



THE TRIDENT

"One Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State!"

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UKRAINE AS AN ALLY

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INTERVIEW WITH GEN.
SIKORSKI

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THE COLUMBIA
LECTURES

•
UKRAINIAN POLITICAL
THOUGHT

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THE UKRAINIAN ORTHO-
DOX CHURCH

•
THE OPPRESSORS OF
UKRAINE

•
RUS', RUSSIA AND
UKRAINE

•
UKRAINIAN NEWS



COLONEL EVHEN KONOVALETZ

Who was killed in the service of his country
by an OGPU agent in Rotterdam, May 23, 1938
(See p. 19)

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Next Issue of The Trident

SHOULD AMERICA GO TO WAR? — a symposium pro and con by prominent Ukrainian Americans.

THE UKRAINE — a review of W. E. D. Allen's 390-page history published in England.

UKRAINIAN AGRICULTURE — BY Mykola Sciborsky. An account of Ukraine's rich agricultural resources and what the Soviets have done to them.

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Ukraine as an Ally

(An Editorial)

The time seems to be approaching rapidly when the Allies can help Ukraine strike a blow for independence.

Russia seems to be moving closer and closer to actual military collaboration with Nazi Germany, which means a Nazi-Soviet attempt to destroy England and then conquer the world.

Some indications of this trend have been read into the signing of the Russo - Japanese neutrality accord, Stalin's appointment of himself as Premier, the Soviet withdrawal of recognition of Yugoslavia, Norway and Belgium and even Rudolf Hess's surprise flight to Scotland, which no one believes was for the purpose of shooting a little grouse or Scotch dominoes (crap).

Whether Russia plunges into the war in the near future or not remains to be seen. But it is obvious that the Great Russian Bear is handing out favors right and left to the Axis, especially to Japan and Germany, while doing his best to hinder the democracies.

If such be the case — and it looks like Stalin has little choice in the matter — it is worthwhile to examine what his motives may be and what he can gain by such time-honored Bolshevik treachery.

Stalin's Motives

First, there is reason to believe that Stalin has swallowed more than he can digest in taking Western Ukraine away from Poland (which stole it from the Ukrainians in 1919). Judging by the latest flock of reports on internal Soviet bliss, especially among the 45,000,000 Ukrainians who are being initiated into the ways of the Soviet paradise at the business end of a Russian Tommy, we are forming the conclusion that Stalin would like nothing better than a little war to end once and for all the rising tide of Ukrainian discontent. Now that the British have been driven out of Greece, he may feel (shades of Mussolini!) that John Bull is on his last pins and therefore Russia's formal entrance into the war would be only for the purpose of delivering a **coup de grace** and seizing some territory in the Near East and India, as well as giving the Ukrainians what he consider their just desserts.

Second, Stalin has always wanted the Dardanelles for himself, as Peter wanted them long before him, and he may feel that Brother Adolf is the man to help him do this. The catch, of course, is that the possessor of the most Chaplinesque mustache in Europe may have ideas of his own, including raising the Hakenkreuz over Istanbul on the grounds that the terrible Turks aren't Aryans.

Third, Stalin may have fallen for Hitler's plans to conquer the world and may have hopes of sharing in the booty. Rauschnig says Hitler still keeps a major card up his sleeve, that if his Nazi revolution shows signs of petering out, he will swing Germany to Bolshevism before he throws in his cards. This theory may have been given some weight by Hess's uninvited drop into Scotland. He may have seen the coming of the great doublecross with Stalin and Hitler teaming up to dominate everything west and east of Greenwich and decided to get out before he had to start learning the International. Nazism, in other words, may be tottering in the land of its birth despite Hitler's victories, and the greatest gaek-war of them all may be ready to spring a new surprise to regain control of the German people.

A Mighty Ally

It all adds up to this: Ukraine's chance seems to be approaching. By playing their hand shrewdly the British can help the largest submerged nation in Europe rise up and split the two dictators apart, create a vast front in Hitler's rear, overthrow Stalin in the resulting debacle, pave the way for the creation of a democratic Russian Government and bring the war to a successful conclusion in less than six months.

If the British fail to act, the rulers of Ukraine (whether they continue to be OGPU agents or whether the Gestapo

takes over) will remain in the service of Britain's enemies. Its huge agricultural, mineral and industrial resources will feed the war machines of Stalin and Hitler. With Ukrainian wheat, Ukrainian oil and Ukrainian iron, the two enemies of humanity will have sufficient supplies to make a joke of the blockade and enable them to conquer Africa and Asia at their leisure, by land, without meeting the challenge of the British Fleet on the seas.

With Ukraine Stalin and Hitler are well-nigh invincible. Without it they cannot hope to win, especially with America's magnificent industrial machine swinging into action. Sooner or later Ukraine is going to revolt, against Stalin if he is still hanging on, against Hitler if he dares to raise his bloody swastika over the land that knew democracy when the rest of Europe was a squabbling feudal system of corruption. When it does revolt, it will be to England's advantage to have Ukraine on the Allied side. The statements of Premier Sikorski notwithstanding, Ukraine with its 45,00,000 people and vast resources is the nation of the future in East Europe and not an insignificant Poland of 21,000,000 souls.

England has said again and again that it is fighting to free the small nations of Europe. It is time for it to look into the independence movement of one of the largest nations in Europe.

—:—

Letter from Canada

Editor, The Trident:

Many thanks for your "Easter Greetings from The Trident." Your very interesting monthly journal should be in every Ukrainian home in Canada and the U.S.A. Therefore, I am enclosing \$1.50 for a year's subscription.

Rev. Geo. Tsukornyk,
St. George's Ukrainian
Orthodox Church, Sydney,
Nova Scotia.

UGC Aids Ukrainians. The Ukrainian Gold Cross cabled \$150 to Professor Omelian

Nizhankivsky in Lausanne, Switzerland, on April 18 for the relief of Ukrainian veterans of the French Army interned in Switzerland. Previously \$200 had been sent. Contributions for this laudable cause are welcome.

Club Ukraine Registers. Club Ukraine, Branch 20 Youth of ODUW, (Brooklyn), has become the first Ukrainian youth group in the country to register with the State Department for the collection of funds for Ukrainian refugees in several European countries.

An Interview with General Sikorski

General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Premier of the Polish Government in exile and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish forces fighting Hitler, visited Canada and the United States several weeks ago and gave the Ukrainians a good example of what they should do if they wish to achieve any public support for their independence movement.



Gen. Sikorski

In a few weeks the energetic General 1) signed a treaty with Canada for the formation of a Polish Legion there; 2) obtained President Roosevelt's promise that the legion would be armed and supplied under the U. S. lease-lend program; 3) drummed into the ears of scores of thousands of Poles that Poland will regain its freedom; that in the future reorganization of Central Europe Poland will play the dominant part.

Nothing was said about the Ukrainians.

But while Polish propaganda was circulating over the telegraph wires and radio stations and flooding the newspapers, the Ukrainians were doing nothing concrete to win support for their cause; rather they were alienating that support with their stumblebum diplomacy, as for example, the Ukrainian Congress Committee's letter to President Roosevelt during Sikorski's visit.

In any case The Trident decided to get Sikorski's viewpoint on the Ukrainian problem and sent him a telegram asking several questions. Stefan Ropp, director of the Polish Information Center of New York, discussed the matter with the General who authorized him to reply in Sikorski's name. The questions and answers follow.

Sikorski's Views

Q. Does Poland intend to claim her Ukrainian territories seized by Russia?

A. The Polish Government considers itself responsible before all citizens of Poland, and cannot of its own accord give up any portion of Poland's legal territory.

