to ten years of military service! His life was not a thrilling, romantic adventure but a constant thruggle against social evils; a continuous crusade, waged earnestly with heart, brain and sinew against all that was mean, ugly and degrading in human life; an incessant battle for the happier, newer social order: a society without masters nor slaves. This is what Shevchenko stood for. And in order to understand him well, it is necessary to see him in the historic perspective and the social setting in which he grew up.

The Historic Perspective of Ukraine

In brief, the Ukrainian ethnographic territory embraces that vast plain between the Carpathians (including Carpatho-Ukraine, now under the Hungarian yoke; and the Lemko land and Kholm region, now under German occupation), the watershed of the Dnieper, and the Sea of Azov, with Lviv and Kiev as the chief intellectual centers, if there is any intellectual life left under the Soviets. The Ukrainian people, numbering about 45,000,000 persons, inhabit this land, Ukraine, situated in Southeastern Europe.

The science of man, anthropology, informs us that the Latin, the Teuton, the Slav and other groups of people found in Europe belong to the same family, the white or Caucasian race. They are called Aryans because of the common origin of their languages. "The original Slav people," according to Niederle, "arose in central Europe by a gradual linguistic and cultural division from the old Aryan or Indo-European units." [1] The Ukrainian people, the second most numerous among the Slavs, in Europe, next to Russians, occupy practically the same territories now which they inhabited in the sixth century A. D. These territories are the middle reaches of the Dniester and the Dnieper basins. Probably they reached this place seven or eight centuries before the Christian era. [2]

It was on this land that the Kiev State was established. This fact is found in the pages of political history, thus beginning with Rurik in 862. Ukrainians have a record of political history covering nearly eleven centuries. But the earliest written record about our ancestors in present-day Ukraine extends back to the sixth and seventh centuries. We know this fact from the Greek and Roman chroniclers. [3]

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[1] Niederle, Lubor, Geographical and Statistical View of the Contemporary Slav Peoples, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1910, p. 612.

[2] Robinson, Therese A. L. (Talvi, pseud.), Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations, 1850, p. 2.

[3] Zaborowski. Origin of the Slavs, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1906, (pp. 399-422).

Knowledge of National History

The great Ukrainian historian, Hrushevsky, reminds us that a man who does not know the origin and history of his people is like a lost infant, who, because he is unable to speak, cannot tell who his parents are, where his home is, or what his name is. He is "mute," "blind" and completely helpless, and being an individual without a country, without friends, when he dies, no one claims his body. A true Ukrainian who knows his national history is a man who can be proud of his national heritage and his ancestors who resisted all the calamities of conquest and who preserved their national identity to the present day. If he is not conscious of his national past, he is, from the historical and cultural viewpoint, a nonentity. We have many such nonentities who do not know who they are or if they know they are ashamed to admit their nationality. Ukrainians have a history of which every one of them should be proud. I wish to stress this point because very few nations, not to mention tribes, can long exist without a history of their own. They must have a frame of reference, a tradition, a precedent because the basis of the history of a nation is a biological phenomenon and somehow it is rooted in the soil which has nourished it.

If one is in doubt, he should study the crucial problems in American history. The American historians, writers, artists and teachers are searching desperately for solid historic ground upon which to stand. Observe the movies, read American literature, listen to American music and you will detect a distressing manifestation of a people who are searching for the metaphysical and actual basis of their national history.

In fact there appears to be less genuine democracy in the United States and Canada, other things being equal, than there is in the British Isles because America and Canada are composed of heterogeneous cultures and races. Due to this fact the privileged classes are suspicious and distrustful of those who are less fortunate and culturally different from the so-called Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Pearl Buck recently wrote that America will become a nation, for example, like France and Germany, in about one thousand years. Hugo Muensterberg, in his book of a generation ago on the United States, observed that "Americans were bound together not by a community of race — for their culture was largely borrowed; not even by a common history — for their history was short. They were bound together by the future they were building and by the confident hope they felt in it. That is, they were united by their universal optimism".[4] Ukrainians possess all those basic requisites that

[4] Nevins, Allan, "The Schoolmaster, Events," Journal of Adult Education. Oct., 1940, p. 343.

constitute a nation. A Ukrainian who is ignorant of his people's history cannot point with real pride to such great spirits as Regent Olga, Volodymyr the Great, Yaroslav the Wise, Volodymyr Monamakh, Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and many other great men and women.

The significance of such major uprisings as Khmelnitsky's revolt in 1643; the Cossack revolt led by Hetman Mazeppa in 1709;[5] the Peasant Rebellion in 1768 referred to as Haydamachyna, the War of Independence in 1918-20, and the heroic struggle of Carpatho-Ukraine against Hungary in 1939 to preserve its independence — these violent protests mean practically nothing to such a Ukrainian. A human being with these colorless characteristics can be neither a good Ukrainian nor a good American.

Democratic and Republican Practices in the Pre-Kiev State

It is an interesting fact that the Slavic language had no word to express the idea of king or emperor. For a name of these rulers recourse was made to the Scandinavian tongue, and the term "koenig" was corrupted into the Slavic ward "kniaz." Even the word "Tsar" is a Slavic corruption of the Latin Caesar, "Tsesar." What more eloquent testimony could there be to the inherently democratic character of a people than the fact that their very language had no word to express the idea of a ruler, prince, despot or dictator? The people who were averse to princes later invented a proverb in rhyme:

"Koly khud kniaz,
Tak v hriaz,"

which means: "If the prince is bad, into the mud with him."

From the ninth to the tenth century, the history of the Kiev State is a history of democratic ideas and institutions, to a very marked degree. Procopius and Maurikius, annalists of the sixth and seventh centuries, at Byzantium, comment on this. "From the remotest period," says Procopius, "the Slavs were known to live in democracies; they discussed their wants in popular assemblies or folkmotes **(viche)**." The American philosopher, John Fiske, informs us that the American "town meeting" had its origin in the Slav folkmotes. "The Slavs like liberty," writes the Emperor Maurikius, "they cannot bear unlimited rulers, and are not easily brought to submission. "The Slavs," says Emperor Leo, "are a free people, strongly opposed to any subjection."

Thus we see that the ancestors of the present-day Ukrainians were democratic. These observations were made by the Greek and Roman annalists about a thousand years before the discovery of America. Those Americans who think

[5] Douhaire, P. Peuples Tributaires de la Russie — Les Cosaques, 1869?

that democracy originated on this continent with the early colonists should be reminded of the historic facts which obtained in early Ukraine. Among the privileges of the folkmotes, **viche,** was that of choosing a ruler, and it was in connection with this right that a beginning was made in the organization of the land and the people.[6] Since their tradition was democratic, they always democratically decided on a leader to guide their country. They once decided that the hired rule of the Variags was better than unrestrained chaos which they had permitted to develop in their land. In their difficulty, as tradition has it, they sent an embassy, or a committee, to the north, the early Sweden, to employ a prince to keep order among them. In response to this invitation, they received not one prince, but three, the brothers, Rurik, Sineus and Truvor. These three Variags assumed the leadership over the Slavs in 862. Rurik took charge of Novgorod, the brothers occupied neighboring principalities. It is from Rurik that we get a dynasty of capable statesmen such as Olga (Helene), Volodymyr the Great, Yaroslav the Wise, Volodymyr Monomakh and others.

It is important to indicate that the Variags, the ancestors of modern Swedes, came to the original Kiev State not as conquerors but as guests, leaders and co-partners. Present-day anthropology shows that the autochthonous Slavs in Ukraine until the end of the fifteenth century were predominantly Nordic, i. e. long-headed individuals with light hair and blue eyes. Coon says, "If the evidence of literary sources makes the early Slavs Nordic in stature and pigmentation, that of osteology makes them the same in the material and morphological sense. In brief, all of the earliest Slavic skeletal material, dating mostly from the eighth to the eleventh centuries falls by groups, if not as individuals, into one or more of the Nordic categories already found to be characteristic of the Iron Age of Indo-European speaking people."[7] Finally, Coon adds, "Most of the Slavs retained their original dolicephalic cranial form until at the earliest the thirteenth, and at the latest the fifteenth century."[8] This revelation may throw some light on the fact that there was no conquest of the early Ukrainian tribes by the Variags; and even to this day there are friendly relations between the Swedish and the Ukrainian scholars. The fact that these early Slavs loved freedom and independence has been substantiated by numerous studies.[9]

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[6] Leary, Daniel Bell, Education and Autocracy in Russia. 1919.

[7] Coon, Carleton Steven, The Races of Europe, New York, the Macmillan Company. 1939, p. 218.

[8] Ibid. p. 220.

