



THE TRIDENT

"One Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State!"

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June, 1941.



Be Loyal To Your Flag

I Pledge Allegiance to the Flag
Of the United States of America,
And to the Republic
For which it stands,
One Nation, Indivisible,
With Liberty and Justice
For All

NATIONAL UNITY MEANS A NATION INDESTRUCTIBLE!



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Next Issue of The Trident

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, by a Ukrainian Presbyterian priest.
How a man found himself after a stormy career in
Ukraine and Canada.

OUT OF THE NIGHT. A review of Jan Valtin's brilliant
expose of Communism and Nazism in action.

ODWU CONVENTION. Report and resolutions of 11th
ODWU convention.

ALSO the concluding part of **UKRAINE IN FIGURES**,
RUS', RUSSIA AND UKRAINE, **UKRAINIAN PO-**
LITICAL THOUGHT, **UKRAINIAN NEWS**, etc.

THE TRIDENT

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No. 5.

War and Peace

(An Editorial)

We don't mean to commit plagiarism in borrowing the title of Tolstoy's great novel for this editorial. But it seems to describe America's present situation concisely. We are not officially at war with Germany; but certainly we are not at peace, as the sinking of the Robin Moor, the freezing of Axis credits and the closing of German consulates and propaganda bureaus in the United States bear witness.

Elsewhere in this issue The Trident publishes the views of several Ukrainian Americans regarding the issue of peace or war. The writers are wholeheartedly opposed to war, just as we are. But whereas one of them also opposes aiding Britain, we go further and state that Germany and its Italian and Japanese satellites are as much our enemies as England's and that America can best protect itself by helping Britain destroy Hitler.

However, we do not wish to refer to the arguments put forth by our contributors; rather we will restrict ourselves to those issues raised in our discussions with prominent Ukrainians about town on the question: "What will an Allied victory mean for Ukraine?"

Many of the older Ukrainians feel that it will not mean very much. Although they profess anti-Nazism and anti-Fascism, their arguments run as follows:

Arguments Used by Some

1. England is too far away to help Ukraine. Driven from the continent of Europe, the British cannot aid any Ukrainian liberation movement, nor supply the Ukrainians with arms and munitions.

2. England has never committed itself regarding Ukrainian independence. Although Chamberlain and later Churchill said time and again that in a victory over the Nazis the Allies would secure the freedom of all the small nations of Europe, mention of Ukraine has been conspicuously lacking.

3. England has never officially supported the Ukrainians in the past and might oppose the establishment of a strong Ukrainian state in preference to other Slav states.

4. England might prefer to support a democratic Russia, or even Soviet Russia, in preference to an independent Ukraine because Russia is a concrete, visible factor while every discussion of Ukraine necessarily must be theoretical. In other words England prefers to deal with realities.

5. England has the Polish and to a lesser extent the Czech Governments-in-exile as allies, two groups which in the past, especially the former, bitterly fought every move to give the Ukrainians autonomy.

6. England may involve the United States in the war.

The Tide Will Turn

The first argument is based entirely on the present situation. England is losing at the moment. But what of next year when America's gigantic armament program is pouring out arms, munitions, planes, tanks and ships in quantities never dreamed of by Hitler? Imagine, if you will, the impossible task of the Nazi armies in simultaneously fighting off invasions in Norway, France, Italy, Greece and even Rumania and also fending off huge bombing raids on key industrial cities in the Reich. The longer the war, the more obvious it will be to the Quislings in every occupied country that Hitler's days are numbered, and the more courage will every oppressed nation gain to revolt.

The next three points are all tied up with the Soviet question. Whether Stalin fights Hitler or not, (and it is our opinion that he will not, for there is everything to lose, including his job, and nothing to gain) Ukraine will profit in the long run. If Hitler defeats Stalin and establishes a dictatorship in Ukraine, that dictatorship will fall with Hitler, and in the general reconstruction of Europe a democratic Ukraine will come into existence for the simple reason that neither Britain nor the United States will want to leave a political cauldron boiling in East Europe, ready to destroy the peace at the first opportunity.



By Helko Baran.

It's about time to stop this!

Britain's silence regarding Ukraine is purely political. Until Stalin moves, Britain does not care to antagonize him further by talking about an independent Ukraine when there is no physical opportunity at the moment of freeing Ukraine. But London knows and Washington knows that 45,000,000 people in East Europe are a force of immense potentialities. Neither will desire, after Hitler's fall, to leave this strong race in the hands of the far weaker Poles or the politically incompetent Russians to prey upon at their will. They might just as well rewrite the Versailles Treaty and wait for the succeeding generation to put down a new crop of totalitarian states that will grow out of it.

England as a Friend

England has never been Ukraine's enemy. Though we hear no appeals for Ukrainian independence ringing in the halls of Parliament at the moment, no one is going to dare tell us that Hitler is to be trusted before England. There was never any real sympathy for Ukraine in Germany under Hitler. But throughout the past two decades the British people have frequently expressed their sympathy for the lot of the Ukrainians, as, for example, the protest in Parliament against the Polish "pacification" of 1930; the protests against the Soviet-enforced famine in Eastern Ukraine, and especially the interest the Canadian Government, under whom 400,000 Ukrainians have found far more peace and greater prosperity than they ever had in their homeland, has shown in the Ukrainian question.

As for the last point, it seems far-fetched to say that England hopes to get the United States into war in order to save itself. Hitler has engaged in activities against the United States ever since he came to power. The German American Bund, with its storm troopers, Jew-baiting and emphasis on Germanism, was and remains a Hitler-sponsored movement against Americans, a potential fifth column almost as dangerous as the Communists with their much larger proportion of American-born members.

Hitler, the Real Enemy

It is every nation's duty to protect itself. A government that would refuse to take adequate measures for the safety of its citizens would not be worthy of the name. Our government is taking such measures, not to start a war with Hitler, but to make sure that he starts none with us. By overrunning Europe, by sending troops into Africa, by proclaiming again and again that the German race must dominate, Hitler has shown his true intentions regarding the rest of the world. For our government to refuse to believe, or to ignore, these facts would be political and probably national suicide.

Over and above all questions pertaining to Ukraine is this fundamental point: America must come first, last and always with every person in these United States no matter what his national origin. For any immigrant to think of the national defense of the United States in terms of what is best for Ukraine, or Poland, or Czechoslovakia, is ingratitude toward his new fatherland. It also arouses the question of why he left his native country. As the result of the mistakes of some would-be Ukrainian politicians in the past, a portion of the general public holds the Ukrainians suspect even now. Let those responsible beware of making such mistakes again.

In brief, the President of the United States has declared that an unlimited national emergency exists; it is up to all patriotic Americans to support him until the crisis is past.

Praise and Blame

In the past two issues we have published articles by a Polish editor and about General Sikorski. We were pleased to receive several compliments from the younger generation and from others, including a college professor and a historian. Only a few older die-hard immigrants thought it outrageous to publish "the lies of Polish villains." We regret that we don't feel that way. When we say we support the Allies, we mean what we say. We know how the older Ukrainians feel about the Poles. We also see where their policies have brought the Ukrainian question after two decades during which they serenely, supremely and stupidly directed all Ukrainian politics. It is now in a hole so deep that it will take another generation to dig it out and win the support of the majority of the democratic peoples the world over. If the few older immigrants who criticize virtually everything the younger generation does only try to be more tolerant and understanding, we believe the whole cause of Ukrainian independence will ultimately benefit. Otherwise they will only end up by losing the respect of everyone concerned.

ROMAN LAPICA.

ODWU Convention. The 11th annual convention of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine will be held in Hotel Imperial, Broadway and 31st St., New York, from July 4 through July 6. The first session will begin at 10 a. m. July 4. The first day will be devoted to election of committees and reports of ODWU officers. In the evening the Ukrainian Gold Cross and the Youth of ODWU will hold their separate ses-

sions. The annual meeting of the Ukrainian Printing and Publishing Co. will be held July 5 in the morning. The UGC and Youth of ODWU sessions will continue at the same time. Other reports and discussions will take up the rest of the day. The banquet will begin at 7 p. m. July 5. The July 6th session will begin at 10 a. m. and will include addresses, discussions, resolutions and elections.

Should America Go to War?

(A Symposium)

Editor's note: The following comments represent the views of the authors and not necessarily those of The Trident. Additional comments from other Ukrainian Americans are welcome.