Q. What is the Premier's attitude toward Russia in view of her invasion of Poland and the recent Soviet-Japanese treaty?

A. Poland never wanted to have any military dispute with Russia, and her sincerity in this direction was stressed after the treaty of Riga, by agreements in 1932 and 1934. General Sikorski often voiced his personal viewpoint in his works published before the war of 1939. The future amity between Poland and Russia depends on the attitude which the Soviet Government will adopt at the decisive moment of formulating their mutual relations.

Q. Does the proposed Polish-Czech Federation intend to include some of the forty million Ukrainians and how many?

A. The Polish-Czech agreement so far concerns only those two nations. The doors are wide open to other countries.

Q. What Ukrainians in Europe are cooperating with the Polish Government?

A. Not one of the varied and many Ukrainian political groups either in Europe or America has ever proposed to Poland their cooperation.

Q. Does the Premier believe that Hitler will march into Ukraine?

A. It is quite possible that the Germans will turn to Ukraine for grain and to the Caucasus for petroleum.

Q. Are the Germans organizing Ukrainian prisoners into a legion, possibly against Russia?

A. Germans organized Ukrainian divisions in occupied Poland, formed from Ukrainian soldiers taken prisoners in Poland, and from Ukrainian youth which did not serve in the army before.

Q. Will Ukrainians be accepted in the Polish Legion in Canada?

A. Poland fighting for her freedom will welcome into her army volunteers of every nation friendly to her striving toward a similar goal.

—:—

WHO CAN DISAGREE?

I have seen the agonies of famine. I have listened to the pleading of children, the fierce demands of mothers, for the right of their children to live. I have seen stations and hospitals filled with its consequences in distorted minds and bodies.

I have witnessed it in twenty nations. I have seen generals of armies to whom dead on the battlefield brought little emotion melt to tears in the face of these spectacles. I have seen starvation's unending blight upon the world and know its consequences are part of the cause of the world's agonies today.

I had hoped it would never again come to the world. But it has come and I would be untrue to myself and my country if I did not fight it out to the end.

Herbert Hoover
Chicago, Feb. 17, 1941.

The Columbia Lectures



Dr. Koshetz



Dr. Coleman



Dr. Myshuha



Prof. Manning

Although the attendance was not large — possibly because of insufficient publicity — the Columbia Lectures on Ukrainian topics concluded in April were sufficiently interesting and worthwhile for the project to be repeated next year. The Ukrainian National Association, which sponsored the lectures together with the Department of East European Languages of Columbia University, is going to publish them soon. In the next issue The Trident will summarize some of those not already mentioned in the March and April issues.

In addition to those lectures already mentioned Dr. Alexander Koshetz gave a survey of Ukrainian Music (in Ukrainian) on March 14, describing the historical development of Ukrainian choral, symphonic and operatic music. On March 21 Dr. Arthur P. Coleman of Columbia discussed Ukrainian literature from the Tale of Ihor's Legion through Shevchenko and Franko. Dr. Luké Myshuha spoke on Taras Shevchenko in Ukrainian on March 28, describing him as the true spiritual leader of the contemporary Ukrainian independence movement. Professor Clarence A. Manning of Columbia devoted his lecture on April 4 to Ivan Franko, whom he called a "natural and outstanding leader" as well as the leading Ukrainian writer of the second half of the 19th century.

The best lecture, because it was the most unusual, was delivered on April 18 by H. Hessel Tiltman, British foreign correspondent and author of "Peasant Europe, who spoke on "My Impressions of Ukraine and Ukrainians." He was refreshingly blunt. "It may very well be that my purpose for being here is that I know the Ukrainian people do exist," he said. His advice to Ukrainian-Americans was: Organize, protest and demand freedom for your kinsmen.



Mr. Tiltman

Ukrainian Political Thought During the Past 100 Years

By YAROSLAV ORSHAN

(Continued from the January-February, 1941, issue.)

VIII. THE REVOLUTIONARY UKRAINIAN PARTY.

The Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP) was founded in 1900 in Kharkiv as the result of the work of Mykola Mikhnovsky, a lawyer and for years a member of the Taras Brotherhood. Because of his close connection with the revolutionary movement before and during the outbreaks of 1905 and 1917, Mikhnovsky is regarded as the founder of modern Ukrainian nationalism.



M. Mikhnovsky

Mikhnovsky wrote the RUP's first propagandistic publication, "Independent Ukraine." Because of its epochal meaning to the development of Ukrainian political thought, I quote several extracts.

State independence is the basic requisite for the life of any nation; it is the national ideal in the sphere of international relations. . . The Ukrainian nation still lives in a long and difficult period of its history. This period began in 1654 when the Ukrainian Republic aligned itself with the Russian monarchy through a political union. Since then the Ukrainian nation has retarded politically and culturally, the old forms of life disappeared, republican freedom was destroyed and the nation lost its strength. The Russian Government treated us on our own soil as knaves. In 1876 a law was published which sentenced our people to death. Our children are taught in our schools to become bitter enemies of their own land. Even in the churches the language of our oppressors is used. . . And because of such circumstances — perhaps contradicting the logic of events — we inscribed on our banner: One, Free and Independent Ukraine from the Carpathians to the Caucasus Mountains!

Referring to the sad role of the Ukrainian intellectuals in the denationalization of the Ukrainian people, Mikhnovsky wrote:

The first voice of present-day political Ukraindom — Shevchenko — was understood neither by his nor the following generation. When Shevchenko hallowed the battle for political, national and social freedom of the Ukrainian people through his death, the generation that followed from the so-called Ukrainophile camp wrote on its flag: "Let us act so that no one sees our work." This generation demoralized the entire Ukrainian commonwealth for half a century through its pseudo-patriotism. It

practiced a cult of cowardly fear; it created a religion of loyalty [to Russia]. It alienated a series of youth movements, founded on Ukrainian national principles, because of its unprecedented servility, lack of ideals and inertia. It made of the Ukrainian movement something to laugh at and to be ignored. It gave it the character of an unsuccessful ethnographic theory. The policy and tactics of the Ukrainophiles drove off the youth of Ukraine in anger, so that today Ukrainophilism has no following. Present-day Ukrainian youth remains faithful to the true legacy of Shevchenko. Their traditions reach back to Mazepa, Khmelnitsky and King Danylo in disregard of the Ukrainophiles. There is no tie between the Ukrainian youth and the Ukrainophiles except for a sad determination: to pay for the mistakes of their fathers with their own blood...

The Ukrainian intelligentsia takes up the bloody and ruthless battle for its own people. It believes in the power of its nation and shall do its duty... So long as a foreigner rules a single foot of Ukrainian territory, so long shall the Ukrainian intelligentsia continue to bear arms and lead all the generations of Ukrainians into the battle. The war will be fought with all means.

The Program of the RUP

Regarding the program of the RUP, "Independent Ukraine" says:

As a war party based on the foundations of history and also a party of practical action, we shall... reconquer the rights which were lost in the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654. We declare that we will take with force what belongs to us. Our nation has been down for a long time, but today it arises to do battle. It will regain its full freedom...

We enter the historic arena and will conquer or die. We will bear foreign domination no longer. We will no longer suffer the contempt of our country. We are but one band. Our strength lies in our love for Ukraine! Sons of Ukraine! Like Antaeus, we shall gain greater strength from our soil. We have no place for the cowards and traitors in the camp of our enemies, and we declare them to be enemies of the fatherland. Every person in Ukraine who is not for us is against us! Ukraine for the Ukrainians!