[9] Par M. Auguste Vinquesnee. L'Histoire Generale des Peuples Slaves. Lyon: Imprimerie el Litographie de Pinier, 1865.

It was no easy task to govern the early Ukrainians, the rebellious boyars. These Slavs did not fear their princes. Tradition asserts that once in the principality of Halych the burghers seized their prince, killed his favorites, cheerfully burned his mistress alive and compelled him to swear that in the future he would live with his own wife. "One is enough," they cried. It may be stated that the family ties of the Ukrainian people have been and still are very strong. It is only in recent decades that certain foreign ideas and practices, as, for example, divorce, began to invade Ukrainian family life; and from all indications they are detrimental to Ukrainian national solidarity.

Social Conditions in Russia

Until recent times, in Eastern Europe and a hundred years ago in Central Europe, the peasant meant nothing politically; to the governments he was a source of revenue and of troops, and to the usurers an object of exploitation. Such was the state of affairs, prior to 1861, in Russia, which was a slave state. The distressing condition of serfs under Tsarism has been vividly depicted for Western readers by Nicholas Gogol in his novel, **Dead Souls.** Serfs were called "souls." Not unlike President Roosevelt's "one third of the American people ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed," about one third of the whole Russian population was in slavery. "Russia, against her will and despite her idleness, was moving to become a modern commercial state, but a third of her population was human chattels and could be bought and sold almost like ordinary merchandise (Graham)."

Village serfs were, in fact, real estate; household serfs were actually personal property. The former were peasants, laborers or rural craftsmen; the latter were servants. The ignominy of slavery in the middle of the nineteenth century in Russia was not only one of cruelty and oppression but of the anachronism of the system. Moreover, it was becoming clear that free ("cheap") labor would be more profitable than slave labor in the growing industrial state. By the way of comparison, the Civil War in the United States was fought not only to free slaves but also to tap the source of "cheap" labor for Northern industries. This fact is seldom stressed in American history textbooks.

The Origin of Slavery in Russia

The origin of slavery in Russia is traced to the following causes: (1) indebtedness in which a man's freedom was mortgaged to the creditor; (2) default in the payment of taxes and feudal dues; (3) forfeiture of freedom after conviction of crime, and (4) prisoners of war. "But despite this analysis it would be truer to say that the greater part of the rural masses lapsed into slavery owing to passivity and ready sub-

servience to masters." [10]

Liberty could have bought for 100 rubles (fifty dollars) for a child up to ten years of age. A working man 30-40 years of age could gain his freedom for 2,000 rubles ($1,000), and for a person over 40 years of age the price was scaled down according to capacity. Shevchenko, being a talented person, was bought for 2,500 rubles or $1,250.

Shevchenko as the Creator and the Creation of His Own Age

Men are what conditions make them, and political as well as ethical ideals are not exempt from the same inexorable law of environment. The poet Shelley once said, "Poets, not otherwise philosophers, painters, sculptors, and musicians, are, in one sense, the creators, and, in another, the creations of their own age." Shevchenko, too, was not only the creator but the creation of his own age and the inheritor of the historic traditions, culture and aspirations of the Ukrainian people. He was the integrator of the national consciousness because he had the genius to synthesize the ideas and thoughts of his countrymen and to express them in poetry. He gave swift wings to the hope of millions of his compatriots by calling to his aid the free Cossack spirit of the memorable past. Through the sweet melody of his songs, his poetry, the great spirits came to life and aroused his people from their political lethargy and national slumber. Thus Shevchenko is an example of one who embodied in his poetry the trials and tribulations, the hopes and ideals of his people. He was not only the creation of historic and social forces but he was also one of the outstanding creators of national consciousness that the Ukrainian people have produced.

In Defiance of the Tsar

Twenty-seven years ago the Ukrainian people prepared to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of their great poet Taras Shevchenko. But in Tsarist Russia, "the prison of the people," this was forbidden. The Tsar's Minister of the Interior strictly prohibited any public commemoration of the anniversary. The name Shevchenko was officially banned everywhere. Nevertheless, in defiance of this order, numerous meetings and demonstrations were held in Kiev, Kharkov and other Ukrainian cities and towns. The Ukrainian people expressed their deep affection for and gratitude to the poet who in the years of their despondent existence had inspired them with courage, hope and faith to work for a brighter future, had urged them to struggle against their oppressors to the end. Shevchenko always opposed and denounced all those forces which perpetuated blind belief, slav-

[10] Graham, Stephen, Tsar of Freedom, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935, passim.

ish obedience, bigotry, prejudice, intolerance, superstition and exploitation of man by man.

Through the ages poets who sang the praises of their rulers and tried to flatter the dominant classes gained fame, honor and position in society, but rarely did they achieve immortality. On the other hand, those few bold spirits, like Shevchenko, who worked through their literary art, despite opposition, were often consigned to poverty, obscurity, oblivion and not infrequently were subjected to endless persecution, imprisonment, exile and even death. But notwithstanding continued discouragement of really great artists by the ruling classes of the world, art that aims at spreading truth and exposing greed, selfishness and falsehood found its way into the minds and hearts of the downtrodden. Shevchenko, as the great artist and tribune, strove earnestly and consistently to expose the corruption, the blind greed and the colossal fraud of Tsarist autocracy. He could have enjoyed the comforts of a prince; instead he exposed himself to ten years of the most degrading military service in Siberia. As a soldier he was forbidden to write and to paint. But he did not lose his genius; despite all these obstacles he produced masterpieces of poetic literature.

Quite recently the poets in democracies were treated with ignorance, indifference and unconscious cruelty. But under dictatorship, as it was under Tsarism, there is neither ignorance nor indifference to them. In Tsarist Russia they were sent to Siberia; in the Soviet Union, they are shot. The cruelty foisted upon them today is a deliberate persecution which leads to exile, execution or suicide. The totalitarian bureaucrats are fully aware of the power of the poet, and because the poet is powerful they wish to use him for their own political purposes. If he cannot be converted to their point of view, if he refuses to be bribed to prostitute his integrity on behalf of the dictator's political dogmas and personal ambitions, he is discredited, blackmailed, muzzled or banished from society. As an opponent of the Tsarist regime Shevchenko was banished from Europe. He predicted the end of the thrones and in reacting to the Imperial edicts he advised his fellow victims thus: "Do not obey these pernicious, degrading, humiliating laws; do not submit to them, if you want to retain your self-respect and integrity as human beings."

An Attempt to Destroy Ukrainian Nationality

From Peter I onward, the Muscovite Government strived systematically to exterminate every trace of Ukrainian nationality. The centralizing work of Peter I was completed by Catherine II, who deposed the last Hetman in 1774, crushed the last Cossack strongholds in 1775, introduced Russian administration into Ukraine in 1780 and in 1783 replaced the peasant liberties by serfdom in its cruelest form. The first

ukase aimed at the obliteration of the Ukrainian language was issued in 1690. The final and most sweeping decree appeared in 1876. But despite these brutal attempts to destroy the basis of Ukrainian cultural life, the Ukrainian spirit lived and if thrives today. Serfdom in Ukraine lasted 78 years. It was first gently introduced into this free country, when the last Hetman was deposed, in the year in which the first American Continental Congress met. Serfdom in Russia was abolished a year earlier than slavery was ended in the United States. Shevchenko was preeminently instrumental not only in helping to free his people from the travails of serfdom, but also in fighting for all the oppressed.

These, in brief, were the historic and social forces which influenced Shevchenko's life and his literary achievements.

This year, 1941, is the 127th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko who was born a serf, liberated through the efforts of his friends and admirers who recognized his genius; who poured forth in glowing verse the national aspirations of his people for freedom; who was arrested and convicted of "being actuated by his vicious tendencies," and sentenced in 1847 to ten years of Siberian military service, which broke him in body and spirit, so that he passed away a year after his complete release and did not witness the emancipation of his people from serfdom. Thus Shevchenko became the incarnation of the awakened Ukrainian spirit. The first part of his last testament, his request that his remains be buried beneath a mound near the Dnieper in his beloved Ukraine, has been fulfilled as he wished. The second part of his testament, a much more difficult one, in which he commands:

"Rise and break the chains in which ye lie,
And as ye spill the tyrant blood your freedom sanctify,"

must be fulfilled by those, the living, so that Ukraine may be united, independent and free.

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U. S. Exports Aid Nazis. The British Ministry of Economic Warfare stated on Jan. 15 that U. S. exports of cotton, crude oil, grain and oil-field machinery to Russia are helping Germany. "Some U. S. producers are helping Germany indirectly by selling Russia commodities in which Germany is deficient," it said. "Of these cotton is the most important." The shipments enable Russia "to release equivalent quantities for Germany," it added.