WAR CALLED IMPERIALIST CONFLICT

By DR. GEORGE BACHUR

"Should America Go To War?" Over eighty per cent of American citizens, if the Gallup poll is reliable, are opposed to any direct involvement in European war. War is a mass murder. The last World War did not solve, but intensified our economic difficulties. H. G. Wells said recently that we know what we are fighting **against** but we are not informed by the warmongers what we are fighting **for**. Does anybody know what noble ideals America will achieve if she goes to war? Professor Beard's recent observation is wise and pertinent: "If we cannot solve even the problem of putting 10,000,000 of our citizens to work on the lavish resources right at home, how can we have the affrontery to assume that we can solve the problems of Asia and of Europe encrusted in the blood-rust of 50 centuries? It is not lack of good will that should hold our hand. It is a little suspicion, born of experience, that we are not quite smart enough to dispose of Europe's unfinished business."

A teacher asked: "Johnny would you be willing to die for your country?" After a moment's hesitation lest he be accused of being disloyal, Johnny replied, "Yes, but who owns the land?" Johnny knows that a "patriot" is "one who is ready to lay down **your** life for **his** country."

The feudal lords had decency and courage to fight with their men and to undertake the risks of battle. But not so with our financial, industrial and political lords who insist that the other fellows do the fighting and dying for them.

The war waged today is not against Hitler because he is an enemy of progress, of science, or of humanity, or because he destroyed workers' organizations, and imprisoned radicals and exiled some Jews, but because he threatens to jeopardize the imperialist possessions of England. He is in the open sea. England cannot starve Germany now by her blockade of Europe. So she asks Uncle Sam to do it for her. What happened to the slogan, "Freedom of the seas for all nations"? Is killing children by bombs worse than starving them by blockade?

War is being waged **for** but not **by** the imperialist ruling cliques, masquerading as defenders of "liberty, justice, fair play, religious freedom" in the respective countries involved. The kings, dukes, princes, and others of that ilk so vociferous

about defending "democracy" are nearly all safe in America. They ran away like rats from a sinking ship. The workers, farmers and others were forced to do the fighting and dying for them.

America has nothing to gain from entering the European conflict, but "blood, sweat and tears." She has everything to lose. Nothing will hasten the growth of Yankee Fascism as rapidly in this country as America's actual participation in this war. War will multiply differences, intensify antagonism, propagate hates. All minority groups will be the first to suffer. What are the real aims of the belligerents? Will there be a free Ukraine? Czechoslovakia? Poland? India? Does any one know why we should be going to war? A pacifist says, "You who believe in war do the fighting." And a Quaker says, "We pray not that either side will win but that God will win over both, that, out of both, new men will be made."

The Ukrainian people have always fought the tyrants of Moscow in defense of their own freedom and independence. They will always be ready to fight in defense of this freedom, whether the enemy be Stalin or Hitler or Fascists in their own land. The American Ukrainians are ready to fight to defend the democracy of their adopted country. But they believe the way to defend democracy is to extend democracy, not to abandon it, even temporarily, in pursuit of imperialist aggrandizement.

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ANOTHER WAR FOR "DEMOCRACY"

By J. M. KISSEL

President of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League.

One score and four years ago, America went to war to save the world for Democracy, a noble gesture indeed, but a futile one, for once again the world is in the claws of that fiendish monster — WAR. America squelched the fire then, but she failed to put it out completely. As a result, the flame has been slowly rekindled to become a conflagration of immense proportions.

Is history repeating itself? Is America, true to the nature of a real fireman, tempted again to risk all to save the world for Democracy? If the temptation gets the best of her let us hope she does a good job of it this time.

If America must go to war, whatever the reason that is given, let us hope that she will assume a greater role than that of saviour. Let us hope that she will give the world back to the people — an equitable portion to all nations that have run the gauntlet of oppression and tyranny in an effort to retain the soil of their birth. Let us hope too, that she keeps an eye on the rise of these democracies until they grow strong enough to defy any threat of the fire of hatred and greed from among themselves.

America should show the world that "all men are created equal," no matter where they live in the world and that a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

PEOPLE HELD TO BE AGAINST WAR

By JUSTINE SMARSH

Boston, Mass.

In connection with the article, "Should America Go To War?" I should like to say a few words as a Ukrainian-American. The President says that the American people do not appreciate the gravity of the situation. Indeed they do, and what is more, they realize that it is unnecessary meddling of the administration that has so endangered our peace and security.

We question the sanity of those who are so willing to sacrifice the very life blood of this nation to preserve the British Empire. They are ready to destroy America to save England, the greatest aggressor of all. Pressure was used for months by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and the Fight for Freedom Committee along with the New Deal interventionists to have the President declare a national emergency. The reason is clear. The speeches of Col. C. A. Lindbergh have so aroused the people to think in the interest of America first that the interventionists believe that national unity for WAR can be quickly brought about by stuffing a national emergency down our throats.

England, which for centuries has starved other countries, now asks us to send her food, particularly milk and butter. This — when at least 45,000,000 Americans are underfed! Because of the way that England blockaded food from reaching Germany during the World War, the baby disease we call rickets is called, in Germany, "the English disease"! The natives of India — perpetually starved by England — administer opium to their infants to still their hungry cries! Then there is the verse, written during the Irish famine: "The Queen has lands and gold, mother! The Queen has lands and gold — While you are forced to your empty breast A skeleton babe to hold!" The "mills of the gods" grind on — and now England, the merciless, begs for mercy!

The American people are overwhelmingly against war; because they don't think that the continued existence of our nation is predicated upon the existence of any imperialistic or overgrown foreign power which is incapable of defending its stolen territories; and because they know how the thieves robbed the other thieves in the last war and left our nation holding the bag. I'll say always to Keep America out of War!

Allen's Anti-Ukrainian History

A Review

THE UKRAINE.* A history. By W. E. D. Allen.
390 pp. Cambridge: at The University Press. New York:
The MacMillan Company. \$4.50.

It is a tragedy that unbiased English writers like Allen should still consider the Ukrainian problem from the Russian or Polish standpoint. In view of all the information now available on the subject, we feel it is time for such scholars to adopt strictly critical methods in analyzing Ukrainian history and not become confused so easily by the mass of misinformation produced by Russians and Poles. True, Allen has read his Hrushevsky, Doroshenko, Antonovich, Kostomarov, Kulish and other Ukrainian historians and writers. But he uses twice as many Russian and Polish sources, and therefore his most elementary facts are unavoidably tainted with anti-Ukrainian interpretations.

For example, Allen still feels that Ukrainian is a Russian dialect; that Hrushevsky created the contemporary Ukrainian literary language which, Allen says, is not understood very well in Eastern Ukraine; that the Ukrainian movement has always been due either to Austrian or German intrigue or to the efforts of a few Ukrainian intellectuals; that the present Ukrainian conflict with the Soviets is based on economic motives and not political, and that Ukraine cannot become economically independent of Russia because the two nations are based on the same Eurasian plain between the Carpathians and the Urals and are fed by the same rivers. Of all the superb nonsense, or gall, or both, the above statements indicate the kind of history Allen has written.

One wonders why he came to write it. Surely not a single line throughout the heavily footnoted book indicates that the writer likes Ukrainians, or even that he sympathizes with them. On the contrary, he takes extreme delight in digging up every so-called fact that discredits some Ukrainian or some event. For example, he mentions three separate times that the great Ukrainian writer Kostomarov was not a Ukrainian by birth. Khmel'nitsky did not fight Poland to free Ukraine but because his "beautiful Cossack mistress" was kidnaped by a Pole and because he was primarily a Polish "King's man" and wanted to protect his caste. Mazepa was a "traitor" to Peter the Great and did not fight for the freedom of Ukraine as a noble cause but because he did not believe Peter could defeat Charles of Sweden and hated to be on the losing side.

* When will historians quit calling it "the" Ukraine?