Peter Kanivetz, a member of the RUP and later an enemy of the Ukrainian national ideal,* wrote as follows about the character of the party at the time it was founded: "When the RUP was created in 1900, its members were national bourgeois... All of them were influenced in the greatest measure by the ruthless chauvinism of Ukrainian ideology. A good example of that is the pamphlet, 'Independent Ukraine.'"

In time the RUP lost its clear world outlook and its original program. Besides the nationalistic elements it also contained followers of Drahomanov and Marxists who had nothing in common with the former except the revolutionary methods of struggle and the will to separation as exemplified by Ukrainophile ethnographism. Besides the publication of

* Translator of the "Communist Manifesto" into Ukrainian.

such pamphlets as "Kozakia," in which the ideal of a "free, independent Ukrainian State without master or servant" was praised, Marxist brochures and translations from Lenin's "Iskra" were also published.

Despite the increasing Marxist-Drahomanov attacks on the RUP, the party grew and battled on. Soon it became a mass organization. Besides Mikhnovsky and others from the Taras Brotherhood, there were Simon Petlura, Lesia Ukrainka, Dmytro Dontzov and Volodymyr Chekhivsky. At the head of the party was the central committee and abroad it was represented by the "Foreign Committee" in Lviv.

The RUP practiced direct action. The well-known agrarian unrest of 1901-02 in Poltava and Kharkiv Provinces and the strikes in several Ukrainian towns were its work. It also organized labor unions in the cities. All that was the first revolutionary struggle against Russia in line with the Ukrainian national ideal. The RUP first gained control of the masses, then it organized them and united their political struggle. It also spread quantities of revolutionary literature. Thus the RUP was a brilliant example for those now waging a similar battle for Ukrainian independence.

The Fate of the RUP

It was not given to the RUP, however, to carry its national revolutionary banner for long. On one side were the ideas of Drahomanov and the Western Ukrainian Radical Party and on the other the influence of Marxism: the Russian Social Democratic Party and the Western Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, which finally shattered the RUP. Dissension in the party finally led the Nationalists to bolt it, and the party itself in 1905 divided into the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party (Mykola Porsh, who later translated Marx's "Das Kapital" into Ukrainian) and into the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union (D. Antonovych, O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky and M. Melenevsky). The first party acknowledged the official program of the Russian Social Democratic Party and adhered only to the principle of Ukrainian autonomy and to organizing labor according to the national principle; the latter became subsidiary to the Russian group in Ukraine and in 1908 was finally dissolved in the Russian sea.

In the fate of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union we have the best example of the bastardizing of socialism with the Russian idea in Ukraine. However, the political line of the Social Democratic Party and other Ukrainian liberal-socialistic parties gave equal proof of that. All these "democratic-radical," "social-revolutionary" and other left-wing Ukrainian parties went hand in hand with analogous Russian parties. They represented unwholesome influences which distracted the attention of the Ukrainian people from the national state ideal and laid the groundwork first for Russian "dem-

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Providence, R.I.

ocracy" and later for the victorious Russian Bolshevik conquest of Ukraine in 1917-20.

IX. THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL PARTY

Even before the RUP entered the service of internationalism and Marxism, it had already begun to give way to Russian socialistic influences. As a result Mikhnovsky together with other independents founded the Ukrainian People's Party (Ukrainska Narodna Partia, UNP, 1902), which existed until 1917 under this name as the strongest independent Ukrainian party. In 1917 it combined with other independent groups to form the Ukrainian Party of Independent Socialists (Ukrainska Partia Samostiynykiv Socialistiv, UPSS).

The battle slogans of the UNP were: "Long live the independent Ukrainian Republic of the working people! Long live the liberation of suppressed nations! Long live the liberation of labor from the chains of capitalism!"

The UNP's "Ten Commandments"

From Mikhnovsky's pen the party got its "Ten Commandments of the UNP," as follows:

"1. One united, undivided, independent, free, democratic Ukrainian Republic from the Carpathians to the Caucasus is the Ukrainian national ideal. Every Ukrainian child must be convinced that it was born to make this ideal a reality.

"2. All people are your brothers. However, the Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians and Jews remain the enemies of your people so long as they suppress and exploit them.

"3. Ukraine for the Ukrainians! Drive the foreign oppressors out of all parts of Ukraine!

"4. Everywhere and always use the Ukrainian language. Neither your wife nor your children should blaspheme your home with the language of the oppressor.

"5. Honor the fighters for the fatherland, hate its enemies, despise its renegades, and everything will go well with you and your people.

"6. Do not kill Ukraine through your indifference to its all-national interests.

"7. Do not become a faithless renegade.

"8. Do not steal from your people by working for the enemies of Ukraine.

"9. Help your countrymen before any one else. Remain true to the community.

"10. Do not marry a woman of an enemy people so that your children do not become your enemies; do not become friends with the enemies of your people because you will thus strengthen their power and spirit; do not deal with our oppressors because that is treachery."

The UNP carried on energetic propagandistic activity from the beginning. It printed bulletins, pamphlets and the magazine "Independent Ukraine (at first legally in Lviv then

illegally in East Ukraine). In comparison with the nationalistic RUP the ideology of the UNP meant a broader field of activity and the undermining of old slogans and methods of struggle. Much attention was paid to the labor problem as well as to the social problem for the purpose of freeing Ukrainian labor from the ranks of the Russian and Ukrainian liberal-socialistic organizations.

The UNP's Appeal to Labor

In the pamphlet "The Feast of Labor — May 1" there appears the following comments:

The sense of national honor and self-respect demands that on Ukrainian territory, where the majority of the workers are Ukrainians, the cause of the proletariat, i. e., the struggle against government and capitalistic oppression, rests in the hands of the Ukrainian worker himself... The majority of the Ukrainian workers have joined the Russian organizations. No longer do they care for the interests of their own country. Instead they support the interests of the foreign Russians, who are occupied with imposing their own ideal on the Ukrainian workers, namely that only absolutism stands in the path of happiness, that after the discarding of absolutism and the introduction of a constitution, a better life will commence for Ukraine, a paradise in which the Ukrainians will not have to fight any longer...

A constitution is a beautiful thing for people who have their own independent state. We Ukrainians shall not wait for a Russian constitution because we do not expect anything from it. We shall devote all our strength to the liberation of our people from Russian lordship because we do not expect to get happiness and a better future from the abolition of absolutism, but only from the struggle for political freedom in our own state... The nationally conscious Ukrainian worker knows that the cause of the liberation of the Ukrainian proletariat is his own cause and not that of another. Therefore the UNP calls on all Ukrainians to join their own organization which will be a more certain and stronger shield against the capitalists.

The brochure "The Problem of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the Program of the UNP," which contains articles mostly by Mikhnovsky, reveals with unusual clarity the probable result of the orientation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia on the liberal and socialist currents in the Russian community. Prophetically it said: "When Russian democracy takes over the power of the state in Russia, she will strip off the mask of 'brotherhood and love for all peoples,' a mask with which she maintains a hold on the sympathies of all peoples suppressed by Russia and which she uses for the realization of her own ideals — and then she will openly reveal her chauvinistic goal and program before the eyes of these suppressed nations."

The brochure concludes: "The Ukrainian nation must follow the road of nationalism to victory and destroy everything in its path."

With the outbreak of the 1905 revolution the UNP called upon the Ukrainian people to join the struggle and fight under the banner of an independent Ukrainian state. "We want the revolution, the armed revolution for the liberation of the Ukrainian people from national and social slavery," said the first number of the illegal "Independent Ukraine" in November, 1905. The UNP organized the factories. It sent the Russian Prime Minister Count Witte a letter of protest signed by thousands of Ukrainian workers, demanding the abolition of the law of 1876 which banned the Ukrainian press. The law was then substantially annulled.