Why Ukraine Must Be Free

By ELIAS SHKLANKA

Editor's note: The author, a high school principal in Hafford, Sask., Canada, devoted five years to writing "A Course in Ukrainian History," covering the period from the earliest times to 1638. The Trident was fortunate in obtaining this scholarly work and with this issue begins publishing a condensed version. Each chapter will be as complete an article as possible. In future issues such topics will be covered as "The Formation of the Ukrainian Nation," "The Kiev State," "The Appanage Upheaval," "The Halych-Volynian State," "The Civilization of the Ukrainians," "The Struggle of the Ukrain Aristocracy for Freedom," "The Degradation of Ukrainian Society," "The Ukrainian-Polish Conflict," "The Ukrainian Uniate Church" and "Ukrainian Humanism." There is so little information available on Ukraine in the English language, particularly regarding early Ukrainian history, that it is hoped this series will be a worthy contribution to the literature on the subject. The Trident is deeply indebted to Mr. Shklanka and expresses its sincerest thanks for an estimable work.

Elias Shklanka

If a great change is to be made in human affairs, the minds of men will be fitted to it; the general opinions and feelings will draw that way. Every year, every hope will forward it; and then they, who persist in opposing this mighty current in human affairs, will appear rather to resist the decrees of Providence itself, than the mere designs of men. They will not be resolute and firm, but perverse and obstinate. EDMUND BURKE.

What is Ukraine? Is it Little Russia, Little Poland or a geographical term? Are the Ukrainians Russians or Poles, or are they a separate nationality? What was their past and what are their aspirations today? Have they a culture of their own? Have they a historical background upon which to realize their present desire for independence?

No doubt most people are prepared to admit that they know very little about Ukraine and the Ukrainians. For this lack of knowledge we cast no blame upon them; there are good reasons for it.

The Ukrainian people are like Prometheus bound. They fought the Asiatic hordes for twenty-seven generations, shielding their Western neighbors. They carried enlightenment to

the Russians and fed the Poles. But fate has chained them as Prometheus was chained and their oppressors devour their vitality.

The eagles of Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Polish imperialism had their share. But the last two have perished by their gluttony. There are signs that the vulture of Red Russian imperialism will not survive them much longer.

During virtually every European crisis of the past three centuries, Ukraine tried to free itself. Struggles for freedom broke out under Bohdan Khmelnitsky and Ivan Mazeppa, against Catherine II and during Napoleon's invasion of Russia.[1] But as Europe would become rehabilitated Ukraine would fall again under foreign occupation. Its aspirations would be silenced, and it would disappear again from the map of Europe.

Today Europe is again at war. Once again the forces of democracy and progress are embattled with the forces of aggression and barbarism. Whatever the outcome, it is not probable that the Ukrainians will permit themselves to be condemned again. For the following three reasons Ukraine must be free:

International Society Needs a Free Ukraine

1. An independent Ukraine is desirable from the standpoint of international society. The fundamental law of life is evolution. It is the development of an organism or a society from the simple to the complex. It implies an ever increasing complexity and diversity of structure and function. This process is known as differentiation. If a certain plant or a low organism is divided into several parts, each part will continue to live independently. But when we deal with the higher forms of life, each part has its particular function to perform and is essential to the other parts and to the organism as a whole. In other words the parts now become members and the whole is not simply an aggregation of parts but a system of related members. The more highly an organism is developed, the more closely its members are connected and essential to one another. In such an organism if one member suffers, the whole organism suffers. So it is with individuals or classes in a modern state. We cannot suppress the rights and freedom of labor or destroy the capital of a country without injuring its whole national structure. We cannot ignore nor suppress the aspirations of a certain nation without disturbing the balance of international relations and the peace of international society — the more so when the nation in question is a great potential power.

But differentiation is only one side of evolution. Perhaps

[1] Napoleon planned to establish a Ukrainian State to be named "Napoleonida" but his defeat prevented him.

the more fundamental phase of it, which parallels the process of differentiation, is the process of integration or unification. The diversified part or members of an organism must be properly related, coordinated or unified in order that the organism may function normally and live. In the same manner the classes within a nation or the nations within an international society must be properly harmonized in order to prevent the greatest of social evils — revolution within a nation and war between nations. But it must be kept in mind that before the differences of several groups within a nation, or differences of various nations can be related, these differences must not be suppressed nor ignored, but recognized as such. It is then in the interest of international society that the peculiarities of each nation be allowed the fullest and freest development. Therefore a submerged Ukraine is detrimental to the welfare and peace of Europe.

Ukraine, a European Problem

2. The liberation of the Ukrainian people has become a European problem. Students of East Europe affirm this conclusion. "In spite of the widespread and forgivable ignorance which exists on the subject," says Lancelot Lawton, "the impression widely prevails that upon the solution of the Ukrainian problem will depend the fate of Europe." [2] In the opinion of Rene Martel, "the question of Ukraine is after all an international problem." [3] Professor G. W. Simpson, a keen student of Ukrainian history and the Ukrainian national movement, says: "I believe that the Ukrainian nationalism constitutes one of the pressing problems of our day about which we must speak frankly." [4] Le Document says Ukrainian leaders have always claimed that "the martyrdom of Ukraine is one of the most monstrous crimes in history" and "peace will never exist as long as Ukraine is enslaved." [5]

Articles dealing with Ukraine increased prior to the outbreak of the war. Such events in 1938-39 as the Munich Conference, the Vienna Arbitration, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine by Hungary, the fourth partition of Poland and the annexation of Western Ukraine by Russia were connected with the Ukrainian movement. Although there are as yet no official documents available for proof, there is little doubt that the German-Russian alliance of August 23, 1939, which led to the invasion of Poland and thence to the war, was made

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[2] Ukraine: Europe's Greatest Problem. East Europe and Contemporary Russia, Vol. II, No. 1, Spring, 1939.

[3] Le Probleme de L'Ukraine. Politique Etrangere, No. 6, December, 1938.

[4] The Ukrainian Problem. Radio address. Saskatoon, Sask., Jan. 3, 1939.

[5] Le Document, No. 6, June, 1939.

on the ground that Germany resigned its claim to Ukraine, for the time being at least.

Ukrainians Will Fight

3. The Ukrainians will decide their own fate in the end. As a nation they are young, virile, strong, full of hope and inspiration. Theirs is the future. Realization of an independent Ukraine cannot create a Balkanization of East Europe because Ukraine is a nation of some 55,000,000 people, of whom approximately 80 per cent are Ukrainians. In territory Ukraine is third in size in Europe and contains rich natural resources. It borders on the Black Sea and hence has an outlet to the Mediterranean. It is economically self-sufficient. Small nations such as the Czechs, Albanians and Poles may appear suddenly as States, but without strong foreign friends and surrounded by aggressive neighbors, they may as suddenly disappear. Such is not likely to happen with Ukraine. There is hardly any other nation in the world which has shed so much blood in its struggle for freedom. And men do not die in vain.

But it takes time for such a large population to acquire national dexterity. A squash matures in a season, but it takes a hundred years to make an oak. Ukraine was growing for the past three hundred years, and now it is reaching the point in its national consciousness and solidarity at which it refuses to be dominated by any foreign power. The events in Carpatho-Ukraine and in the invasion of Poland demonstrated the general trend of the Ukrainian movement. One thing is certain: in event of Russia's involvement in the European or Asiatic war, the Ukrainians will not fight for the Soviet Government, as they refused to fight for Poland. Their energy will be directed toward the safeguarding of their own interests. Prisoners never fight for their jailers.

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UNION OF UKRAINE

Western and Eastern Ukraine united on Jan. 22, 1919, to establish the democratic Ukrainian National Republic, which was soon destroyed by Russia and Poland. Today the Ukrainian territories are united again — under Soviet oppression. Ukrainians declare that there can be no peace in East Europe until the Ukrainian nation of 45,000,000 people is restored to independence. Their demand is no appeasement of Hitler or Stalin; no peace without a free Ukraine.

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A *Jest of Life*

A Ukrainian short story

By ULAS SAMCHUK

Translated by Joseph R. Ivaniw

Like the vein of a toil-hardened hand, the road to Kiev cut through field, valleys and villages. Along both sides of the road the twin rows of poplars disappeared from sight toward the muddy October skies.

The wind puffing up its cheeks blew with all its might, aimlessly driving layers of heavy clouds across the sliver of a moon. Thick sharp shadows flickered against rain washed stones on the bronze string of the road as though striving to tear away from the earth and fly wildly toward the heights of heaven.

Over the earth, as far as one could see, rolled the mighty Revolution.

The wind fought its way furiously along the road, and death accompanied it in many forms.