Early Ukrainian History Confused with Russian

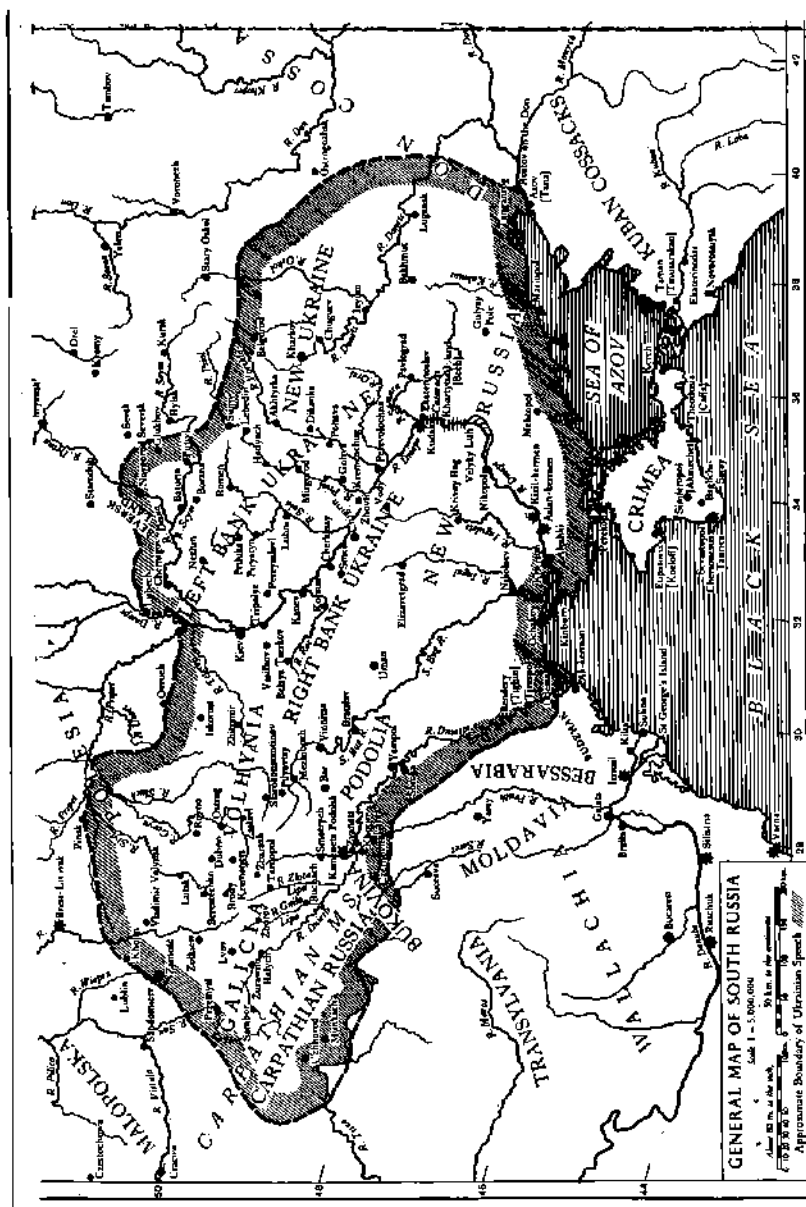
The early chapters on the Kievan State to 1240 and the origins of the Ukrainian question are typical Russian propaganda. Kiev was a Russian State and the mother of all Russian cities. The people were Russians. The word Ukrainian, in fact, does not appear until Allen begins discussing the "origins of the Ukrainian question," which he places in the late 16th century. In other words, there were no Ukrainians before 1590. Allen's explanation is unbelievably naive: it seems all the people inhabiting Ukraine, whom Allen calls Russians, were wiped out by the Mongols and Tartars from 1200 to 1400, and only after swarms of immigrants from Russian and Polish lands occupied the deserted land did a so-called Ukrainian race appear!

Allen frequently contradicts himself, as for example, when he recalls ancient Ukrainian folksongs that sing of Ukrainian heroes like Dmitri Vishnevetsky and then talks of the non-existence of Ukrainian sentiment; or when he refers to Khmelnytsky as a Polish "King's man" and then quotes Khmelnytsky as saying that "I fight for the Orthodox faith." The Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) is called an "unconditional union of the Ukraine with Muscovy." The entire purpose of the treaty, Allen holds, was not to protect Ukrainian independence but to "assure to the privileged Cossack classes the rights which they had enjoyed... under the Polish crown."

Peter Doroshenko, the Hetman who also fought Muscovy, is praised for making his peace with Moscow. He was "no political adventurer of the type of Vyhovsky, Yuri Khmelnytsky, Brykhovetsky and Ivan Mazepa," Allen says, concisely denouncing those Ukrainians who fought Russia. Mazepa himself is called an "old reprobate": "Before Maria and after Maria, Ivan Mazepa * continued to be surrounded by 'Ukrainian ladies.'"

According to Allen, "Shevchenko in his poems tried to keep to the Ukrainian dialect in which legends were related and songs were sung. This was by no means an attempt to create a special Ukrainian language in opposition to Russian." Allen may be surprised to know that Ukrainians the world over speak and write the "Ukrainian dialect" of Shevchenko to this day. Of Shevchenko the best Allen can say is that he achieved great success "in Russian society," that he "was a revolutionary in temperament rather than in thought" and that he fought serfdom. Nothing more. The fact that he awakened Ukraine from its nineteenth century lethargy and is regarded to this day as the spiritual founder of the modern Ukrainian independence movement are disregarded by the writer.

* It is "Mazepa" in Ukrainian. Lord Byron popularized the two "p's."



From "The Ukraine"

The above map excludes large blocks of Ukrainians. Use of the names "South Russia," "New Russia" and "Carpathian Russia" shows the Russian influence on West European writers.

The Ukrainian revival of the late 19th century, namely the **narodnitsvo** movement, is sneered at by Allen, who says: "The spectacle of the sedentary intellectual 'fetishizing' the manual worker is a peculiar phenomenon of urban life which is undoubtedly pathological in its origins." Ukrainian intellectuals, he says, "made a practice also of marrying peasant women."

Ukrainian Movement Called Austrian "Intrigue"

With this revival the Austro-Hungarian Government inspired the Ukrainian movement to seek political separatism from Russia, Allen says. And to show his knowledge of this phase of Ukrainian history, he states that Michael Drahomanov (spelled "Dragomanov" in the book) was "the founder of Ukrainian nationalism." He then quotes Drahomanov to show that this eminent Ukrainian writer had no separatist desires and thus tries to prove that the Ukrainian independence movement was due to Austrian intrigue.

Hrushevsky comes in for his share of debunking. A shrewd politician, as well as a good historian, according to Allen, "he succeeded in representing 'Ukraine-Rus' as something entirely different from 'Moscovia.'" Then comes this classic statement: "Hrushevsky's versatile and insistent genius contributed also the creation, out of the peasant dialect of Galicia, of a real Ukrainian literary language which others, under more favourable circumstances, had failed to create on the banks of the Dniepr [sic]."

Finally, Allen declares that neither the Kiev movement nor the Lviv movement "had had the least influence on the vast changes which had been taking place in the Ukraine" nor on the Ukrainian peasantry!

Using this argument Allen has a difficult time explaining the savage outbreak of the Revolution of 1905 on Ukrainian soil as well as on Russian. Despite the fact that a Revolutionary Ukrainian Party existed, that Ukrainians led the revolt aboard the Russian cruiser *Potemkin* and other manifestations of the national will of the Ukrainian people, Allen says: "But there was no national movement in the fury of the people and, except some small university groups, nothing was heard of Ukrainian national aspirations." The Ukrainian movement for independence was merely an expression of "a wildly savage strain in the population of South Russia." The pogroms in Ukraine during the Revolutionary period of 1917-20 were caused by Ukrainian masses "giving vent to their natural instinct for savagery." (Allen later points out that Poles, White Russians and Bolsheviks were also responsible for these outbreaks, but, quoting official Jewish sources, he estimates that the "Petlyurians" killed off 17,000 persons, the "free" atamans 8,000, the Volunteer Armies 5,000, the Soviet troops

1,000 and the Polish Army several hundreds. He does not mention Petlura's orders to execute any soldiers found guilty of engaging in pogroms.)

When the Revolution of 1917 began, numerous mass meetings were held in Kiev by soldiers, sailors, workers, professionals and peasants. But Allen says: "As for the Ukrainian national movement, no one thought about it during those first days of revolution." The members of the Central Rada and later the Directoria are called "romantics" or unscrupulous adventurers who supported an Austro-German orientation and had no control of the masses. Wheeler-Bennett, who wrote that ultra anti-Ukrainian book, *The Forgotten Peace* (Brest-Litovsk), is quoted several times to show that no movement for Ukrainian independence existed among the peasants. Wheeler-Bennett used no Ukrainian references in his book, yet Allen considers him an authority on Ukraine. Thus the vicious cycle of defamation and distortion of Ukrainian history continues ad nauseum. Although Allen keeps emphasizing that the Ukrainian Rada and later the Directoria depended on German bayonets for their life, he contradicts himself by mentioning that Ukrainian troops, organized by Petlura, Vinnichenko and Konovaletz, drove out the German puppet Skoropadsky and were actively opposed by German forces.