After it became possible to disseminate revolutionary propaganda legally, the UNP published the first legal Ukrainian political magazine, "The Farmer." Later others were published, including a daily in Kharkiv. After the 1905 revolution Mikhnovsky, as an attorney, defended Ukrainian peasants in a number of well-known suits growing out of their attacks on non-Ukrainians. Through these suits Mikhnovsky won the hatred of the non-Ukrainian element of the population but the love of all Ukrainians.

In 1904 there was founded within the framework of the UNP the activist group under the name of "The Defense of Ukraine," which had terror as its goal. On the 250th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav with Muscovy, which was celebrated in Russia as the anniversary of the "union" of Ukraine with Moscow, the "Defense of Ukraine" organized bombing of Tsarist statues in Kiev, Odessa and later in Poltava. In Kharkiv where there was no Tsarist statue, that of Pushkin, the herald of "one undivided Russia," was bombed instead. The leader of the "Defense of Ukraine" was Victor Chekhovsky, who was killed in the World War.

In 1906 the UNP promulgated a new program in which it demanded the nationalization of the soil. It said:

We demand that 1) all peasants, i. e., the Ukrainian peasants without property, be given land; 2) that peasants on land that does not produce enough be given arable land; 3) that all arable land owned by State, loan, monastery and other large property holders, as well as all property which is not being cultivated by the owner himself, be cultivated. This land was once the property of the Ukrainian people, and was taken away from them by force. When the all-Ukrainian revolution comes this land will be taken without payment and returned to the former lawful owners gratis.

The Russian Government attacked the RUP much more savagely than the other Ukrainian parties; as a result many members fell victims to Tsarism during the course of the conflict. However, notwithstanding the great influence the UNP had on the Ukrainian masses, it was not able to defeat with its slogan of "Independent Ukraine" the anti-national ideas of socialism and Muscophilism.

(To be continued)

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church

Past, Present and Future

By the Reverend FRANCIS M. DONAHUE, D. D.

(Concluded)

"May all the woes be forgotten,
And ignoble years gone by,
Equal fortune, equal freedom
Radiating to the sky."

Volodimir Samiylenko.

The Period of Oppression

Ukraine from the eighteenth to the twentieth century was harassed by wars and oppression — "ignoble years" endured in patience and courage by the Ukrainian people.



Rev. Donahue

the yoke of serfdom — attaching them to the soil they tilled, making of them mere chattels of the nobles. Strangely enough she found certain numbers of Ukrainian Cossacks who fell in with her plan, and in 1783 a proclamation was issued confirming the nobles in the possession of their lands and giving them power over the peasants living upon these lands. In exchange for parity with the Russian nobility, the shortsighted Ukrainian nobles gave their autonomy. Their greed brought suffering and oppression to the already over-burdened peasants.

Catherine, not satisfied with the cruelties already inflicted upon the Ukrainians, sought to weaken the power of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, for she knew that as long as the

Orthodox Church was free to work among the people, the spirit of the Ukrainian nation would never be daunted. Down through the long centuries, the Holy Orthodox Church has courageously stood with her children, defending them when oppressed, comforting them in their sorrow, educating them in the principles for which Ukraine has always stood — liberty, justice, morality and intelligent government.

To weaken this spirit, Catherine and her vassals secularized the estates belonging to the Church, thus depriving the clergy of the necessary means to withstand her russification program. Colleges and Academies throughout Ukraine were closed or converted into centers for Russian propaganda and education. The famous Academy of Peter Mohyla, the Kievan monasteries, even humble country schools were deprived of their sources of income and consequently compelled to close or function under Catherine's plan.

Ukrainian education, utterly dependent upon the monasteries and the clergy, was completely disrupted — the very heart of Ukraine seemed almost crushed. But its fine spirit was not so easily broken. Deprived of practically every advantage in education, commerce, industry, government and even religion, Ukrainian nobles and peasants courageously carried in their hearts and souls the glorious tradition of their nation. Ukraine still lived, still triumphed in the undying affection and loyalty of her people to the great ideals passed down to them through the centuries.

Efforts were repeatedly made to found a Ukrainian University — nobles of Starodub, Chernihov, Kiev, Pereyaslav and Nizhin voted in 1767 to petition the Russian government for permission to establish such an institution. But Russian policy could not be tolerant of higher education in Ukraine. "Why educate dogs? What need have slaves of an education?" — ignorance suited the Russian plans best, lest the subjugated people come to know too much and rise against their enemies.

In 1783, despite the tireless opposition of the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy and the nobles, the Russian language was introduced as a required subject in Ukrainian schools. Russia's part in the disintegration of the Ukrainian nation will always be to her shame and generations to come will condemn her while praising the long-suffering patience of the Ukrainians. But Ukraine will rise — "Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek for they shall possess the land. Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

The Emigration to America

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, tales of the wealth in America began to be circulated in Ukrainian towns and villages. Unreal though these rumors sounded, yet they were like accounts of a promised land, another Israel, —

a land of freedom from bondage and tribulation. The emigration from Ukraine to the United States and Canada began about 1870 and continued in varying degrees.

To the simple peasants in Ukraine, the stories of the opportunities in America opened a new vista. They talked among themselves of this new land where there were religious tolerance, educational advantages, homestead land to be had but for the taking, social equality, employment and justice. America became the land of dreams to Ukrainian youth.

In many instances this new-found freedom caused the immigrants to look upon their Church as a part of the Ukraine they left behind. Some few even imputed to the Ukrainian churches blame for conditions in their homeland. Added to this was the impoverished condition of the Ukrainian priests who came to America to minister to their people and the resulting condition was one which made for very loose religious discipline and observance. Many Ukrainians in isolated communities where there was no Orthodox Church, feeling the need for ecclesiastical affiliation and not being too well educated in theological matters, fell easy prey to the proselytism of other well-organized religious groups. Others, firmer and more loyal to their Orthodox tradition and faith, exerted every effort to establish parishes of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in their communities.

The era of church-building began about 1885 and extended down to the depression years of 1930. However, due to lack of proper ecclesiastical authority, poor training of the early priests, their inability to cope with the unusual situations which arose in their new surroundings, progress in the early churches was slow. The immigrants, too, were too busily engaged in establishing their own homes to devote much attention to the needs of their church, though under the circumstances they did everything possible to assist in firmly establishing the Orthodox Church in their communities.

Gradually, out of the chaos and confusion, order and progress developed. In Canada in 1918 the first Ukrainian Orthodox Church for that country was founded and chartered. Similar parishes were established in the United States about the same time, though both groups as yet lacked lawful and canonical jurisdiction.

The Orthodox Church in America

On July 15th, 1931, the first Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches and priests was called in New York City where the incorporation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America took place.* It was with great joy and solemnity

* The older Orthodox Church in America is the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, whose head is Archbishop John Theodorovitch, of Philadelphia, who was appointed in 1924.

that on that occasion the first bishop for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America, the Reverend Doctor Joseph Zuk, was elected. His consecration followed on September 25, 1932, and the Ukrainians again found a hierarchy established in their adopted country, a hierarchy which had pledged itself to carry on the noble ideals of the ancient Church of the Ukrainians, the Holy Orthodox and Apostolic Church. After two years of energetic and self-sacrificing devotion to his sacred office, Bishop Zuk was called to his eternal reward and the infant Church in America lost one of its greatest leaders.

An appeal was made to the Oecumenical Throne, the ancient source of Ukrainian episcopal orders, that the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of New York, the Most Reverend Archbishop Athanagoras, be delegated to consecrate a successor to Bishop Zuk. Permission was readily granted by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch.