Then silent evening dropped on the world, gently wrapping the bare fields in a blanket of mist. Like slender girls, the poplars swayed gently to and fro, accepting the embraces of the wind. Their dreamy whispers shook loose the leaves which flew upward, trembled in the wind and then fell softly in an eternal kiss upon the fat black earth.

Besides that nothing else. The thin sickle of a moon cut through the gray clouds. Shadows carefully leaped over the road and quickly vanished.

Only from the far horizon, where the road winded in a whimsical turn around the ravine, cutting like a strong bow into the iron line of the forest to turn later and shoot straight to Kiev, came the sound of sharp hoof beats. The wind tore at it and the hushed whispers of the poplar covered it. The thick black soil smothered the great distance, the pale stony vein, the sharp fantastic shadows and hid the misty picture which traveled with the echo of the sound.

And now the clamor was nearer. It cut through the wind and hit the eyes and ears with its sharpness. The shadows swayed and broke and from the darkness appeared the hazy picture of deep-chested horses trotting sharply down the stony road. Their manes danced wildly in the wind. Their nostrils were wide with their heavy breathing. The wheels of the carriage sowed moonlight upon the rocks, and their rubber tires rolled silently along the road. In the carriage the young Sotnyk Buley, commanding officer of the first mounted railroad company, was driving his "eagles."

He was in a hurry. The road led toward the capital. Perhaps a girl was waiting for him to return from the battle

front to a warm room with a gray cat and a soft sofa. Or perhaps a friendly table laden with glittering wine glasses spilling the colors that burn with the wild fire of unquenchable life. And his thin, good, old mother sitting in a deep chair, like a Byzantine picture, knitting a stocking and waiting for him to convince herself once again that he is alive.

For the Revolution was not a joke. The country was awakening to gigantic forces and molding the entire foundations of life.

The Sotnyk had liked it. The national colors proudly flamed like the sun from the spires of St. Sofia. From the dungeons of St. Volodymyr rose the mighty Trident, protectingly opening its arms to the East and West. The young officer had felt fire within him and had thrown himself into this whirlpool. And now he had managed to get away from the battle for a spell and was driving toward his beloved capital.

"Stop!" a voice thundered from the darkness. The horses reared up on their hind legs and danced on the spot. Before them arose a mountain in human form, about two meters in height, a prehistoric monster with a hairy head and face and an ax in his hands.

His clothes were a garment of weeds which swallowed his form. Hoarse animal sounds escaped from his throat.

The Sotnyk felt for his revolver, but it was gone. He had left it behind to be cleaned. Before he could utter a sound, the monster was before his nose, swinging his ax menacingly.

"Ha! Ha!" he roared. "So you are going to the city? You want to ride only to the city? How would you like me to split that not so smart head of yours with this trick? Ha! Ha! Ha!"

The ax cut through a few rays of moonbeams.

A million devils glittered in the Sotnyk's eyes. It occurred to him to lash at the horses and drive away. Or throw himself on the impertinent guest and try his strength.

But neither move could improve a difficult situation. As if he read his victim's mind, the monster grasped the reins with his left hand, showed his huge teeth and roared: "You can't get away! Oh not that! Don't even think of that! Wouldn't it be much better if you took me home? It isn't far. Over there. It's on your way... Chopping down a tree delayed me... The devil take it, it stood in the way. I wouldn't get angry if you drove me home. Ha! Ha!"

Laughter, no, hoarse roars rolled over the fields. The Sotnyk suppressed the beating of his heart.

"If you wish, sir. I will be highly honored if you permit me to give you a ride."

The black mountain retorted: "You should have long ago, sir." And the ax fell to his feet.

"Sit down! Please! Right here!" The Sotnyk pointed to

his left. He hoped that from the left his guest would have limited opportunity to use his weapon. "Which way shall I drive?" He was careful and humble.

"Drive straight ahead! I'll point out the way later!"

The Sotnyk twisted his lips and whipped the horses. They jumped and started swiftly down the road as though racing each other. The poplars shot by in quick succession, the dark pages of the fields turning continuously, the black line of the forest rushing forward to meet them. Otherwise there was stony silence, broken only by the clamor of the horses' hoofs and the whispering of the leaves.

The Sotnyk kept his eyes on the road, every nerve taut. With every breath he felt the nearness of the ax which lay peacefully at the feet of the monster, glittering brightly in the moonlight.

The road, eternity. Speedily they cut through the darkness of the forest. A thousand fantastic creatures appeared in the imagination, racing after the rushing carriage, taking a hundred different forms before the eyes, falling like huge boulders on the head. The Sotnyk was ready for anything. One slight move from his unusual passenger and he would jump like a spring. But the other sat as motionless as his ax. Not a word escaped him. There was only his heavy breathing.

The forest now thinned into small patches and was soon left behind. Again the wide horizon appeared, and the fields touched the outskirts of the city. The moon burned through the mud of the clouds and lit up the white structures of the capital.

"There it is!" the monster suddenly cried, pointing his hairy hand toward a huge building standing to one side.

"All right," the Sotnyk answered.

Two minutes more and the carriage was by the gates.

"Here!"

The horses, foaming and breathing heavily, pulled up.

"Get out and tell my people that I have come!"

"Yes, sir!"

Argument was useless. The Sotnyk had begun to understand. He jumped from the carriage and approached the high iron gates. He found the bell and pulled nervously. Iron and bronze answered in loud ringing tones, shattering the silence. The echoes of an outer will traveled along the nerves of the stony building. The sensitive fingers of knowledge reached the very brain of the building, and the iron gate opened a crack.

A heavily lined and orange-colored face appeared, lighted up by a hand lamp. A few more wrinkles, a few movements of the crooked eyebrows and the wide, duck-like lips squeezed out a question.

"I brought you your master," the Sotnyk answered.

A very short "Ah" and the face disappeared like a flash.

Instead there was the noise of many running feet behind the door, and gate squeaked half open. In the light of a few more hand lamps five muscular men marched toward the carriage, and an older man stepped fearlessly up to the monster.

"We are very, very happy to see you again, Sir General," he said.

The General dropped his ax and stood up proudly. In that instant the five men seized him in a powerful embrace...

The Sotnyk was left behind with the older man and the ax. It lay on the road, glittering brightly. The iron gate clanked shut, and silence descended again. Towering above its surroundings stood the Kyryliv Psychopathic Hospital, moonbeams gently touching the sad, huge, forbidding walls, sowing dead signs from a dead light.

The older man carefully wiped his forehead.

"Sir," he said. "A million thanks to you. We have been after him since he escaped at dawn and found that ax somewhere. Several farmers were unlucky enough to get in his way. Some fanatical mania saved you from the same fate."

He bent down, picked up the ax and raised it to his eyes. One could now see the clear black spots. But the dead light could not fill it with the color of life.

The Sotnyk bid the old man farewell and jumped into the carriage. The clatter of horses' hoofs echoed upon the stone, and he was carried away.

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"Moral Embargo" on Russia Ends. The Department of State notified Soviet Ambassador Constantine Oumansky on Jan. 21 that the "moral embargo" on the shipment of American planes and airplane equipment to Russia had been lifted. It was applied on Dec. 2, 1939, when Russian planes were bombing Finnish cities despite President Roosevelt's protest. However, the export licensing system will control all shipments of planes. Also American air companies have orders for two years to come. In 1939 only 13 American planes were sent to Russia. So it is not expected that Russia will get much American equipment with which to unite additional "brother Slavs" in the Soviet "Paradise."

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Ukrainian Political Thought
During the Past Hundred Years

By YAROSLAV ORSHAN

(Continued)

V. The Post-Crimean War Period.

The decade preceding the Crimean War (1854-55) was the worst period of Muscovite oppression in Ukraine. It was marked by bloody uprisings of Ukrainian peasants against serfdom, but the political weakness of Ukraine prevented the people from making the most of these insurrections in a national-political way. The Russian, I. Ihnatovich, writes in his book on great land owners and peasants that there were 1,188 peasant uprisings in Ukraine between 1826 and 1861. It is interesting to note that Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet, in contrast to his contemporaries, gives these peasant uprisings the significance of a historical struggle. Shevchenko saw that the peasantry was fighting for its soil and opposed the existing order with "personal beliefs," "personal truth" and "personal liberty." "And no outlaw fights for such ideals," he wrote.

Russia's defeat at Sebastopol brought some reforms. Serfdom was abolished. The cultural-academic movement was reborn in Ukraine. Ukrainian organizations called the "Hromady" were founded to carry on cultural activities, like printing Ukrainian school books and popular books for the masses, organizing Sunday schools and teaching the peasants.