Allen's chapters on Ukraine under the Soviets are the best when he sticks to facts. But when he tries to interpret them he misses badly. For example, he emphasizes that Ukrainianism failed in Ukraine because the people were not interested in Ukrainian, that the language "imported from Galicia" was not very well understood and that although the peasants were bitterly opposed to the "kolkhozy," (collective farms) it was "certainly not on 'national' grounds." When Poles or Russians fight they do so for national reasons; but everything that the Ukrainians ever did or wanted to do, Allen attributes to economic, social, selfish or immoral reasons; never the truth: i. e., that the Ukrainians want to be Ukrainians and hate Russian and Polish oppression.

Allen's worst error is his estimate of the population of Ukraine, which he places at 2,000,000 "conscious" Ukrainians in Galicia and 18,000,000 in Soviet Ukraine, or a total of 20,000,000. He tries to prove this outlandish figure by showing that of the 32,000,000 people in Soviet Ukraine, between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 are "newcomers," i. e., imported from Russia, and that 3,000,000 persons born in Ukraine do not wish to consider themselves "Ukrainians." He figures also that about 3,000,000 Ukrainians died during the famine and that 2,000,000 others "have migrated," i. e., were forcibly shipped to Siberia.

If these figures are true, then one may just as well resign himself to the fact that Ukraine is no more. Allen shows that this is the fixed policy of the Soviet Government: to wipe out

the Ukrainian element in Ukraine by famine, exile and importation of non-Ukrainian workers and settlement of Soviet soldiers on Ukrainian farms, and by integrating Ukrainian industry with the rest of the Soviet Union so that it could not exist independently. To Allen the union of Ukraine and Russia seems to be preferable to Ukrainian independence. But to the Ukrainian the sooner Ukraine is torn away from Russia the happier he will be. Allen feels that the process has gone too far to change, that Ukraine will never again be purely Ukrainian. Well, the foreigners in Ukraine can be shipped back just as easily as they were shipped into the country.

Allen does not do so well in discussing the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which he calls the "Ukrainian National Union (U.N.U.) Without quoting a shred of evidence he repeats Polish and Communist propaganda unblushingly when he states: "The keen interest with which the Nazi leaders regarded the Ukrainian problem lent a serious meaning to the conspirational activities of Colonel Konovalets, who was not ashamed to express openly his 'German orientation.'"

Lastly Allen debunks the unbunkable fact that Ukraine is rich in agricultural and natural resources by stating that Ukraine was never the granary of the Russian Empire; that the wheat fields of Ukraine under the Soviets have "become of only local importance" (apparently Hitler thinks differently); that Galician land "is tired old soil" which cannot support its population; that 25 per cent of the population of Polish Volynia had neither bread nor wood in 1937; that because of irregular rainfall in Eastern Ukraine "the average black earth harvests" are no better than the "average harvests in Central Europe on an average soil."

Allen's conclusion that "the destiny of all these peoples [under Russia] must be a Russian destiny" for geographic and economic reasons is, of course, utterly abhorrent to Ukrainian thought. It is like saying that Mexico and Canada must accept a U. S. destiny because they happen to be on the same continent. Thus despite the immense study and undeniably fine writing that has gone into this work, we must conclude that Doroshenko's recently translated "History of the Ukraine" is still a better story of the Ukrainian people. If Allen's views represent any portion of the views of official London circles, then it will be a sad day for Ukraine when the victorious Allies gather around another peace conference table.

However, despite the anti-Ukrainian attitude displayed throughout the entire history, we are glad it was written, for every book on the subject has its value. There are many good parts in this volume, and it will add to any Ukrainian's knowledge to read it. Meanwhile the reader should keep in mind that sooner or later the fate of the Ukrainian people will be decided by themselves. We venture to say that it will not be a "Russian destiny," as Allen implies.

The Scheme of Russian History

By ELIAS SHKLANKA

Editor's note: W. E. D. Allen in his "The Ukraine," (reviewed in this issue) uses specious arguments to show that the Ukrainians and Russians are virtually one people and that the Ukrainian language is a Russian dialect. In the following article Mr. Shklanka reveals how Russian propagandists have been using the same arguments for years

The Thrasymackus' theory of justice in the time of Socrates that "might is right" is true so far as Russia is concerned. During the past century it was omnipotent.



Mr. Shklanka

Among the Slav nations it led the way. But it was locked within itself. It still cherished the policy of seclusion from the West. The autocracy, the censorship, the ignorance of the masses and the repression of freedom of speech and the press made it easy for Russia to dupe the world. Only such ideas about Russia were carried to the West by its historians, writers and representatives that were in harmony with the imperialistic desires of its ruling class.

In its policy of russification Russia succeeded in erasing the name of Ukraine from the map of the empire and wrote "Little Russia" instead. Officially, the Ukrainians were called "Little Russians, and colloquially "Khokhols." The scheme of Russian history initiated by Karamzin cherishing the idea of "one indivisible Russia" was the only one approved by the Tsarist Government. If a historian showed any originality as the result of his investigation from the official scheme of Russian history, he was either disqualified or his work was confiscated. Social science could not thrive freely in Tsarist Russia any more that it can flourish in Soviet Russia today. A dissertation about the federal nature of the Kiev State by Professor Kostomarov was burned. A treatise on the Ukrainian language by Mykhalchuk was destroyed. On the report of Professor Bezssonov, a historical dissertation by Professor Sumtsov was confiscated because Bezssonov saw "Ukrainophil tendencies" in the work of his friend. These are a few instances that illustrate the conditions under which the historians in Russia were handicapped. Men of learning such as Professor Drahomanov, Professor Biletsky and Academician

Boduen de Courte protested vigorously against the prostitution of social science for the benefit, not of truth, but of the political policies of the Russian Government.

The Legend of Rurik

The scheme of Russian history was founded upon the unity of "Rurik's Dynasty." In the name of that unity two fictions were proclaimed: the fiction that the history of the Ukrainians and of the Russians is one and the fiction of "one Russian nation," including the Russians, the White Russians and the Ukrainians. In line with Russian psychology an arbitrary year, 864, was chosen as the date of the foundation of the Kiev State by the Scandinavians. The early history of the Ukrainian people was made an integral part of Russian history; early Ukrainian culture, law and literature were declared to be the property of the Russians. Even the name "Rus," which preceded the name Ukraine and which was used to denote the Ukrainian people, was taken from them and applied in a modified form to designate all the inhabitants of the Russian Empire from the San River to the Pacific. This scheme of Russian history pleased Russian imperialists. The idea of one country, one people, one language, one history and one dynasty from Rurik to Nicholas II so well established the vertical and horizontal unity of Russia, officially at least, that its validity could not be questioned!

Such a state of affairs sounded a death knell for the submerged nation in the ears of European statesmen and writers. Unfortunate Ukraine, under the lashes of the Russian knout, had no right to speak for itself; and if it did speak, its arguments were not convincing, for how contrary they were to the assertions of its enemies! What difference, in the opinion of one not acquainted with the actual truth, could there be between the Russian and the Little Russian? Perhaps the claim of these people to freedom was only the vain hankering after a phantom of no practical importance. Thus did Russia succeed in blotting out the Ukrainian question from the forum of international politics! As a result Ukraine has suffered down to the present day. Even in 1919 while the Ukrainian Republic was fighting the Bolsheviks, the European powers refused to render it any assistance, believing the propaganda of the Russians and the Poles that the Ukrainians were also Communists!

Now let us examine the validity of this scheme of Russian history. The assertion that the early Ukrainian and Muscovite histories were identical because members of the same dynasty ruled both countries is as absurd as if one tried to prove the identity of Spanish and Austrian histories on the basis of one ruling Hapsburg family. Such a scheme of Russian history leaves out the origin of the Russian people, who appeared on

the historical scene in the second half of the twelfth century. It also ignores the history of the White Russians, who were incorporated into Russia at the end of the eighteenth century after the partition of Poland.

