



THE TRIDENT

THE WAY
816 N. Franklin Street
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

"One Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State!"

Published by Organization for Rebirth of Ukraine

♦
OUR IDEOLOGICAL
ENDOWMENT TO AMERICA

♦
AN INTERVIEW WITH
BISHOP BUCHKO

♦
HETMAN MAZEPPA
OF UKRAINE

♦
ECHOES FROM WESTERN
UKRAINE

♦
THE 10TH ODWU
CONVENTION

♦
15 Cents

July-August, 1940

Vol. IV — No. 6



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST

Symbol of Ukraine's will to freedom.

CONTENTS

	Page
OUR IDEOLOGICAL ENDOWMENT TO AMERICA	1
By EUGENE LACHOWITCH	
AN INTERVIEW WITH BISHOP BUCHKO	7
By ROMAN LAPICA	
HETMAN MAZEPPA OF UKRAINE	22
By V. S. DUSHNYCK	
RESURGENT UKRAINE	32
By DR. GEORGE BACHUR	
ECHOES FROM WESTERN UKRAINE	41
By NICHOLAS BRITSKY	
THE TENTH ODWU CONVENTION, with Texts of Resolu- tions and Telegram to President Roosevelt	43
THE UKRAINIAN COSTUME, a Photograph	47

Next Issue of The Trident

AVE DICTATOR! by Yury Horlis Horsky. A victim of the Soviet OGPU tells his experiences.

NAPOLEON AND UKRAINE, by Professor Evhen Onatzky. Napoleon wanted a free Ukraine in order to destroy Russia. Here are the details.

UKRAINE IN FIGURES, by Mykola Sciborsky. The author of "Ukraine and Russia" discusses the wealth of Ukraine.

THE CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE OF WESTERN UKRAINE, by Yury Klen. Ukraine has many good writers and a few great ones. Here are some of them.

THE TRIDENT

Published by the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine

Office of Publication:

149—2nd Avenue, New York, N. Y.

GRamercy 5-8793

V. S. DUSHNYCK

ROMAN LAPICA

Editors

ROMAN LAPICA

Business Manager

EUGENE LACHOWITCH

EDWARD SEREDYNSKY

JOSEPH IVANIW

EMIL HRYSHKO

Associate Editors

MICHAEL KOSCIW

THEO. MOTORNEY

Associate Business

Managers

Mailing Address: Post Office Box 13, Station D, New York City

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION—\$1.50 (American) :— SINGLE COPY—15 c

Published monthly except January-February and July-August when published bi-monthly

Reentered as second class matter January 12, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. IV

July — August, 1940

No. 6

Our Ideological Endowment to America

By EUGENE LACHOWITCH

(Lecture delivered at the Tenth Convention of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine on July 6, 1940, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

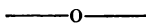
Is the ideological work of the Ukrainian Nationalists in America beneficial or detrimental to the native-born American people?

As we know, critics, including some even among the Ukrainians, accuse Ukrainian Nationalists of being Fascists, agents of despotism, enemies of democracy, members of the "Fifth Column" and in general subversive elements. Is this true or false?

To answer these arguments, it is necessary first of all to point out that the majority of us came to America to escape oppression and misery. Having arrived here in this land of Washington and received a full share of liberty, is it logical that we would do anything that might harm America? Can anyone imagine that we would repay America for its generous hospitality with evil? It would be base ingratitude indeed.

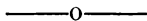
In the face of these accusations, however, let us examine all the ideals that Ukrainian Nationalists stand for, and have

been teaching the Ukrainian immigration and transmitting into our society.

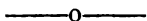


PATRIOTISM. For years Ukrainian Nationalists have been emphasizing patriotism. Members have been taught that patriotism is a noble virtue, that it is the duty of every citizen to love his country more than self or material advantages, that every person must regard his country as an altar upon which it is sometimes necessary to lay the supreme sacrifice.

Teaching patriotism, we simultaneously deplored the materialistic outlook, present sometimes even among the native-born, who love America only for its standard of living, its opportunities and its material luxuries. Too often this type of person, suddenly losing his position and fortune, turns against America with hatred, calling it a "nation of gangsters," and looks to some other country to satiate his material cravings. Rightfully we refer to this person as a "bad American."

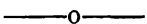


IDEALISM. Idealism is another principle taught by Ukrainian nationalism. Life is worthwhile so long as we are ready to sacrifice it for some great cause. If a man places life above all other values and makes enjoyment his sole purpose, he profanes life itself and becomes unworthy of it. The duty of every individual is to wrestle with evil and fight for high ideals. This struggle hardens his fiber, strengthens his spirit and develops his spiritual individuality, thus justifying his existence. And because idealism, like patriotism, demands sacrifice, these two virtues are indispensable to the good citizen.