Simultaneously a Ukrainian movement began among the semi-Polonized Ukrainian land owners and noblemen in that part of Ukraine lying along the right bank of the Dnieper, which fell to Russia in the third partition of Poland in 1795. The movement was based on the axiom that the nobility must unite with the people on whose land they lived and return to the beliefs and customs of their fathers. This movement frightened the Polish circles who had begun to arm themselves for the uprising of 1863, and they denounced the Ukrainians as revolutionaries to the Tsarist Regime. Though the ideal of an independent Ukraine and the hope of an insurrection against Moscow was alive in Ukraine at that time, it did not take the form of a conscious struggle. In the same year the Russian Socialists began their revolutionary activities. Worried by the spread of Ukrainianism, the activities of the Russian Socialists and the Polish insurrection, the Russian Government began a new and harsher anti-Ukrainian campaign. Minister Valuyev announced his well-known "Ukaz": "There has never been a Ukraine, there is none and there must never be one."

The center of Ukrainian life moved to Western Ukraine,

under Austria, where Ukrainianism had a better opportunity to develop and the relationship between Kiev and Lviv matured during the period of unbearable oppression of Eastern Ukraine under Russia. Russia soon tried to crush the influence of Western Ukraine among the Eastern Ukrainians by issuing a decree in 1876 which prohibited the importing of any Ukrainian literature into Russia, further curtailed the printing of Ukrainian books and prohibited theatrical performances. There followed thirty years of sorrow, which was even worse than the reign of Tsar Nicholas. Ukrainian political "thought" of the period is marked by the fading of the Shevchenko solution and the rise of "Ukrainophilism" and "ethnographism." There was no strong political current; rather the activities of individuals, especially in the "Hromady." Both "Ukrainophilism" and "ethnographism" represented a development from the apolitical beliefs of the pioneers of the Ukrainian cultural rebirth. The Ukrainophiles and their fellow travelers defend the national "ego" of the Ukrainian nation and are willing to work for the culture and prosperity of the Ukrainian communities, but the ideal of a political struggle remains alien to them. In the 1880's there arose the conception of an independent Ukrainian state being established with the aid of Germany and Austria, an echo of Bismarck's **Drang nach Osten.** This conception was inspired by an article written by the German philosopher Hartman in the periodical "Gegenwart" in 1887 at Bismarck's suggestion. This orientation upon foreign powers without a strong will to fight for themselves only establishes more firmly the political sterility of those who believed in Ukrainophilism at the time.

However, there are certain prominent Ukrainians of this period who are close to us by virtue of their ideas even though they belonged to this group. Among them is the author, Panteleymon Kulish, who at least in theory glorified nationalism, the desire to act and "the raw primeval strength," which appeared to him as an ideal as it did during the period of Cossack Ukraine. The author and savant Konysky is another. He was a constant opponent of Drahomanov, the defender of Muscophilism and the liberal-anarchistic doctrine in Ukraine. The historian Antonovych, a great enemy of Russia, also falls into this category. None of these three, however, stood on the ideal of complete independence for Ukraine.

Thus since the Ukrainian ideal still lacked a concrete political program the revolutionary movements entirely Russian in character forced themselves into Ukrainian political thought. One group of Ukrainians became leading protagonists within the all-Russian socialist party. In the ideals of these people we find no Ukrainian national political elements. If some of them recognized the importance of national emancipation, they placed it after the social revolution and the destruction of the Tsarist State.

VI. The Influence of Mykhailo Drahomanov.

So the period 1860-80, analagous to the second and third decades, brought about a split in the leading Ukrainian groups into apolitical nationalism and anational politicalism. The man who was canonized by the socialist Muscophiles as the author of this new "politico - Ukrainianism" was Mykhailo Drahomanov. Such was his role that today he is considered by nationalists as the most to blame for the failure of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-21 and the attack by the Bolsheviks from within.

Drahomanov, who died in 1895, was a professor at the University of Kiev and later a political emigre. He is recognized as the first Ukrainian to spread the doctrine of liberal socialism. He was called "Gente Ucrainus, natione Russus" by his pupil and later ardent opponent, the great author, Ivan Franko. The author, M. Muchny, writes of Drahomanov: "The attitude that everything great, liberal, European, etc., could only come from Russia into Ukraine is shown constantly by Drahomanov. With him it is like the theme of the Wagnerian operas. Drahomanov wants to weld the Ukrainian ideal permanently to Russian political and cultural history." From then on the Muscophiles among the Ukrainians found justification in Drahomanov's teachings and consequently the adherents of Drahomanov's socialism became Muscophiles.

Drahomanov wrote: "The welfare of the simple peoples is a task which demands above all a clear understanding... so that one may contemplate the matter without bias and free of any histories... We are discarding nationalism, particularly that which is opposed to cosmopolitanism. We recognize no prescribed thoughts and emotions which one terms national... and under no conditions a hatred for other nations."

Drahomanov's attitude is anational. He recognizes the rights of every individual and every collective to secede from the main body of the people. He maintains that the struggle for national independence is superfluous, that an international brotherhood must be developed into a federative formula for living. This world, or least European, federation would be built upon the principal of territories and not nations. Several autonomous lands or territories bound by economic interests would grow out of the Ukrainian territory. (This program was developed by Drahomanov in Geneva with the collaboration of Russian Socialists and liberals.)

At first Drahomanov did not go so far. But it was the last lesson he taught. It is obvious that such an attitude must represent a backward step even in comparison with the Utopia of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood. Drahomanov believed that Ukraine's position was due not to the suppression of one people — the Ukrainian — by a second — the Russian, but

rather as the consequence of a "definite national system of rule." One should not struggle against Russianism, therefore, but against the system under which Russians are harmed also. This system has its enemies in Russia, and these foes are our natural allies... This battle will be fought, for instance, by Ukrainians not on a national but rather on a state administrative basis in which we will raise to prime importance the necessity of autonomy of counties, of congregations and of groups. Such a program in time will win over "all logical people of every nation."

In this manner the Ukrainian issue was reduced in Drahomanov's program to nothingness. Instead he preached the union of Russian and Ukrainian liberals. As a result the Russian liberals helped to fight the Ukrainian independence movement. With his heterodoxy Drahomanov led Ukraine along a basicly false path on which for many years, including 1917, it was to find itself beside the "great Russian Democracy" until this "Democracy" loosed its hordes on Kiev.

In his memoirs, Drahomanov relates that on May 6, 1861, he went into a church in Kiev to view the body of Taras Shevchenko, which had just been brought from St. Petersburg, and a student called to him: "What do you want here? There is nothing here of yours!" These words are worth remembering today.

VII. The Taras Brotherhood.

Drahomanov was the greatest authority for the greatest number of the Ukrainian intelligentsia until 1917; truly, a curse for modern Ukraine. At the same time other groups were formed in opposition to his own. The close of the eighth and ninth decades of the last century are years of reaction against the primitive Ukrainophilism and ethnographism, years that witnessed the birth of world-embracing political ideals.

In the 1880's the first illegal political Ukrainian groups appeared in the Ukrainian student body in St. Petersburg, which advocated a federation to supplant the existing Russian order with all peoples of the Empire having the right to join the federation or to form an independent state. In later years sundry illegal Ukrainian student congresses in Ukraine adopted more definite and precise claims for Ukrainian independence. In 1891 the "Taras Brotherhood" was founded as the first attempt at a serious organization for Ukrainian independence. The very name of the Brotherhood, taken from Taras Shevchenko, indicated that the time had come at last when Shevchenko had won his rightful place in the Ukrainian mind. As the history of the Taras Brotherhood and the later Ukrainian independence movement shows, the struggle of the Shevchenko ideal was not to be an easy one on any one of the three fronts: against Russianism, against Drahomanov and against Ukrainian apoliticalism.

The leader of the Taras Brotherhood was Ivan Lypa (died 1923). The members included Mykola Michnovsky, a grand figure in the history of Ukraine; the author, Mykhailo Kociubynsky; the author, Boris Hrinchenko; students and the older intelligentsia from different parts of Ukraine, and for the first time in the history of modern Ukrainian life, the peasants.

According to the Taras Brotherhood's own testimony the movement originated as a conscious struggle on one side against the political Ukrainophilism and on the other against the socialistic-liberal direction which disdained the Ukrainian ideal.