In July, 1936, the Archimandrite Bohdan Theodore Shpilka was elected as the second bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America and on February 28 was consecrated under the title of Bishop Bohdan (God-Given) by the Most Reverend Athanagoras, and His Grace Bishop Callistos of San Francisco. Once again, as at its birth in Kiev over ten centuries ago, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church enjoys the paternal protection of the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople and its present occupant, His Holiness, Benjamin I, Oecumenical Patriarch of New Rome.

Ukrainians in America today may feel justly proud of their Orthodox Church and its leader, Bishop Bohdan. During all its history the Ukrainian Church has never enjoyed such opportunities for progress. Here in America it is afforded ample freedom to educate its youth in the principles so dear to Ukrainians. Its priests need not fear to raise their voices in behalf of their people; its churches may celebrate the beautiful ancient Liturgies just as in the early days at Kiev. The people need not fear oppression as a result of professing their ancient Orthodox faith and they may proudly proclaim to the world that they are of the ancient Ukrainian Orthodox faith, certain that they are carrying on the glorious traditions of their forefathers, defending and professing the faith for which so many have shed their blood on the rich soil of Ukraine.

Bishop Bohdan and his priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America are pledged to a tireless effort to bring this ancient Church into its rightful glory and position of importance among Ukrainians and their descendents here in America. His Grace has been most energetic since his consecration in cooperating with the parish priests, their people and communities in raising the standard of religious education, social and economic conditions among Ukrainians, cultural activities and similar efforts beneficial to the people.



BISHOP BOHDAN
of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Work of the Church

At the present time there are over fifty parishes throughout the United States and Canada. The parish priests are devoting themselves energetically to the education of the younger generation in the lofty ideals of their forefathers, organizing sodalities and choirs, and in many instances winning secular commendation for their work. Numerous Ukrainian Orthodox organizations, athletic, choral, religious and educational have won awards in various state competitions. Once again the Church is taking its rightful place among her people, leading them and counseling them in every phase of their lives. Once again the Ukrainian people are coming to regard the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as their loving Mother who is always interested in their welfare, always eager to help them, ever ready to console them in time of sorrow, to rejoice with them in their days of gladness, to stand beside them in their hours of trial and oppression.

In most states Ukrainian Orthodox priests are engaged in work among Orthodox prisoners and inmates of prisons, hospitals and asylums, bringing the consolations of the Holy Orthodox religion to those who are forsaken, suffering and in distress. They are ready to meet the present national emergency by volunteering their services to minister to the spiritual needs of Orthodox boys in military camps, C. C. C. units, naval training stations and air bases. Work among Ukrainian Orthodox students in state colleges is being carried on. Isolated communities too small to support a permanent church of their own are being ministered to by priests from neighboring communities, their children instructed in the Holy Orthodox faith and the traditions of the Ukrainian nation.

In New York City, His Grace Bishop Bohdan has recently completed negotiations for the purchase of a Cathedral which will be the center of Ukrainian Orthodox activity and the Episcopal Church where the solemn and beautiful rites of the ancient Ukrainian Church may be carried out in all of their dignity and holiness.

Ukrainian youth in America are again coming to realize that the holy vocation of the Orthodox priesthood is one of the loftiest and most sublime callings God bestows on mere men and they are answering this call by devoting themselves to seminary studies which will fit them to stand before the altar, to offer the Divine Liturgy for their people, to become inspired leaders of the new generation of Ukrainians in America. Bishop Bohdan already has a number of students in seminaries preparing for the priesthood and God will send more laborers into His Vineyard in the years to come.

"May all the woes be forgotten, and ignoble years gone by"... the radiant future for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America should be an inspiration and in incentive to every

Ukrainian to thank God fervently for His mercies and His loving protection to His people. He has led them "out of the house of Egypt, out of the land of bondage" into a promised land where they and their children and their children's children may worship their Creator according to their age - old Orthodox religion.

As a fitting close to this humble effort the author wishes to recommend the following **molytva** — a beautiful prayer for Ukraine and the Holy Orthodox Church, suggesting that loyal Ukrainians recite it often for the rebirth of their fatherland and for the prosperity of their holy religion.

UKRAINIAN PRAYER

O Almighty God, Creator of the human race, O Father of all nations, I prostrate myself and sincerely pray unto Thee; look down with especial love upon rich and fertile Ukraine. Give unto the leaders and elders of my people the courage of David and the wisdom of Solomon, that amidst the dangers of temporal circumstances, they may preserve my people from all adversity.

Permit not, O Lord, that the evils of our enemies may hurt our race ever faithful unto Thee. For Thou knowest, O Lord my God, the malice of our enemies seeking to wrest from Thy paternal care and protection our sacred and holy Orthodox Church. Reign supreme in Thy home, though humble, Thy churches of the Holy Orthodox faith and in the hearts of Thy people, that in heaven we may forever acknowledge Thee and sing unto Thee, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and forever. Amen.

MEMORIA IN AETERNA

This May, more than ever, Ukrainians the world over regret the loss of Ukraine's two great leaders, Otaman Simon Petlura and Colonel Evhen Konovaletz who died at the hands of OGPU agents in the midst of their activities to free Ukraine from Soviet tyranny.

Cut down at the peak of their careers by Stalin's assassins, they left behind them a sorrowing nation that might have been free today had either of them lived. Petlura was shot to death on the streets of Paris on May 25, 1926, by OGPU agent Samuel Schwarzbart. Konovaletz was blown to death in Rotterdam on May 23, 1938, by a bomb handed him in a disguised

package by an OGPU agent from Soviet Ukraine posing as an anti-Soviet emissary.

Today Stalin, exploiting the vast agricultural and natural resources of Ukraine, is engaged in a subtle but by now obvious campaign to help Hitler destroy the democracies. However, he fears the living memory of these two great Ukrainian leaders as much as he feared them alive, for he knows that Ukraine's hour is drawing near despite his continuous terroristic and bloody campaign against the Ukrainian people. When Ukraine arises, it will be in the name of Petlura and Konovaletz, who died that Ukraine might live.

The Oppressors of Ukraine

By ELIAS SHKLANKA

(Concluded).

PART II.

In 1772 after the first partition of Poland, Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia and Bukovina) was incorporated into the Austrian Empire. From the time of the abolition of serfdom in Austria (1848) until the Great War — while Russia was practicing its policy of russification on Eastern Ukraine



Mr. Shklanka

— Western Ukraine was the center of the second Ukrainian revival. The chairs of Ukrainian language, literature and history were established in the Universities of Lemberg and Czernewicz. Primary education was compulsory and public schools teaching the native language appeared in almost every village. Educational institutions such as Prosvita and the Scientific Shevchenko Society were centers of adult education and disseminated knowledge of Ukrainian history, tradition and folklore. There were several Ukrainian gymnasiums (high schools); and the press, through the branches of Prosvita, carried enlightenment even to the remotest hamlets. The Ukrainians profited by the extension of the franchise after 1860 and sent their own representatives to the Austrian Parliament at Vienna and the provincial diet at Lemberg. National consciousness increased while ignorance and apathy diminished.

The Great War destroyed the Russian and Austrian Empires and on their ruins appeared the Ukrainian Republic as well as half a dozen other states. But because of false ideology, unpreparedness, a lack of national organization and ignorance on the part of the Western Powers regarding the Ukrainian movement, the new republic could not withstand the onslaught of historical enemies, the Russians and the Poles, and consequently succumbed. As a result the fate of the Ukrainian people became worse: instead of two experienced masters, they now had four headstrong and inexperienced overlords: the Bolsheviks, the Poles, the Rumanians and the Czechs, and only under the last named did they enjoy some rights. The first three became so overjoyed in their triumph that they forgot their own recent state of subjugation and began an intense campaign of denationalization and persecution.