Russian Methods in Writing History

The famous Ukrainian historian Michael Hrushevsky rendered a great service to history when he proved that the Russians and the Ukrainians had a different origin and development. A few serious Russian historians accepted his view. Olexa Shakhmatov, the noted Russian philologist, divides the early Eastern Slavic tribes into three groups out of which the Russians, the Ukrainians and the White Russians emerged. A. E. Presniakov in his work "Organization of the Russian State," Leningrad, 1918, asserts that historical facts which did not fit into the scheme of Russian history were always discarded. In his own words: "The existing theories in our history lead to a one-sided choice of facts, and any material not agreeing with the theories was rejected and thus a critical attitude towards historical sources was not exercised." M. K. Liubavski in his "Organization of the Territory of the Russian Nation," Leningrad, 1929, claims that the Russians originated from the fusion of various Slavic tribes with the indigenous population, mainly the Finns. Professor P. Smirnov in his "Outline of Russian History of the VIth-IXth Centuries, Kiev, 1928, states that because of the official scheme of Russian history, "the origin of the Russian people has remained hitherto unexplained."

Leading Ukrainian historians accept the fact that the history of the Ukrainian people had a different origin and development than the history of the Russians. This leads us to the conclusion that Ukrainian history goes further back than 864 and that the Ukrainian culture of the Kiev State antedated the culture of the Russian forebears by three centuries. There is nothing wrong in the desire of the Russian historians to claim the heritage of the early Ukrainian culture for the Russian people, but they should be sincere and acknowledge that it was the culture of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian language is not a dialect of the Russian language, as the Russian propagandists have claimed it to be. It is an independent language and was so recognized even by the Russian Imperial Academy of Science in 1905.

The Difference Between Russians and Ukrainians

The physical differences between the Ukrainians and the Russians are striking. The average Ukrainian is taller than his neighbors, the Russians, the White Russians or the Poles. He has the greatest chest expansion among them; his head is

rounder, and his hair and eyes are predominately black. In fact, he has more characteristics in common with the Serb than with the Russian or the Pole.

Finnish and Mongolian blood predominates in the veins of the Russian people. Professor E. Samaylov proved in his experiments in Leningrad in 1926 that the blood of the children born of a Russian father and a Tartar or Finn mother was the same as the blood of their parents but that the blood of a Russian father married to a West European differed from that of his children. Also such a gross Russian custom as "sno-khochestvo," in which the father has priority in marital relations with his daughters-in-law, is peculiarly Asiatic and utterly foreign and abhorrent to European civilization and Christianity.

The best elements in pre-war Russia were those of European origin. The revolution has almost exterminated them. Today in Russia, Asia reigns supreme.

The psychological differences between the Ukrainians and the Russians are profound. A Russian is both Asiatic and European. The Russian people therefore are characterized by contradictions. "The traits of their character are combinations of antinomies and polar opposites." (N. Berdayev.) They are both Westernizers and Slavophiles; that is, they admire and assimilate Western European culture, but not being able to attain to its level they declare their own Russian culture to be superior to that in the West. This Slavophil idea is very well shown by the present Russian Communists.

A Russian is both humane and unusually cruel. The humane Alexander I, the founder of the Holy Alliance, ruled Russia with grim despotism. Alexander II turned into a firm reactionary and suppressed his own reforms instituted in his earlier reign. The "Revolutionary Catechism" by the socialist Nechaev of the 1860's became the gospel of the notorious Russian G. P. U. The Bolshevik policy of championing the cause of the poor throughout the world is not incompatible with the cruelties at home. A Russian is both "dionysiac" and ascetic. Examples can be cited from the lives of Nekrassov, Rasputin and Tolstoy. The activities of the Russian intelligentsia and Nihilists of the past century manifested themselves along the lines of ascetism and self-sacrifice. The Russians are both state-minded and anarchic. They submissively serve as slave labor for the founding of a great empire; and yet simultaneously they are inclined to revolt. Their love of freedom is reflected in their rebels Stenka Razin and Pugachev. The landlord Bakunin, Prince Kropotkin and Count Tolstoy were the founders of Anarchism. The Russian people are both "apocalyptic" and Nihilists. They are forever inventing some missionary ideals to save not only Russia but the whole world: Slavophilism — the belief in Russian culture;

Narodnichestvo — the faith in some mysterious power hidden in the Russian peasantry; **vsechelovechnost** — the ability to share the point of view of all nations or types or individuals, and the present Communism with its world messianism.

Nihilism is a peculiarly Russian outlook upon life which denies the best values of Christian civilization except science and work. Dostoyevski said: "We all are Nihilists." Pisarev, Dobrolyudov, Chernishevski and other Nihilists of the second half of the past century were also the Russian prophets of enlightenment. A Russian is a practical materialist and yet a utopian, fanatically attached to such an idea as Orthodoxy, Slavophilism, Nihilism, revolution or Communism. He craves for some totalitarian ideal and yet is schismatic. The Russian mind cannot doubt; it is dogmatic. A theory or a hypothesis is absolute truth for a Russian. If one criticizes Darwin's theory from Lamark's point of view, he then is a heretic. The Third Rome, the Russian Orthodox Church, Communism tolerate nothing. And yet there were sects in Russia. The Old Rituals, the Priestless, the Dukhobors, the Mensheviks and the Russian intelligentsia who spoke of their state as "they" and of themselves as "we," were schismatics.

Human suffering presents a special problem for the Russian. Evil cannot be justified, and therefore there is no God. Thus the Nihilists of the past century were the forerunners of the present godless Communists. A Russian is both domineering and submissive. If on top, a despot; underneath, a slave. Russian nobility was the richest in the world, and the peasants always craved for land, yet the Russians of the Slavophiles and **Narodniks** repudiated the institution of private property. A Russian is sincere and repentant. The Russian upper classes always repented for the injustice done to the peasants. From this point of view they could not justify the culture which was built on the labor of the peasantry. Thus the Nihilists declared that "the boot was above Shakespeare." Russian literature and philosophy are in the main negative. Turgenev's hero was the Nihilist Basarov. Dostoyevski dealt with the abnormal in life. Tolstoy preached Communism, Anarchism and non-resistance to evil. Both V. Solovyev and Fedorov came to the conclusion that Antichrist would soon appear.

The Russian soul surges between the extremes of polar opposites but never strikes the golden mean. It is perhaps the product of the agricultural Slav and the hunter Finn. Such a state of mind and heart does not make for generosity toward non-Russian people. Therein lies the tragedy of Russia's domination of Ukraine.

Ukraine in Figures

By MYKOLA SCIBORSKY

IV. UKRAINIAN AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is one of the most important branches of Ukrainian economy. In 1913 the cultivated land in Ukraine totaled 22,670,000 hectares (a hectare equals about 2.5 acres), and in 1932 including Crimea and North Caucasia, it was 33,683,000 hectares, or 25.4 per cent of the total cultivated land in the U.S.S.R. By 1932 there were also 7,022,000 hectares of cultivated land in Western Ukraine (under Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia).

Wheat is one of the most important products of Ukrainian agriculture. The average annual production from 1909 to 1913 on Ukrainian territory in the Russian Empire was 68,800,000 quintals (one quintal equals 112 pounds in Europe) of which 23,000,000 quintals were exported. Ukrainian wheat has a higher percentage of protein than average wheat, which increases its nutritive value.

In 1937 the total cultivated land in Ukraine and its percentage of the total in U.S.S.R., excluding North Caucasian and Azov-Black Sea regions, were as follows:

Product	Cultivated Land	% of U.S.S.R.
Wheat	8,563,000	20.9%
Rye	3,190,000	—
Oats	1,784,000	—
Barley	3,240,000	34.2%
Sugar beets	922,000	66.8%
Cotton	222,000	9.9%
Sun flowers	850,000	—
Garden vegetables	2,192,000	22.8%
Soy beans	200,000	—

If the total cultivated land in North Caucasia were added to the above, the figures would increase by one-third.