"Separation, an independent Ukraine, was our ideal," wrote Ivan Lypa. "The Taras Brotherhood could not envision any other but an independent Ukraine." The aims of the Taras Brothers were to instill the spirit of independence into the existing Ukrainian organizations and distribute books printed in Western Ukraine (Austria). The Brotherhood's ideology is contained in the "Profession de Foi of Young Ukrainians," which appeared in the April, 1893, issue of the Lviv newspaper "Pravda." It said among other things: "Mankind is divided into races, nationalities and nations... We know that... the Russian State is a superficial aggregate of numerous nations, bound together by nothing other than Tsarism. This ideal of absolute domination, therefore, remains dead. On the other hand the nation is a living organism... The life of the Ukrainian people proves irrefutably that Ukraine was an independent nation, that it is one and that it ever shall be, and that it needs its freedom just as every other nation... Ukraine is enthralled! Therefore, we, as children of Ukraine and the sons of her people, are nationals and desire above all else to work for the national freedom of our people... We wish to arouse and strengthen the national spirit in Ukraine, to revitalize and nourish the national feeling of the intelligentsia and the people... We propose the improvement of present-day conditions so that all the social, moral and political needs may be gratified."

Thus was the first word spoken and the first step taken. The Taras Brothers had many battles to fight with their socialist opponents. Moreover they were caught in the act of smuggling illegal literature; numerous arrests were made, and later many of them were brought to trial — (1893) — the first trial of Ukrainians accused of working for the independence of their country in modern times. But the Brotherhood did not dissolve; it grew stronger finally becoming the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party of Eastern Ukraine.

Drahomanov failed in his attempt to organize a Ukrainian Socialist Party in the Russian-dominated province of Ukraine. In 1890 the so-called Radical Party, inspired by him, was founded in Western Ukraine. (In 1896, a year after his death the Party added the ideal of an independent Ukraine

to its program.) Among its founders was Ivan Franko, who in later years drew closer to those ideals Michnovsky propagated in Eastern Ukraine. As a reply to the contention that an independent Ukraine was a "Lost Horizon," an ideal without prospect, Franko wrote in 1900 that the development of this ideal depends entirely upon the Ukrainians themselves, upon their immovable will and ardent desire and that "thousands of paths, all leading to its fulfillment, lie before our feet and that it shall depend only upon us... whether we will take these paths in the direction of this ideal or whether we shall turn in totally different directions... We must feel our ideal in our hearts. We must clarify it with the aid of our understanding. We must employ our strength and our means to approach it; otherwise it will cease to exist."

In 1900 a meeting of Ukrainian students in Lviv unanimously adopted the resolution: "That only under an independent national state could the complete freedom of development of the Ukrainian people be insured." One must differentiate clearly between the sound ideal of independence of Franko and the Ukrainian youth and that which was developed by the Radical Party, created by Drahomanov. This latter ideal differed from Drahomanov's teaching, yet it bore the stamp of his spirit. We see that in the book, "Ukrainian Irredenta," by the later Bolshevik, Julian Batchinsky. who disdains the awakening of nationalism and says: "If the administrative requisites and the economic interests of Russian Ukraine make national and civic problems the order of the day, national feeling here is only a result, a secondary force." In such theses the influence of Drahomanov is not to be mistaken.

(To be continued.)

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HITLER AND STALIN

So long as Stalin is willing to dance to Hitler's tune, the Nazi leader may find it highly advantageous to keep the Soviet leaders in control in Moscow. Russia can be increasingly useful to Germany as a source of supplies. But if the Communist Government were overthrown, the whole sprawling country might fall into a state of anarchy that would destroy its usefulness to Germany for a generation. It must be kept in mind that Stalin has destroyed all opposition and all initiative in Russia. If the dictator and his Moscow bureaucracy are destroyed, there would be an appalling governmental vacuum in the immense area between Leningrad and Vladivistok. Even the efficient Germans could not fill that vacuum in time to avert chaos.

Barron's, Nov. 25, 1940.

Ukraine in Figures

A Statistical Survey of Ukrainian Territories, Population and National Economy

By MYKOLA SCIBORSKY

III. INDUSTRY (Continued)

The table below indicates the diminishing importance of Ukraine in Russia's economic system (figures based on the First Plan, 1932, and the Second, 1937).

Product	% Ukrainian Production in U.S.S.R. 1932	% Ukrainian Production in U.S.S.R. 1937	% Decrease
Coal	69.8	54.3	- 15.5
Iron Ore	70	56.9	- 13.1
Pig Iron	69.9	58.1	- 11.8
Steel	63.3	55.8	- 7.5
Precious metals	23	21.3	- 1.7
Cement	45.4	35.4	- 10
Brick	28.1	22.8	- 5.3
Leather footware	24.3	20	- 4.3
Fish	26.4	20.7	- 5.7
Canned food	60.2	59.9	- 0.3

Thus Russia is seeking to lessen Ukraine's economic importance. But a wholly different tendency is seen in Ukrainian agriculture. Here the importance of Ukrainian wheat, butter and meat has been increased by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan as follows: bread, .8 per cent; butter, 2.4 per cent; meat, .5 per cent.

The reasons are clear: Hungry Russia needs the Ukrainian "granary." While transferring industry from Ukraine to other centers, Russia seeks to develop Ukraine as an agricultural center.

The tempo at which the Soviet Government is constructing new industrial centers outside Ukraine with the aid of Ukrainian coal, iron and steel may be seen from the following figures on the decreasing economic importance of Ukrainian industry as compared with other districts in the USSR from 1927 to 1937.

For years Soviet Russia has been developing industrial centers in other parts of the U.S.S.R. at the expense of Ukraine, which Moscow seeks to maintain Ukraine solely as an agricultural area, the "granary" of the Bolshevik Empire.

The following percentage for the period from 1927 to

1937 show the decreasing importance of Ukrainian production of pig iron, iron ore and steel in the U.S.S.R.:

District	Pig Iron			Iron Ore			Steel		
	1927	1932	1937	1927	1932	1937	1927	1932	1937
Ukraine	73	69.9	58.1	78	70	56.9	66.4	63.3	55.8
USSR [1]	27	30.1	41.9	22	30	43.1	33.6	36.7	44.2

The Soviet Government also spends less on the industrial development of Ukraine than on any other region. Nevertheless the exploitation of Ukraine's rich natural resources has increased, as shown by the following figures for Ukrainian production in 1932 and 1937:

	1932		1937	
Coal	44,896,000	tons	81,500,000	tons
Iron Ore	8,444,000	tons	21,000,000	tons
Pig Iron	4,624,000	tons	11,000,000	tons
Steel	3,546,000	tons	7,818,000	tons
Metallurgy	1,579,600,000	rubles	3,200,000,000	rubles
Cement	1,566,000	tons	2,527,000	tons
Bricks	1,325,000,000		1,830,000,000	
Leather footwear	17,175,000	pairs	39,500,000	pairs
Meat	120,000	tons	305,000	tons
Canned goods	197,000,000	cans	512,000,000	cans
Sugar	575,000	tons	1,905,000	tons

Despite the great increase of Ukrainian production, its percentage of the total USSR production is decreasing because of the greater increase of production in the regions outside of Ukraine, as shown by the following percentages for 1932 and 1937:

	1932	1937	% Increase
Coal	30.2	45.7	15.5
Iron Ore	30	43.1	13.1
Steel	36.7	44.2	7.5
Pig Iron	30.1	41.9	11.8
Copper	91.8	94.9	3.1
Metallurgy	77	78.7	1.7
Bricks	71.9	77.2	5.3
Fish	73.6	79.3	5.7

Russia's colonial policy toward Ukraine is shown by the following disproportionate comparison of expenditures in each as provided in the 1937 budget:

[1] Central and Eastern USSR. (Moscow, Ural, Siberian districts).

CAPITAL EXPENDITURES IN 1937 (in rubles).

	Russia	% of total U.S.S.R.	Ukraine	% of total U.S.S.R.
Heavy industry	27,214,110,000	69.7	8,164,230,000	20.1
Light industry	5,720,100,000	68.4	1,000,600,000	12.1
Communications	3,290,280,000	74.8	644,650,000	14.6
Internal trade	298,600,000	74.5	38,700,000	9.7
Construction cooperatives	514,720,000	64.5	190,960,000	23.9
Communal farms	3,769,900,000	66.7	1,028,510,000	18.2
Transport	4,359,900,000	63.4	896,550,000	18.7
Motion pictures	412,000,000	63.4	121,600,000	17.7
Medical aid	1,425,000,000	62.6	445,000,000	19.5
Education	1,971,004,000	62.7	512,420,000	16.3
Miscellaneous	20,712,390,000		3,584,810,000	
Total	69,688,004,000	70.7	16.628,030,000	16.8

Thus it can be seen that Ukraine, which furnishes the Soviet Union with as much as two-thirds of its material resources, received only one-sixth of the total expenditures of the USSSR. It is also interesting to note that of the amount spent in Ukraine, more than eight billion rubles was for the development of heavy industry, which Russia needs, and only one-eighth as much on light industry, which Ukraine would find more useful.