Bukovina under Rumania

In pre-war times Bukovina had 199 Ukrainian public schools, five gymnasiums, five chairs at the University of Chernowicz, two normal schools and one agricultural school. By 1940 prior to the Soviet occupation all these Ukrainian educational institutions had been rumanianized. The 305,000 Ukrainians in Northern Bukovina, who comprised 64 to 95 per cent of the population, were deprived of all educational facilities in their native tongue. Ukrainian parishes were taken over by Rumanian priests. The post-war redistribution of estates brought Rumanian colonies into the already congested Ukrainian areas. High taxation, corrupt administration and suppression of freedom of the press and speech led this once prosperous land to stagnation and decay.

Western Ukraine under Poland

Before the Great War Poland itself was a submerged nation dominated by Russia, Prussia and Austria. It had tasted the bitterness of servility for more than one hundred years. It often raised a lamentable cry of its wretched plight throughout Europe and America. Under such circumstances it seems obvious that such a nation would have some consideration for another living in a similar predicament. But alas, free Poland turned out to be as selfish, as nationalistic, as narrow-minded in her policies regarding the Ukrainians as were Russia, Prussia and Austria in their dealings with the Poles. Resurrected Poland sought to polonize 7,000,000 people who formed about one-fourth of the Polish State and whose culture, if not superior, was in no degree inferior to that of their overlord!

E. A. Powell says in "Thunder Over Europe": "The Ukrainians have great constructive ability and their own unique civilization. They have developed a cooperative system which is one of the most successful of its kind. They have their own saving banks, libraries and schools; their own agricultural laboratory in Lemberg (or Lwów, as it is now called); their own art, literature and folk songs; a language of their own. Generally speaking, the house of the Ukrainian peasant, poor as it may be, is better and cleaner than that of his Polish neighbor; his farm is usually better run."

As the result of its policy of polonization, Poland inflicted deep and unforgettable scars on the Ukrainian national organism. It suppressed the Ukrainians chairs at the University of Lemberg, polonized the Ukrainian normal schools and gymnasiums, reduced the number of Ukrainian public schools from 3,600 to 134 in 1934; forbade Ukrainian youths to enter higher institutions of learning beyond a very restricted quota, and filled Ukrainian public schools with Polish teachers while Ukrainians were allowed to teach only in Poland proper.

Instead of schools Poland built prisons, which were constantly filled with Ukrainian political prisoners, especially youths. In 1930 at least 20,000 Ukrainians were cast into these prisons, including 16 out of 26 Ukrainian representatives to the Polish Sejm (the Lower House of Parliament).

To stop the Ukrainian movement and to crush the opposition of the Ukrainian peasants against the Polish colonists on Ukrainian soil, the Polish Government in 1930 dispatched a military expedition, known as the "pacification," to terrorize the Ukrainian population. "As the result of this browbeat savagery the Ukrainian peasants and priests were flogged, the women mishandled, cooperatives looted, reading rooms raided, books destroyed, community homes unroofed, and a heavy requisition for foodstuffs levied."¹ The innocent village population hid in the forests as from the Tartars in days gone by. Eight hundred branches of the Prosvita in Volynia were closed, and a cordon was drawn between Galicia and Volynia. Because of this barrier leaders of Ukrainian culture and economic life in Lviv could not work among their brothers in Volynia. It must be kept in mind that all these measures were perpetrated in utter disregard of Poland's solemn pledges made at the Versailles Peace Conference to grant the Ukrainian people a liberal measure of home rule.

Ukraine under the Soviets

In 1918-19 the newly founded Ukrainian Republic waged a mortal struggle against the Russian Bolsheviks and lost because of its necessity simultaneously to defend itself against Polish and White Russian aggressions. To this day Eastern Ukraine, with Kiev as the capital, has remained under Soviet Russia. Western Ukraine was seized in 1939 and Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1940.

It is difficult to understand Russian Bolshevism if one does not know the Russian language, literature, history and psychology of the Russian people. Such a person will never become convinced of its real nature and will never be able to see the movement in its true perspective. Any clear understanding of the meaning of Bolshevism will be precluded by the tendency to judge it in terms of one's own environment, one's own political, social and historical conceptions. It is not the object here, however, to try to persuade the readers to see Russian Bolshevism as it really is. We merely wish to give some examples of what it has done to Ukraine.

Far worse than the stagnation, vanity and bigotry of the Polish **shlakhta** (nobility) and clergy in the past; far more terrible than the ruthless russification by Tsarist Russia and far more aggravated than the chauvinistic polonization and

¹ Tiltman, H. H. Peasant Europe.

oppression by the recent Polish Republic is the exploitation, demoralization and terrorism of Ukraine by Bolshevik Russia today. Rightly understood, Bolshevism is the cruelest form of Red Russian imperialism, the most subtle of all because its Utopian pretensions are so plausible among some classes of people in other countries. This is why the Soviets receive recognition from Russian emigres and the approval of those Russians within the country who see the absurdity of the Communistic theories but support them heartily because they see in Bolshevik terrorism the salvation of "one indivisible Russia" — for a time at least.

The enormity of the crimes, the exploitation and the demoralization inflicted upon the Ukrainians by the Russian Bolsheviks has but few parallels in the history of man. The leaders of the Ukrainian nation who sought to help their people have been exterminated together with their families. Even those who joined the ranks of the Communists — if they have shown any sympathy for their countrymen — have been imprisoned or exiled to labor camps in the depths of Russia. The freeholders, once the backbone of the nation, have been wiped out. Their property has been stolen and they themselves sent into the White Sea Basin and to Siberia to build canals and cut down forests for the Red dictator. The collectivization of villages reduced about 90 per cent of the Ukrainian population to serfdom. The last refuge of the unfortunate people, their church, has been taken away from them as well, and the clergy has been persecuted, imprisoned or exiled. Education too has been turned into propaganda for Russian Bolshevism, imperialism and atheism. Ukrainian classics and history have been falsified and misinterpreted so as to give them the Russian Communistic tone. Family life has been virtually dissolved, and the new generation of children has been reared in an atheistic atmosphere estranged from their parents. Frequently children are employed as spies against their own fathers. Every form of communication with Ukrainians outside Russia has been broken. Even strictly business letters to Ukraine are not answered.

Famine as a Political Weapon

But these conditions fade into insignificance when compared with the new method devised by the Soviets to get rid of all those who show any indications of wanting to be free. They are abruptly subjected to the most ingenious form of torture — starvation. Since Bolshevism's advent into Ukraine millions of Ukrainians have been starved to death. Two centuries of bitter Tsarist misrule failed to stamp out the national aspirations of the Ukrainians. Stalin has sought to accomplish this in two decades by taking away the nation's entire food supply whenever the people become restless, as he did in 1932-33.

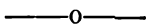
Wholesale banishment is another method used to weaken the resistance of the Ukrainians against Muscovite domination. About 2,000,000 Ukrainians were exiled prior to the occupation of Western Ukraine in September, 1939. Whole villages and districts were depopulated, especially near the frontiers and from those areas where the people dared to resist the Bolshevik authorities. Since the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine, there have been reports that countless thousands of other Ukrainians have been taken from their homes to Central Russia and Siberia.

But the Soviets are not satisfied with such material exploitation. They carry their destruction much further. Their main object is to wipe out the active Ukrainian elements and then to eradicate the very subconscious tradition of life: customs, religion, family, morality and everything that is spiritually precious. It is not a physical destruction but moral; that is, destruction of the vanquished once and for all. It is against such a form of nomadism that the settled, agricultural Ukrainian population now wages a ceaseless if underground struggle.