Following are the figures for Western Ukraine:

Product	Cultivated Land in Hectares	Product	Cultivated Land in Hectares
Wheat	1,044,000	Millet	63,800
Rye	1,495,000	Corn	410,700
Barley	718,400	Potatoes	845,700
Oats	860,900	Peas and beans	65,000
Buckwheat	211,500	Plants for industrial use	88,400

Ukrainian agricultural produce in 1933 follows (in millions of quintals):



From "The Ukraine"

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Buckwheat	Millet	Corn
Ukrainian land in U.S.S.R.	92.2	53.6	49.1	24.6	3.2	10.3	41.9
Ukrainian land in Poland	7.5	13.6	4.7	7.4	1.2	0.2	0.9
Ukrainian land in Rumania	1.8	0.8	2.6	0.6	—	—	3.3
Carpatho-Ukraine	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.6	—	—	0.7
Total	102.1	68.5	56.7	33.2	4.4	10.5	46.8

The Results of Soviet Collectivism

Soviet collectivization of Ukrainian agriculture had fatal results. The Soviet Government failed either to increase the total planted acreage in Ukraine or to raise the productivity of the land already in use. Thus before the war in 1913 the cultivated land in Russian Ukraine totaled 22,670,000 hectares; in 1933 after the completion of the first Five-Year Plan the cultivated land, excluding Crimea and Northern Caucasia, totaled 23,539,000 hectares. Wheat production showed similar poor results. In 1913 Ukraine produced 68,800,000 quintals of wheat, and in 1933 the figure was 70,000,000 quintals. The second Five-Year Plan had better results in both increasing planted acreage and productivity, but this was due as much to the fact that the government had to abandon many of its plans for collectivizing Ukrainian agriculture as to anything else.

The mechanization of collective farms apparently did more harm than good, as shown by the fact that in wheat yield per hectare the Soviet Union stands last among the nations of the world. Following is a comparison of the yield per hectare (in quintals) based on the 1932-35 period.

Country	Wheat	Rye	Country	Wheat	Rye
Netherlands	29.5	21.4	France	14.7	11.3
Denmark	29.4	—	Italy	13.7	—
Belgium	25.3	24.0	Bulgaria	11.6	—
England	21.9	17.0	Rumania	8.9	7.8
Sweden	21.5	17.0	U.S.S.R.	7.3	8.2
Germany	21.5	17.2			

In Ukraine proper the norm is slightly larger than that for the rest of the U.S.S.R. — 9.5 quintals of wheat and 9.2 quintals of rye for one hectare, but these figures too, considering the vast fertility of Ukrainian soil, are ridiculously low.

These figures show that after twenty years of "victorious socialistic construction" — marked by huge expenditures and great loss of lives — the Soviet Government has been able to raise the status of agriculture only to the low pre-war level when conditions were terrible as compared with western countries.

Before the war animal husbandry flourished in Ukraine. Figures for 1910 and 1916 show that in the Ukrainian territories in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires there

were 8,022,000 horses, 12,920,000 heads of cattle, 18,400,000 pigs, 1,865,000 sheep, 400,000 goats and 76,607,000 fowl.

These figures are among the highest for any country in Europe. But Soviet collectivism virtually destroyed this phase of agriculture. Only in the past few years has the Soviet Government sought means to repair the harm done by collectivism and restore the former status of animal husbandry. Taking advantage of these changes in government policy, the Ukrainian peasant has done much to help in this restoration, but the former level is still far away. The destruction of animal husbandry by collectivism may be seen in the following figures for 1928 (before collectivism) and for 1936:

	1928	1936	Decrease
Horses	8,900,000	3,500,000	5,400,000
Cattle	17,500,000	11,000,000	6,500,000
Pigs	10,100,000	5,600,000	4,500,000
Sheep	16,500,000	6,900,000	9,600,000

Ukraine is also a great sugar beet producing country, as shown by the following figures:

	Cultivated Land	Factories	Sugar in Poods (36 pounds)
1910-15	511,700 hectares	197	74,700,000
1916-17	613,100 hectares	223	76,700,000
1921-22	120,000 hectares	83	3,000,000
1933	866,000 hectares	—	33,582,000

As may be seen the Red Revolution disorganized the Ukrainian sugar industry, and only by the end of the first Five-Year Plan was the Soviet Government able to restore it to some extent. Under the second Five-Year Plan Ukraine was to have produced 110,000,000 poods of sugar in 1937, or 66 per cent of the total production of the U.S.S.R.

Following is a comparison of how Ukraine stands agriculturally with other countries of the world. The figures based on the 1931-35 average are in millions of quintals:

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Corn	Potatoes
United States	195	8	47	143	680	94
U.S.S.R. (without Ukraine)			22	119	3	272
Ukraine	101	70	44	31	35	206
Germany	—	78	32	62	—	458
India	97	—	24	—	—	—
Canada	95	—	18	55	—	—
France	83	8	—	47	—	154
Italy	69	—	—	—	—	—
Argentina	66	—	—	—	77	—
Rumania	28	3	16	8	52	18

In sugar beet production Ukraine ranks second only to Germany, producing 88,000,000 quintals, as compared with 106,000,000 for Germany and 81,000,000 for the United States.

In horses, cattle, pigs and sheep, Ukraine ranks as follows (figures, based on 1935-36, in millions):

	Horses	Cattle	Pigs	Sheep
USSR (without Ukraine)	15.4	32.9	17.3	51.9
United States	11.6	68.2	72.5	51.7
Argentina	9.9	30.9	3.8	39.3
Brazil	6.8	42.5	21.6	—
Ukraine	5.2	12.9	8.4	9.2
Germany	3.4	18.9	22.8	—
Canada	2.9	8.8	3.5	—
France	2.8	15.7	7.0	9.6
Rumania	2.0	4.4	3.0	12.3
Australia	—	12.8	—	112.9
Italy	—	7.1	3.3	10.3
England	—	8.7	3.9	24.9
Spain	—	—	5.0	16.5
New Zealand	—	—	—	29.0

In 1928 Ukraine had 8,900,000 horses, 17,500,000 head of cattle, 10,100,000 pigs and 16,500,000 sheep. Thus because of Soviet collectivism Ukraine has steadily decreased in importance in so far as agriculture is concerned.

Considering the above figures, we note that Ukraine ranks third in wheat production in the world, third in rye production, second in barley production, sixth in oats, fourth in corn, third in potatoes, second in sugar beets, sixth in flaxseed, second or third in hemp, fifth in horses, seventh in cattle, fifth in pigs and eleventh in sheep.

Ukraine has great forests, averaging 20 hectares of forest land to every 100 inhabitants. In the Carpathians the average is 110 hectares, in Western Polissia 65 hectares, Eastern Polissia 25 hectares, Western Volyn and Galicia 18 hectares, Bukovina 25 hectares, Right-bank Ukraine 15 hectares, Left-bank Ukraine 12 hectares, steppe land 8 hectares.

Ukraine ranks sixth among the nations of the world in forest density, with the United States averaging 200 hectares to every 100 inhabitants, the U.S.S.R. 170 hectares, Sweden 160 hectares, Rumania 38 hectares, France 25 hectares, Ukraine 20 hectares, Germany 18 hectares, Italy 14 hectares and England 4 hectares.

Thus under the Soviets Ukraine has progressed little since the war, and in some cases, is worse off than before 1914. But given its own government it could become the richest agricultural country in the world.

Ukrainian Political Thought During the Past 100 Years

By YAROSLAV ORSHAN

X. THE ROLE OF LESIA UKRAINKA.

Lesia Ukrainka (1871-1913) whose real name was Larisa Kosach, contributed much to the development of Ukrainian political thought. Called the "poetess of the Ukrainian risorgimento" by Dmytro Dontzov, she was one of those characters meant for other times who tore the chains of the past from her generation but was not given her proper place in history until long afterward. Taras Shevchenko and Lesia Ukrainka, this Ukrainian Joan of Arc in the spiritual field, come closer to present-day Ukrainian nationalism than any other personages of the past century.



L. Ukrainka

Lesia Ukrainka felt that she lived in a time when "the old swords had become rusty and the new ones were yet to be forged by young hands." She hated youth's support of foreign ideas, lip-service patriotism, the belief in the "automatic advance" of her countrymen. She foresaw that her nation would fall victim to the cobra eyes of the dictator nation, which hypnotized Ukraine with socialistic utopias and doomed it to an unwilling death by the murderous pressure of its deceitful embrace.

And Lesia Ukrainka sounded the alarm in her poetry. "The lament of the demented to whom the unexpected vision of Judgment Day is suddenly shown," Dontzov says of her poems. "As a cat foresees the coming catastrophe of an earthquake long before people do, so did she call for help while those about her were still quietly doing their daily work." She told the Ukrainians that she awaited "the coming of a terrible and unavoidable war." She painted the picture of the bloody day of the birth of the nation when

"as with birth, blood must flow
and a scream must rent the air."