Below is a comparison between the expenditures on light industry in the USSR and Ukraine's percentage in the second Five-Year Plan, illustrating the colonial exploitation of Ukraine:

	U.S.S.R.	Ukraine's share
General Machine-building	1,270,000,000 rubles	110,000,000 rubles
Special machine-building	211,000,000	16,600,000
Tractor construction	3,060,000,000	87,000,000
Motion pictures	56,000,000	15,000,000
Cement industry	369,000,000	23,000,000
Paper industry	1,048,000,000	25,000,000
Lumber industry	851,000,000	25,000,000
Cotton goods	1,753,000,000	180,000,000
Wool	729,600,000	158,000,000
Rope	196,000,000	17,000,000
Textiles	784,000,000	120,000,000
Silk	118,000,000	3,000,000
Leather footware	480,000,000	0
Leather tanneries	116,000,000	0
Haberdashery	66,000,000	0
Match industry	23,200,000	0
Music industry	33,000,000	1,800,000
School supplies	55,000,000	0
Oak tanning extract	37,000,000	2,000,000
Office supplies	30,000,000	0
Glass	297,700,000	1,200,000
Spirits	210,300,000	6,800,000

Bone products	99,900,000	10,000,000
Butter	158,800,000	19,000,000
Macaroni	48,800,000	2,500,000
Pastry	74,900,000	5,000,000
Starch	86,900,000	0
Refrigeration	164,400,000	8,000,000
Total (approx.)	12,568,100,000	857,900,000

Thus Ukraine receives only one-fourteenth of the total USSR expenditures on light industry.

The following figures show how Ukraine compares with the rest of the world in oil, manganese ore, pig iron, steel, rolled metal, sugar, cooking salt and potassium salt, based on production in 1934:

(In millions of tons).

	Oil	Manganese Ore	Pig Iron	Steel	Rolled Metal	Sugar	Cooking Salt	Potassium Salt
U.S.A	123.0	0.03	16.3	26.4	19.3	1.2	6.9	0.3
Venezuela	20.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rumania	8.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Iraq	7.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dutch E. I.	5.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mexico	5.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ukraine	5.2	0.8	6.4	4.6	3.7	1.0	1.6	0.4
Germany	—	—	8.7	11.6	8.4	1.7	3.2	9.6
France	—	—	6.1	6.1	4.3	1.2	2.1	2.0
England	—	—	6.0	9.0	6.6	0.7	4.2	—
Belgium	—	—	2.9	2.9	2.2	0.7	—	—
Japan	—	—	2.4	3.7	—	—	—	—
Luxemburg	—	—	2.0	1.9	1.6	—	—	—
Czechoslovakia	—	0.06	0.6	0.2	—	0.6	—	—
Italy	—	0.006	0.5	1,8	1.6	0.4	—	—
Sweden	—	—	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.3	—	—
Poland	0.5	—	0.4	0.9	0.6	0.4	—	0.3
Canada	—	—	—	0.8	0.6	—	0.3	—

Ukraine's place in the world production of these products and resources may be shown as follows:

	Ukraine's place	% of world production
Coal	4th	5.5
Iron ore	3rd	11.6
Marganese ore	1st	—
Pig iron	3rd	10.5
Steel	5th	6.5
Rolled metal	5th	—
Sugar	4th	8.5
Oil	7th-8th	2.5
Cooking salt	5th	—
Potassium salt	3rd	—

(Next issue — Agriculture).

Ukrainian News

UNITED STATES

Metropolitan Sheptytsky Honored. The 75-year-old Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church who is now a prisoner of the Russians in Lviv, Western Ukraine, was honored on Dec. 29 by a concert in Town Hall, New York. Sponsored by the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese

Photo by Roman Fenchynsky

UKRAINIAN ARTISTS AT TOWN HALL

Roman Prydatkevich, Maria Sokil, Dr. A. Koshetz, Vera Stetkewicz and Antin Rudnitsky, who participated in the concert held in honor of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky in New York on Dec. 29.

of America, the concert was featured by the 300-voice United Ukrainian Folk Choruses of the New York area, directed by Professor Alexander Koshetz; by Maria Sokil, soprano, and her husband, Antin Rudnitsky, pianist and composer who accompanied her, and by Roman Prydatkevich, violinist, who was accompanied by Vera Stetkewicz. Stephen Jarema, New

York State Assemblyman, delivered the opening address. Dr. Luke Myshuha, editor of Svoboda, the principal speaker, described the life and influence of the Metropolitan, calling him a great religious leader, a true democrat and "a shining symbol of Ukrainian national resistance to Soviet Russian misrule and oppression." (See the Trident, December, 1939, for a biography of the Metropolitan.)

"Shevchenko and Women." Dr. Luke Myshuha's excellently written 94-page study of Taras Shevchenko, entitled "Shevchenko and Women," which ran serially in The Ukrainian Weekly a year ago, has been published by the Ukrainian Press and Book Company of Jersey City. Translated by Waldimir Semenyna, the work does not restrict itself to the poet's love life, but covers innumerable interesting incidents of his career (leaving out, of course, the one about his son by a Russian princess). In fact, it is probably the best short study that has yet appeared in the English language of the lonely, hard-drinking, bald-headed and incurably romantic genius who expressed his people's longings and sorrow as no other man has before or since.

"Charley's Aunt" in Ukrainian. "Charley's Aunt," Brandon Thomas's famous English comedy that has been played more than any other play except Hamlet, was presented in Ukrainian in New York, Brooklyn and Philadelphia in December by the Ukrainian National Theater directed by Michael Skorobohach, who also played the role of the fake aunt. D. Dmytrenko, star of the Theater's initial performance, "Dovbush," and John Petrash were well cast as students. Mrs. Anna Hladun, as the real aunt, and Mary Luba and Mrs. O. Braznik as the young girls acted with charm and skill. Skorobohach, who will be remembered for his role of comedian in the film "Marusia," was at his best, and the play was enthusiastically received.

ODWU Semi-Annual Meeting. The Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine held its semi-annual meeting in New York on Dec. 28 and 29 with 60 representatives from ODWU, Ukrainian Gold Cross and Youth of ODWU branches throughout the country present. Dr. Alexander A. Granovsky, president who served in France with the A.E.F. in the World War as a volunteer, declared: "I fought for America once and will fight again if necessary. I believe that all our members will act likewise. But we must remember also to help our kinsmen in their struggle for liberation even if our enemies denounce our organization and our people for personal or political reasons." Mrs. Stephanie Halychyn's resignation as head of the UGC was accepted.

Newspaper "Ukraine" Becomes Monthly. The semi-monthly newspaper "Ukraine," ODWU organ, published at 149 Second Ave., New York, will appear as a monthly magazine, beginning with the February issue. V. A. Riznyk will be editor, succeeding V. S. Dushnyck, who resigned as editor of the newspaper and of The Trident.

ODWU Volunteers. Five members of Branch 10 of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine volunteered for service in the Army recently. They are Nicholas Trush, Stephen Cherepany, Andrew Priatko, Michael Evanyk and Myron Schur. Other members in ODWU and Youth of ODWU branches throughout the country are also volunteering without waiting to be drafted.

"The Nation" Retracts, in Part. The Nation, so-called liberal organ of the New York intelligentsia which used to praise Soviet Russia profusely and has never printed a line about the democratic anti-Soviet Ukrainian liberation movement, retracted some of its libels against Ukrainians and ODWU in its Jan. 18th issue, but made several more that were equally false. Reprinting a condensed version of Roman Lapica's letter of protest, the magazine admitted receiving "a number of protests" and that "practically all of them made the point that the ODWU, far from being 'under the Nazi thumb,' as our article stated, is working for a British victory."

It then cited several alleged quotations from ODWU publications concerning German Nazism, which made interesting reading. There was only one slight error: the quotations never appeared in any ODWU newspaper or magazine.

All-Ukrainian Football Team. Two young Ukrainians, Alexander Yaremko and Dietric Slobogin, released their 1940 selections for an "All-Ukrainian" football team recently. Yaremko's, his sixth, includes John Mizen, Washington U., and Mike Yurcheshen, Case College, ends; John Kuzman, Fordham, and Joseph Turek, Illinois, guards, George Sirochman, Duquesne, and Walter Kniaz, Penn State, tackles; John Chernansky, Moravian College, center; John Petchel, Duquesne, quarterback; Michael Suchena, F. & M. College, and George Muha, Carnegia Tech, halfbacks, and George Gonda, Duquesne, fullback.

Slobogin's team, his third, includes Mizen and Ken Skoropowski, Boston U., ends; Kuzman and Kniaz, tackles; John Whyowanec, Alabama, and Anthony Dobra, East Stroudsburg Teachers, guards; Joe Domnanovich, Alabama, center; Mike Sekela, Pittsburgh, quarterback; Muha and Bill Proch, Manhattan, halfbacks, and Joe Postupak, Notre Dame, fullback.