To date Soviet imperialism has failed dismally in its project. It has failed to align the Ukrainian spirit with Soviet ideology, and, contrary to its expectations, it has strengthened the national consciousness of the Ukrainians tenfold. It has failed and probably always will because the already evaporated Marxist formula cannot defeat tradition a thousand years old.

In summary it may be asked: What positive contributions to European civilization have Poland, Russia, Rumania and Hungary made while they enjoyed their independence? What are their shares in the common stock of science, philosophy, theology and government of the world that would at least justify their domination of other people?

The answer to these questions will explain why Ukraine has struggled against them so bitterly during the past and continues that struggle against Russia today.



Hitler on Ukrainians

I hated the mixture of races displayed in the capital [Vienna]. I hated the motley collection of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians [Ukrainians], Serbs, Croats, etc., and above all, that ever present fungoid growth — Jews, and again Jews.

MEIN KAMPF.

Rus', Russia and Ukraine

PART III.

THE increase of the lay authority, says Professor Smurlo, brought with it the exaltation of the spiritual one: "Latin Rome had no reason for being so proud of its apostles Peter and Paul; Russia had its own apostle: Andrew, who was 'the first of the called'!" He had planted the cross on the hills of Kiev and prophesied the religious splendor of this city chosen by God. Being christianized by the apostle Andrew, Russia became equal in seniority not only to Latin Rome, but to Greece itself, for she was baptized by the immediate disciple of Christ, by apostle Andrew, 'the first of the called'."

Then there arose a new legend: that of the white cuckoo, the emblem of church autonomy. Constantine the Great was supposed to have granted it to Pope Sylvester. The successors of Sylvester feeling unworthy of it, purportedly gave it to the Patriarch of Constantinople from whom it was supposedly transferred (but this time without the mediation of Kiev) to the Archbishop of Novgorod, and from him again it passed into the legitimate possession of the Metropolitan of Moscow.

As we can see, the Russians collected many "reasons" why Moscow should become a "Third Rome." The first Rome and the second one perished in the hands of the "heretics" and heathens; the third is rising gloriously; a fourth there will never be. Such were the thoughts the wise old man Filiteus expressed in his epistle to Secretary Munjechin and the Grand Duke of Moscow, Basil III. But the same thought already had been expressed, though in another form, by the Muscovian Metropolitan Zosima in his preface to "Paschalia," edited in 1499: After mentioning the foundation of Constantinople, the "New Rome," by the incentive of the first Christian emperor, Zosima observes that God had been willing to raise the Grand Duke Ivan Vassilievich to the high glory of "the New Constantine of a New Constantinople," that is of Moscow.

Ivan the Terrible had but to draw a conclusion from all these legends, and he did so in crowning himself in the Cathedral of Assumption and assuming the title of Tsar (which is the Russian corruption of the title Caesar). Forty-two years later (1589) his son Theodore completed his father's work; the Russian Church, which still nominally depended on the Patriarch of Constantinople, obtained its own patriarch and became autonomous not only in fact, but also *de jure*. This was brought about by the same princes who had induced Ivan to take the Tsarist crown. The Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremy, who went to Moscow at Job's elevation as patriarch of Moscow, said in his address to Tsar

Theodore: "Antique Rome has been destroyed by the heretics; the second Rome, Constantinople, is in the hands of the heathens; yours is the Russian Empire, O great sovereign, it is the third Rome: all other empires have been surpassed by your devotion, and you alone are the very Christian sovereign."

The theory of the third Rome, Professor Smurlo says, acquired the dignity of a political principle. The above mentioned words of Filiteus were copied into the official papers and became a kind of national catechism.

Moscow's Assumption of the Name "Russia"

But as we see, the road toward the third Rome was inevitably over Ukraine and Kiev. Therefore it was necessary to do everything possible to show that Moscow was the legitimate heir of Kiev and its people. For that reason there was an increase of cases in which Moscow began to ascribe to itself the name "Russia." This usurpation did not pass, however, without diplomatic incidents and even wars; for though in those times the Ukrainians were not able to proceed against this undue appropriation, the kings of Poland did so because they held Ukraine and also bore the name of King of Russia. But finally, Moscow won all its wars with its neighbors, and thus nobody could contest its claim to the name of "Russia" any longer. The language of the Muscovites became the official "Russian," and the language of the ancient Russians of Kiev was forbidden in schools and for a long time also in the press and theatre. Up to the revolution of 1917 all teachers on the right bank of the Dnieper, that is in the provinces of Kiev, the ancient "Rus'," of Volynia, Podolia, Kherson and Kholm, obtained more than their ordinary salary, an extra monthly sum that was called "za obrussenie kraja," "for the russification of the country." The ancient "Russian" country had to be "russified," for the name "Russian" had become the synonym of "Muscovite." Gregory Poletyka, the great Ukrainian patriot and purported author of the "History of Russia," a famous anti-Muscovite booklet of the XVIIIth century, noted melancholically: "It is well-known that at first we were that which the Muscovites now are: the government, the primate and even the name Rus' have passed over to them."

After having assumed the name of "Russian," the Tsarist Government attached the name of "Little Russian" to the Ukrainian people, while the Muscovite people became "Great Russian." This new nomenclature was purely political and therefore artificial.

It will be useful to trace its history.

Prince Andrew of Suzdal

When he destroyed Kiev in 1169 Prince Andrew Bogo-

lubsky, one of the first propagators of the Muscovite people's political ideas (though, perhaps, they were still unconscious) sought above all to plunder and ravage completely the churches and monasteries, taking even the books, icons and bells to Suzdal, the capital of his principate. Thus he manifested his intentions: to destroy in Kiev not only the political but also the religious center of the Ukrainian nation.

Kiev was then the unique residence of one metropolitan bishop for all the lands that were divided among the princes of the Russian dynasty. Prince Andrew Bogolubsky, who despite the vandalism he inflicted upon the population and the churches of Kiev, obtained the name "Bogolub," that is "the one who loves God," from Muscovite historians, built a magnificent cathedral in Vladimir on the Kliasma and asked the Patriarch of Constantinople for the consecration of a special metropolitan bishop for his principate. The Patriarch refused. Thereafter Bogolubsky tried to free his bishop from dependence upon the Metropolitan of Kiev and sent him for consecration directly to Constantinople. But the bishop paid with his life for the ambition of his prince. Thus the idea of a metropolitan residence at Suzdal was temporarily dropped, but the successors of Prince Andrew carried on his policy and at the end convinced the Metropolitan of Kiev, whose city was ruined, to transfer his residence to Muscovy: first to Vladimir on the Kliasma and later to Moscow.

The Use of the Term "Little Russia"

Of course the policy of the princes of Suzdal met with comprehensible discontent among the legitimate pretenders to the throne of Kiev. The princes of Galicia, who were the genuine heirs of the historical and cultural traditions of Kiev, had a much greater right to the succession of the religious center than had the Princes of Suzdal, and soon they began to insist on this right to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1303 their strain succeeded in obtaining from the Patriarch of Constantinople permission to found the Metropolitanate of Galicia, which because of the Metropolitanate of Kiev was called the Metropolitanate of Little Russia. The name of the Metropolitanate of Great Russia was given to the Metropolitanate of Kiev. Later these terms were to be used in official documents of the emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople in 1347, 1354, etc. They cannot be found in any document anterior to this invention of the Greek offices. The title which George II of Galicia used once in his missives (1335), in which he calls himself "*Dei gratia Dux totius Russiae minoris*," was also created under the influence of that terminology.