She did not believe that "a low and unhappy servant would free himself from his master by praying." She abhorred all compromise. "Win or lose"—that was her motto. She hated internationalism and the "socialistic ideal of life"; she could only think as follows: "one's own people, foreign people; one's own state, foreign state; one's own gods, foreign gods." For

her the socialistic paradise was a "huge, tedious barrack" in which she choked because of the "pedantry, self-satisfaction and the bourgeois attitude of all these people of the future." She would "strike like lightning in sleeping hearts, make quiet faces blush with shame and remind all that the weapons of the warriors are waiting."

Lesia Ukrainka was called by Ivan Franko "the only man among the poets of all Ukraine." But she became the spirit of Ukraine only later. According to Dontzov, she contributed an intensity to national ideology that no other writer approached: "Lesia Ukrainka's national ideology is poured like a piece of bronze. In place of pacifism she set up the goal of fighting nationalism, which did not seek justification in the interest of progress, unity or fortune in this or any other world. In place of rationalism and utopianism which sought the highest ideals, she substituted voluntarism; in place of charitable sympathy for the oppressed, she aroused the hate of the victim, and in place of cold intellectualism the religious fury of the fanatic. . . Her heroes are not the masses but the individuals: Prometheus, Iphigenia, Samson. To her not pity but courage was a virtue, not good alone but honor."

Lesia Ukrainka died in 1913 on the eve of the events for which she had tried to prepare her countrymen. She did not succeed "in tearing open the wounds of the moss-covered hearts," as was also the case of Mikhnovsky and the others. The poisonous breath of a foreign disruptive idea, which killed the will to live, enveloped Ukraine.

XI. THE REVOLUTION OF 1905 AND AFTER.

The Revolution of 1905 assumed greater proportions in Ukraine than in the rest of the Russian Empire, as was the case in the Revolution of the Decabrists nearly a hundred years before. At the head of the uprising aboard the Cruiser Potemkin, which gave the signal for the Revolution, were two Ukrainians, Kovalenko and Matiushenko. Almost the entire crew was Ukrainian. Although the Socialist parties sought to capitalize on the suppressed national energy of the Ukrainian people that was released by the Revolution, their program did not go beyond demanding autonomy for Ukraine within the framework of a new democratic Russia.

The years 1905-07 witnessed rapid advances in the long-suppressed cultural and economic life of Ukraine. An intensive struggle for Ukrainian schools found its expression partly in school strikes. The development of literature, the press, publishing houses, cultural institutions (Prosvita), student clubs, musical and theater life and finally the creation of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Kiev — all these flowered in a short time until in 1908 the reaction set in, drowning Ukraine for almost ten years — until 1917.

In 1906 the first elections were held for the Duma, which

was boycotted by the leftist parties. The Ukrainian National Party was able to elect its own candidates, who became the nucleus of the Ukrainian faction, totaling 44 members. The elections were held under great difficulties caused by the government, and as a result, only a few candidates were elected. Unfortunately the majority of the Ukrainian candidates lacked a clear program and the Duma lasted only a short while. Thus the Ukrainian political movement did not attain a great significance at this time.

The Ukrainian faction of the second Duma (47 members), in which the leftist parties also participated, supported the policies of the Russian Constitutional Democrats. As a result the advance toward Ukrainian autonomy was delayed.

In the third and fourth Duma, which was elected on the basis of a new electorate, there were no Ukrainian deputies. The Ukrainian factions in the Duma had a certain agitational value and were able to attain a political world outlook of a Ukrainian nation in Russia. But their cooperation with the Russian parties led to the further corrupting of Ukrainian political thought.

During the period of reaction after the Revolution there began the disintegration of Ukrainian organizations marked by suppression of the press and restrictions on the use of the Ukrainian language. Yes, even the word Ukrainian was prohibited. Mass arrests, deportations and the "Stolypin necktie," the gallows, destroyed the parties. The third immigration of Ukrainians into foreign countries began. (The first one started during the time of Drahomanov and the second at the time of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party.) The Russian struggle against Ukrainian separatism assumed the character of a crusade after the Austrian annexation of Herzegovina and Bosnia. The Ukrainian struggle for liberty was called "Austrian intrigue," and all communication with Western Ukraine was prosecuted vigorously. When the so-called "Neo-Slavic" Congress was held in Prague in 1908 as part of Moscow's aim to win the Slav people's support in time of war, the Ukrainians boycotted it. At the same time the Russians began a campaign against the Ukrainians, calling them "traitors to Slavdom."

The only significant manifestation of the Ukrainian national movement during these years was the development of Ukrainian cooperatives. The real political life was characterized by the following: 1) the independence movement weakened but later became stronger through the influence of Western Ukraine; 2) in the Ukrainian political arena there appeared the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP), which to a great extent signified the connection with the traditions of political ethnographism under the influence of Drahomanov and Marx. This organization sought to cooperate with the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party, although this and the other Russian liberal parties constantly showed their Rus-

sian chauvinistic character with the approach of war. The Cadets scratched the autonomy of Ukraine from their program. Their leaders, P. Struve and O. Pogodin, started a wild press campaign against the "Mazepa trend" and with the outbreak of the war in 1914 the party announced its well-known "loyalty declaration": "We make no claims and no demands."

In these difficult years Shevchenko's moral influence again became the leading factor in his nation's development. In 1911 on the 50th anniversary of his death small Ukrainian guilds were organized despite the Tsarist ban on the commemoration of the holiday. Bloody clashes with police and soldiers took place in Kiev, and people cried "Down with Russia!" Similar events occurred in Kharkiv and Katerinoslav. In 1914 on Shevchenko's hundredth birthday anniversary, celebrations were again banned and the new anti-Russian groups dissolved.

The outbreak of war found, on one side, the Ukrainian masses who were aroused by Shevchenko's appeal of "Down with Russia!" and on the other side the Ukrainian elite which either went over to the Russian Socialist camp or entered the ranks of the TUP. They followed the tactics of the Russian liberal "progressives" and in their organ "Rada" called upon the Ukrainians to defend the Russian state in order thus to defend their own country. There also appeared the shadow of Lenin, who opposed the war and sought to take advantage of the unrest of the minorities in Russia.

In 1914 Lenin said in a series of articles on the minorities problem: "We hold fast to that which cannot be lied away, and that is, the right of Ukraine to be an independent state. We acknowledge this right and do not subscribe to the claims of the Great Russians against the Ukrainians." In September, 1914, Lenin stated at a conference of Bolsheviks in Berne, Switzerland: "From the standpoint of the laboring class and the working masses of all Russian peoples, the overthrow of the Tsarist Monarchy and its armies, which suppress the Poles, the Ukrainians and a whole row of Russian peoples, would be the least evil." Red Moscow's trap for the Ukrainian Muscophile-socialist elite was set.

(To be continued.)

Ukrainian Sociology. Yaroslav Chyz, editor of *Narodna Wola*, and J. S. Roucek have collaborated on an article, "Ukrainian Sociology Before 1914," which was published in the first issue of the *Journal of Central European Affairs* in April. It is a good critical study with many references. Necessarily M.

Drahomanov, the noted writer, sociologist and professor, receives special attention. The writers fail to point out, however, that Drahomanov never supported an independent Ukraine, writing in 1882: "All talk of separatism [from Russia] is simply to be laughed at."

Rus', Russia and Ukraine

PART IV.

The Origin of the Name "Kozak"

For years historians could not agree about the origin and the meaning of the name "Kozak," and they formulated various hypotheses. One asserted that the name "Kozak" is derived from "koza," that is "goat," because the Cossacks were as swift as goats and fed on goat meat. But this explanation, which first appeared in 1580, was soon discredited, and the Ukrainian historian Grabianka brought forth another that seemed more fitting, especially since it flattered the national pride so much more. Grabianka asserted that the name "Kozak" was merely the name of the ancient people called Khozary, whose ancestors were the ancient Scythians who were believed related to the tribe of Gomer, the first son of Jafet (son of Noah). Such a glorious origin of the Cossacks was well-liked, and soon the Cossacks' gallery of ancestors began to be enriched by more forefathers of similar origin. Thus Khozaria was found "also by Constantine the Porphrogenic who speaks of Hirkania in the Caucasus." "Kozakia" was easily seen in Hirkania, for "hircus" translated into Ukrainian is "kozel," the masculine of "koza."