Ukrainian Brotherhood. Speaking over Station WJBK in Detroit recently, Miroslav Sichynsky, president of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, said "let me warn you not to follow the bad example of some groups in New York and Chicago which unreasonably expect that Ukraine could be liberated by a Nazi victory over Bolshevism." In Scranton Stephen Droboty writes in the January issue of Ukrainian Life published by the UWA: "The Nationalists Are Still Nazis. As all in close touch with Ukrainian activities abroad know, there is in Berlin a press bureau operated by Ukrainian Nationalists. Its activities have for many years compromised legitimate Ukrainian aspirations to independence, and most charges of Nazism against the Ukrainians and their independence movement can no doubt be traced to the work of this band of perverts and its superiors."

Ukrainian Records. The Ukrainian Recording Committee of the Ukrainian Congress Committee announces that subscriptions for records to be made by a picked chorus directed by Professor Alexander Koshetz may be sent to Stephen Korpan, treasurer, 524 Olive St., Scranton, Pa. The price is $10 for 10 records of 20 songs.

Washington Ukrainians Celebrate. Washington Ukrainians celebrated "Lystopadove Sviato" in commemoration of Ukrainian independence with a colorful concert on Dec. 1. The chorus was directed by Marusia Kissel, who also sang several duets with Mary Mandrich. Peter Kiselicia made the introductory address, and Eugene Skotzko spoke on the Ukrainian independence movement. Igor Shlopak played selections on the piano.

Youth Rally in Boston. A Ukrainian-American youth rally, sponsored by the Greater Boston Ukrainian - American Club, will be held in Hotel Bradford, Boston, from Feb. 21 to Feb. 23. Scheduled speakers are John H. Roberts, head of the Ukrainian Youth's League; Anne Zadorsne, former editor of The Trend, and Stephen Droboty, editor of the monthly Ukrainian Life. Joseph Charyna of Jamaica Plain is chairman.

UNA Convention. The Ukrainian National Association will hold its regular quadrennial convention in Harrisburg, Pa., beginning May 12.

Detroit Youth Congress Site. The Ukrainian Youth's League of North America will hold its 1941 convention in Detroit during the Labor Day week-end, according to President John H. Roberts, Brooklyn attorney.

Melnyk Heads Conn. Youth. Andrew Melnyk of New Britain is the new president of the Ukrainian Youth Organization of Connecticut, succeeding Michael Vennett of New Haven. Other officers are Irene Preston, Hartford, first vice president; John Paulishin, Ansonia, second vice president; Russel Korilishyn, Ansonia, treasurer; Anne Bidlen, Hartford, recording secretary; Pearl Sawiak, corresponding secretary; Julia Dudik, Terryville, financial secretary.

Ukrainian Lectures at Columbia. Professor Clarence A. Manning announces that the Department of East European Languages of Columbia University, in conjunction with the Ukrainian National Associaton, will begin a series of lectures on Ukrainian history, culture and literature in Room 305, Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York, at 8 p. m. on Feb. 14. Admission is free. Professor George Vernadsky of Yale University, the first lecturer, will speak on "The Kievan and Cossack Period in Ukrainian History."

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

Hlynka Speaks in Parliament. Anthony Hlynka, Ukrainian M. P. from the Vegreville district, said in the House of Commons in Ottawa recently that Ukrainians form 10 per cent of the population in Saskatchewan, "yet over 10 per cent of the enlistments in that province are from people of Ukrainian stock." He scored the tendency among "certain individuals who hold responsible positions in our public life to make loose and ill-advised statements which may easily be misconstrued and made use of as the basis or cause for disunity."

Ukrainian Dream. Discussing the recent unity among the Ukrainian - Canadian organizations, The Winnipeg Tribune said on Nov. 26: "Their dream is of a day when an independent Ukraine, bound to Great Britain in close friendship, will give leadership to a Slavic community of nations and establish a strong eastern bulwark against German aggression."

Andrusyshen Gets Ph. D. Constantine Henryson Andrusyshen, 33, of Toronto, Ont., known to Ukrainian-Americans for his translations of Ukrainian short stories, was awarded his Ph. D. degree in romance languages by the Senate of the University of Toronto on Dec. 13. His thesis was entitled "Anatole France and Renan. A Comparison of Ideologies."

Pavlychenko Gets Ph. D. Professor T. K. Pavlychenko of the University of Saskatchewan received a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Nebraska in January, according

to The New Pathway of Saskatoon. He studied at the Ukrainian University in Kamenetz-Podilsky, Prague and the University of Saskatchewan besides Nebraska, where he majored in agronomy. He has published papers on agronomy and is active in Ukrainian-Canadian activities.

UNO Convention. The Ukrainian National Federation of Canada held its seventh annual convention in Winnipeg, Man., from Dec. 27 to Dec. 29, together with its affiliated organizations. UNO officers elected were Walter Kossar, president; Michael Sharyk, vice president; Michael Babiy, secretary, Paul Boozok, treasurer; Vasil Swystun, committee member; Prof. T. K. Pavlychenko; Dr. Andrew Cymbalisty, Onufrey Sokil, V. Hirniak and Eugene Wasylyshen, controllers. Presidents of the other organizations are Dr. John Gulay, Ukrainian War Veterans; Mary Gulay, Ukrainian Women's Organization, and Walter Davidiuk, Ukrainian National Federation. ization, and Walter Davidiuk, Ukrainian National Youth Federation.

UKRAINIANS IN EUROPE

"A Great Latent Force." The Tablet, London, Oct. 19, 1940, wrote: "We should never forget the Ukrainians, who are a great latent force in Eastern Europe, a people who emerged into political independence for the few months during which the Germans had triumphed over the Russians and had not been beaten by the Allies. Pundits are inclined to dismiss Ukrainian nationality on historical grounds, but what matters is the myth today. There may never have been a Ukrainian nation by any of the accepted tests, but that does not mean that the national consciousness has not been forming during the present and the last century, transmuting an old sense of being a people into the ambition to be a nation."

German Troops in Poland. G. E. R. Gedye said in a dispatch to The New York Times from Istanbul on Jan. 18 that in Poland skilled workers who built the Siegfried Line are now working feverishly on the "Eastern Dam" against the Soviet Union and that 1,500,000 German troops are concentrated opposite the Russian frontier (Western Ukrainian soil). In Czecho-Slovakia, he added, "the number of Tsarist Russian emigres in training to attack the Soviet, it is reported, now amounts to nearly two divisions, according to the Germans."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Editor, The Trident:

I noted with interest your suggestion in the October number of the Trident, page 25, as to a standard transliteration for the Ukrainian-English letters. I agree with you that it would be an excellent thing to get consistency in this respect. There are three points, however, of which I am not convinced.

It seems to me that there would be certain advantage in translating the letter "и" as "i". Also you have left out the letter "й" which I think ought to be included and which I would suggest should be translated as "y". There is also the case of the characteristic ending "ий" which I think as a matter of practice, might well be put in the English as "y". These are, I know, the letters which give most trouble and I should be very happy if some agreement respecting them could be arrived at.

I need not say that I find The Trident of considerable interest and appreciate your sending it to me.

G. W. Simpson
Professor of History, University of Saskatchewan.

(The Trident agrees with Professor Simpson regarding the letters "й" and "ий" and also that it would be simpler to transliterate "и" as "i". However, in the last case, in transliterating English letters back into Ukrainian, the writer would not know which to use, the Ukrainian "i" or "и." Phonetically the Ukrainian "и" is more like the English "e" as in "red." For example, Premier Voloshин's name is pronounced "Voloshen" and not "Voloshin" as it is frequently used in newspapers.)

Editor, The Trident:

Congratulations on the article, "Youth's Dilemma in a Democracy," by Dr. Gearge Bachur! A great article which put into words many thoughts which have been in my mind for some time. I enjoyed the article immensely, but I dare say that "Communist!" will be hurled at Dr. Bachur, that is, if all the youth who receive your magazine read this article.

I am very disappointed in your present stand in regard to the international situation. The small article entitled "War Talk" on page 48 in the June, 1940, issue was more befitting as a show of your American patriotism than your present "contributions." If it means life or death, why not take the middle path on the plea that you are interested in Ukrainian affairs only? **Nicholas Tomchuk,** Jersey City, N. J.

(The Trident believes that the present crisis may mean life or death for democracy; it sees little hope of Ukrainian independence except in a victory of democracy. By this it means full aid to Britain, whatever the consequences. — Editor.)

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—o—

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