Nevertheless the denomination of "Little Russia" in the missive of George II does not correspond, as it seems, with

the meaning it obtained later on. One must not forget that in those times there still lived the recent memory of the "authentic Russia," which was the land of Kiev, and that Galicia began to be called "Russia" only in the XIIIth century (note the previously mentioned words of Vladimirkó about the ambassador of Kiev in 1152: "There is the Russian nobleman going away.") The Northern lands were not considered to be "Russia" by the Galician princes (let us not forget that the title "Russian" appeared among the titles of the Grand Dukes of Moscow only at the end of the XIVth century). Therefore George II, calling himself "the leader of Little Russia," could think but of Galicia in contrast to the lands of Kiev. In this case the terms "minor" and "major" have the meaning of "the younger" and the "older." It is interesting indeed to note that the Popes, those experts of the Latin language, when they later used the names "Great Russia" for Muscovy, which had already become "Russia," and "Little Russia" for Ukraine, employed instead of "minor" and "major" the terms "magna" and "parva" (for instance in the papal bull of April 17, 1784).

But the division of the metropolitanates, effectuated by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1303, was not a definitive one: the Princes of Suzdal succeeded in attracting the Metropolitan Peter to Vladimir on the Kliasma, who, having been sent before to Constantinople by the Princes of Galicia, first obtained the Metropolitanate of Galicia and then that of Great Russia, becoming thus the Metropolitan of "All Russia."

It can be easily understood, if one considers the great influence the church exercised in those times, how the terms, which at first were used in church terminology only, found their way also into civil documents, though they still kept their artifice of origin and meaning and did not touch the popular terminology. In the treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) the name of "Little Russia" was applied to Ukraine in the union with Muscovy which thus became "Great Russia," while Volynia and Galicia, to which the name of "Little Russia" had belonged up to then, remained under the rule of Poland and never again bore that name. From that time the Poles called Galicia "Little Poland" instead of "Little Russia."

The treaty of Andrusiv (1667), which divided Ukraine between Poland and Russia, mentions only "Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper" and Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper." Afterwards Ukraine on the left bank, remaining under Muscovy, continued to be called "Little Russia" in official Muscovite documents; but Ukraine on the right bank knew no other name than "Ukraine." On the other hand the Ukrainians in Galicia, Bukovina and Pidkarpatska Rus', threatened by the Polish and Magyar policy of assimilation, continued to call themselves "Russinians" or "Ruthenians," trying to sustain themselves by the glorious traditions of the

Russian State of Kiev and that of Galicia and Volynia.

They refused to accept the name of "Little Russians" which was propagated by West European writers and scientists. This artificial name, created in Muscovian offices, remained so strange to the population that it cannot be found in Ukrainian popular songs, while the name "Ukraine," as a substantive or adjective, appears in them often.

But before speaking of this name, which become national, I must mention another one that is used frequently in Ukrainian songs, and that is the name of "Kozak" or "Cossack."

(To be continued.)

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STEINHARDT SAVES UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN GIRL

The United Press reported in a Moscow dispatch on May 9 that Ambassador Laurence A. Steinhardt had saved Irene Pick, 23, daughter of the late Rev. Alexander Pyk, a Ukrainian clergyman, of Philadelphia, from a Russian firing squad.

Miss Pick was arrested last October in Lviv, where she had lived with her mother and two sisters since 1928. A student at Lwow University, she was sentenced to death last January 18 along with 40 other student members of a Ukrainian Nationalist club for "counter-revolutionary activity."

Her mother appealed to Ambassador Steinhardt, and on March 13 she was brought to Moscow where she was held in the Lubianka Prison. Later Steinhardt obtained her release and gave her a special

turn to the United States. She left for America via Vladivostok in May.

The 40 students arrested with her, she believes, were executed while she was awaiting the outcome of her appeal before the Ukrainian Supreme Court at Kiev.

Born in McKees Rocks, Pa., in 1918, Miss Pick was taken with her two American-born sisters to Poland by her mother, Mrs. Helen Pyk, in 1928. Her father was chancellor of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese and rector of the Cathedral of Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia until his death in January, 1938.

Also on the train to Vladivostok was Mieczyslaw Rozhkovsky, 23, an American-born Polish farm hand who was recently freed from a three-year prison-camp sentence through the efforts of the Ambassador.

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Ukrainian News

UNA Officers Re-elected.

The officers of the \$6,500,000 Ukrainian National Association were re-elected by over 400 delegates at the organization's quadrennial convention in Harrisburg which ended May 17. They include Nicholas Muraszko, president; Gregory Herman and Maria Mal-evich, vice presidents; Dmytro Halychyn, secretary, and Roman Slobodian, treasurer. The convention passed a resolution supporting President Roosevelt's foreign policy. Total UNA membership is now 38,500.

UWA Backs Roosevelt. The Associated Press reported in a Rochester, N. Y., dispatch May 19 that more than 200 delegates to the quadrennial convention of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association representing 12,500 members pledged President Roosevelt "full support of your endeavors to make America an arsenal of democracy and the bulwark of freedom in the world."

Ukrainians in Manitoba Assembly. As a result of Manitoba Province's election on April 22, seven Ukrainians now serve in the Manitoba Legislative Assembly: Nicholas Bachinsky, M. Hryhorchuk, Walter Kardash, Stephen Krawchuk, John Solomon, Nicholas Struck and Joseph Wawrikiw.

Lubka Kolessa Acclaimed. Lubka Kolessa, noted Ukrain-

ian pianist, was acclaimed at her concert in Ottawa on April 28 which The Ottawa Citizen said "surpassed most roseate expectation in [its] brilliancy, sparkle, colorfulness and artistic authority." An overflow audience jammed the National Gallery.

Message to President. When the Polish Premier, General Wladislas Sikorski, visited Washington to confer with President Roosevelt recently, the American-Ukrainian Congress Committee telegraphed the President that the Ukrainian people "strongly opposed the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Polish Republic at the close of the World War I" and would oppose a similar move in the future because they want complete independence.

Hrushevsky's History Ready. It was announced at the UNA convention that the long-awaited translation of Hrushevsky's History of Ukraine will be published by the Yale University Press late this summer. Wasył Halych translated the work and Dr. Luke Myshuha, Emil Revyuk, Stephen Shumeyko and Professor H. J. Frederiksen of Miami University, Miami, Ohio, revised and edited it.

ODWU Convention. The annual ODWU convention will be held in Hotel Imperial in New York on July 4, 5 and 6.



OPERETTA PRESENTED. Club Ukraine (Branch 20, Youth of ODWU) of Brooklyn presented its first dramatic hit on May 4 in the form of a three-act operetta bouffe, "Poshylysia uv Durni," or "The Misunderstanding," by M. Kropyvnytsky. Shown above are (first row) Michael Melnyk, Fedor Braznick, Olga Zadoretzky, Andrew Chupa, Peter Gural; (second row) Helen Ottenbreit, Michael Kosciw, Paul Slobodian, Tessie Kuzma, Eugene Patryk, Vera Zadoretzky, W. Werblanski, Helen Slobodian.



SHEVCHENKO HONORED. Above are members of the Ukrainian Youth Organization of Connecticut who presented an exceptionally fine concert and pageant in honor of Taras Shevchenko before 1,200 persons in New Britain on May 9. Governor Hurley, Mayor George J. Coyle and Stephen Shumeyko, editor of The Ukrainian Weekly, spoke. Andrew Melnyk delivered the introductory address while John Seleman acted as master of ceremonies. Choruses participating were the Ukrainian Choir of New Britain directed by B. M. Hoptiak and the Sfs. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Choir of Ansonia directed by R. Hwozdewich. Mary Burbella was the soloist and L. Opalka and P. Budnick of Bridgeport played a violin duet.

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