There was also an attempt to discover the "kozaks" in the ancient people of "Kassogs," who are mentioned in the old Ukrainian chronicles of the Xth century. This hypothesis seems very reliable, for the Kassogs were the ancestors of the Cherkesses or Cherkasses, and also one of the most lively centers of the Cossacks was called Cherkassy (this town still exists under this name). Therefore many Russian historians who considered the Ukrainians to be quite different from the Russians did not hesitate to call the Ukrainians "Kozaks" or "Cherkasses" at the same time. This name appeared for the first time in the Muscovite chronicle called "Voskresenska" (I. p. 56) and later served the famous Russian historian Karamzin for the construction of a theory about the Cossacks' origin from the Cherkasses, who were described as the survivors of the nomads Chorny Klobuky or Torky and Berendei.

The Ukrainian Academician M. Hrushevsky in his "History of Ukraina-Rus'," which is the basis of every study about Ukraine in general and of the Cossacks in particular, showed exhaustively that all these genealogies are completely false. "There is no doubt," he writes, "that the name of the town Cherkassy had a great influence upon these theories... and it is quite possible that a group of authentic Cherkasses from the Caucasus could have been seized by the whirl of some nomad people's movement and found themselves on the banks of the Dnieper where they left their name. By the

XVth century, however, nobody remembered when or how that happened..." Anyway this group must have been a very small one, and it very soon disappeared, becoming Ukrainianized. But the city of Cherkassy, situated on the limits of the steppes, became at the end of the XVth century the center of the Ukrainian Cossacks, who by their eternal guerrilla warfare with the Tartars and robbing of Muscovite merchants continually attracted the attention of the Muscovite government which knew, however, the Caucasus Cherkasses as well. Thence the "People of Cherkassy" became popular at Moscow and aroused the theories about the origin of the Ukrainian Cossacks from the Khozars or Chiorny Klobuky who lived in those regions in the XI-XIIth centuries.

In reality the name "Kozaks" has nothing to do either with the Khozars or with the Cherkasses. This name is of Turkish origin and therefore cannot be considered a local mutilation of an old ethnic name "Khozary." In the dictionary of the Polovtsi language in 1303 we find the word "kozak" in the sense of "guard" or even "vanguard." In the Turkish dictionaries the word "kozak" means "a free, independent man without a fixed dwelling." The word "kozak" was given to the people who traded with the Tartars and Turks, and passed into the Ukrainian and Muscovite cities.

"The Kozak," says the Academician Hrushevsky, "is a man who, independent of his social position, (he may be a fugitive peasant, or burgher, or even a nobleman) likes to live in the steppes and practice the sport of guerrilla warfare with the Tartars." This name was used with an analogical meaning even by the Tartars themselves, who called their military adventurers "Kozaks" and also by the Muscovites for their Don Cossacks. The Russian historian Smurlo says about them: "The Don Kozaks originated from peasants and fugitive slaves of the glebe, delinquents and all kinds of vagabonds, on the whole from all those who felt the heaviness of the state constrains, the pressure of the proprietors, the injustice of the magistrates, or who wanted to escape from any punishment..." The wide autonomy made of the Don Kozaks a kind of republic that was independent of Moscow: they elected their own atamans, judged with their own tribunals, and if they sometimes gave Moscow their help in war, they did so by their own free will and never by compulsion. ("History of Russia," I. p. 253)

The Cossacks of Ukraine, inured to war, were the most numerous, and famous throughout the world, and their name — especially when their hetmans' importance increased — embraced the whole Ukrainian people; but after the fall of the Cossack Republic of the Zaporozh Army it had to give up its place to the name "Ukraine" in its ethnic meaning. This how became the national name of the Ukrainians.

(To be continued.)

Ukrainian News

UGC Gets Permit. The Ukrainian Gold Cross has registered with the State Department to collect funds, food and clothes for Ukrainian refugees in France, Poland, Germany, England and Italy. The UGC has been helping Ukrainian veterans of the French Army interned in Switzerland for some time. Contributions to this humanitarian cause are welcome. The address is: Ukrainian Gold Cross, P. O. Box 13, Station D, New York City.

Comment About Trident. Dr. Luke Myshuha, editor of Svoboda, denounces The Trident in an editorial entitled, "Child's play, or is it something else?" in the paper's June 9th issue, for publishing an interview with Polish Premier Wladyslaw Sikorski. To "children who would like to play with 'independent politics,'" he advises: "...you, children, are playing, but we are concerned with life! That also applies to... Mr. Sikorski, who as the premier of a so-called 'new Poland' shows himself regarding Ukrainian matters to be the same incorrigible ignoramus as he was in old Poland..." The Socialist Ukrainian Life agrees with him.

Rumors from London. Robert P. Post said in a London dispatch to The New York Times on June 11 that "there are reports from Germany that anti-Soviet feeling is reviving there. It is said that these are whispers of an attack coming at various dates and that the Ukrainian Bureau of the Anti-Comintern Office, Germany's anti-Russian organization in the old days when Germany was openly anti-Russian, has been enlarged and

attended all Winter by Gestapo (secret police) and Nazi Party leaders."

Ukrainian-Canadian Protest. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, headed by Dr. W. Kushnir, president, and J. W. Arsenych, secretary, presented a memorandum on May 23 to Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King in Ottawa, protesting against Polish Premier Wladyslaw Sikorski's declaration that a proposed Polish - Czechoslovak federation would have a population of fifty million inhabitants, presumably including the Western Ukrainians. The memorandum added that such a federation would be "contrary to the basic principles and efforts of His Majesty's Government directed against all forms of aggression." The Ukrainian people should have an independent state of their own, it said.

Dr. Koshetz to Direct School — Professor George W. Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan announces that Dr. Alexander Koshetz is scheduled to conduct a Summer School of Music in Winnipeg, Man., during July and August. He will be assisted by Dr. Pavlo Macenko. Ukrainian church and secular music will receive special emphasis.

Washington Chorus Sings. The American - Ukrainian Chorus of Washington, D. C., appeared for the first time before an American audience on May 1, when it sang before the Blue Triangle Club of the YWCA in Washington. On May 2 it participated in a "Ukrainian Night" program at the International Center in Baltimore.

LETTERS FROM READERS

Editor, The Trident:

I have just read The Trident for April. Your editorial is good, Dr. Bachur's writing is interesting and the article by the Irish clergyman interested me especially, as did the one by the Pole. I never thought that some one from another nationality would be interested in our religion, and the Pole did better than one would expect from a Pole. At least he gave us some credit.

A certain dumb silence prevails among the people here, perhaps because we are at war. The enthusiasm, it seems, has reached a vanishing point. Our elevators and granaries are filled with wheat, and barns with livestock, but our pockets are empty. Our cradles are filled with babies, mostly girls, and especially twins. Our stomachs are well-stuffed, but our minds are starving for lack of wholesome intellectual food. Many of us from habit even become imperious and immune to any ideas that would vitalize our mental lethargy. But despite these shortcomings, we dream of a brighter future, if not of material prosperity, at least of better social justice.

A Ukrainian Canadian

Editor, The Trident:

When a battalion of Ukrainians became "Irish Guards," * whether it was because the soldiers had to or wanted to, it was not a miracle; but when one Canadian-Irish Roman Catholic priest becomes interested in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and becomes a Ukrainian priest, it is a miracle. Congratulations upon that interesting, instructive and unique article written by Reverend Father Donahue.

One wonders how many battalions of Canadian-Ukrainians are serving in the Canadian armed forces today.

Dr. George Bachur,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

* "In Northern Alberta, of two battalions recruited and now fighting overseas one contained eighty per cent of Ruthenians [Ukrainians] and the other sixty-five per cent, all of whom, or their fathers, were born in Galicia [Western Ukraine], Austria. The former of the battalions was known as "The Irish Guards," — J. T. Anderson, *The Education of the New - Canadian*, 1918, p. 61.

Italian Anthology. The Fascists, like the Nazis, continue to show an interest in things Ukrainian. The latest example is an Italian anthology of Ukrainian short stories entitled "Le Quattro Sciabole," (The Four Swords), edited by Luigi Salvini, who translated most of the stories. Evhen Onatzky, Nikolino Farina and Maria Grinenko are other translators. The 348-page book includes 16 stories by Yanovsky, Kobylanska, Stefanyk, Cheremshy-

na, Pasich, Khvylovy, Kosynka, Pidmohylny, Kundzich, Borziak, Samchuk and Lypa.

Soviet Ukrainian History. Izvestia announces that the Kiev Academy of Science has published a "History of Ukraine," written "on the foundation of Marxist - Lenin methodology." Only two of the five editors who wrote it are Ukrainians. We can hardly wait to read it!

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