HEROISM. The third principle inherent in Ukrainian nationalism is heroism. It is linked closely to patriotism and idealism because it is a requisite of both. A man must be courageous enough to defend his ideals, notwithstanding the cost. And just as no man respects another who flees before an attack and refuses to defend himself or his ideals, so no nation respects another which refuses to fight for its honor and ideals and instead of defending itself, uses the argument that no cause is worth the sacrifice of human life.

Such an argument reduces people to the level of an animal, because for mere physical existence, they are willing to relinquish everything else.



RELIGION. We have also exalted religion, the belief in God and the transcendent life. We believe that the Church is a constructive element in society, that it unites people and permits the creation of secular organizations. Without faith in God and Resurrection, man would have no reason to defend the civil liberty of his fellow men. If life ended with death,

why should liberty be extolled? Sometimes this liberty is costly. It entails social upheavals, friction, economic crises, even anarchy and misery at times. Nevertheless we desire it, for we instinctively feel that it is indispensable to the development of our spiritual individuality. Because of that feeling, we often close our eyes to our material wants, and reject the regimented society in which our material security might be achieved sooner, but at the cost of our liberty.

Discard belief in God and the hereafter and social liberty loses its basis for existence. Godlessness is the immoral foundation of social despotism. Religion on the other hand is the spiritual foundation for heroism, idealism, patriotism. These are the principles we have taught for years. Were we right?

NATIONALISM. Being nationalists we emphasize the principles of nationalism. We believe that each nation consists of classes because man is not equal to every other man in physical, mental and moral qualities, and therefore organized society cannot be classless. Differences must exist. But we teach that class relations must be based on justice, mutual respect and affection. All social classes must feel that they are component parts of one nation, and that they must not take advantage of their position to dominate the other. Competition must be maintained within constructive boundaries and never become destructive. If it is natural for every class to seek to gain most of the common national wealth, then every class must understand the others, above and below, as the collective destiny of all is predicated upon the well-being of each. In other words, none of the classes has the right to desire the violent destruction of any other.

The limits of class competition are hard to define by law. They can be more easily defined through patriotism, idealism and religion.

DUTY. It is one of our precepts that every citizen, receiving certain rights and benefits from his social order, simultaneously assumes certain responsibilities. There can be no liberty without discipline, no rights without obligations. The more internally disciplined a society becomes, the more worthy it is of liberty. If a society abuses its liberty, it condemns itself to slavery.

AID TO OUR KINSMEN. Last, but not the least important, we have emphasized that our people in America should contribute in some way toward helping our kinsmen in Europe in their independence struggle. It is for this part of our program that we have been criticized most on the grounds of disloyalty to America.

Let us examine this part of our work and its motives.

We have helped and exhorted others to help our kinsmen in Europe because they were and are being wronged. Their enemies took away their land, enslaved the people and inflicted upon them such injustices that no man could conscientiously stand aside. When a man is under the wheels of a car, everyone, especially his brother, rushes to his aid. The Ukrainian people are under the wheels of history. For us it is impossible to conceive of our refusing to help our brothers and retain the good name of human beings.

And this help does not contradict the American tradition. On the contrary our help is in accordance with this tradition. The American way has always been to struggle for some high objective, a just cause, to aid the oppressed and to seek to right wrongs no matter where. Whoever acts otherwise violates this tradition. Whoever refuses to help his own brothers, though they may be crushed under foreign occupation, proves himself unworthy of this tradition. He shall never become a good American citizen. Whoever has never learned to respect his native land will never learn to respect his adopted land.

We have also been teaching these same principles to our kinsmen in Europe as well, the principles of patriotism, heroism, idealism, religion and nationalism, because only through them will they be able to break the bonds that bind them. It is futile to expect outside aid. Every people must depend upon itself and must fight and sacrifice for its national objectives if they are to succeed. Passive waiting will gain the Ukrainians nothing. It will not even arouse sympathy for them.

To fight for the liberation of the Ukrainian people, or to aid this struggle, we considered not only our Ukrainian but even more so our American duty. Urging our American-born youth of Ukrainian descent to aid this struggle, we not only did not corrupt their wholehearted patriotism toward America, but we strengthened it. We did this by teaching our youth an idealistic approach to this great country. We showed them old-world examples of how Ukrainian youth sacrifices itself for its native land. By comparing conditions in Ukraine with conditions in America, we taught our youth to appreciate American democracy and understand what it means. Lastly, by stressing these ideals to our youth, we rescued them from the materialistic, radical and atheistic streams that are undermining our American institutions today.

—o—

OUR PRINCIPLES. Were our principles sound? Recent events in France have proved that they are sound and that they form the foundations of every state. Lacking these principles, France came to its present tragic downfall at the hands of aggressive Germany.

Marshal Petain said France fell because the French people were not prepared both materially and morally. They lacked the "spirit of sacrifice." And the journalist, G. H. Archambault,

quotes these words of an old Frenchman in a dispatch to The New York Times on July 23:

It may surprise you, sir, to hear an old Frenchman invoking God, since we have been hitherto an avowedly Godless State. That, indeed, is one of the causes of our misfortune. We have lacked an ideal. I confess that in this matter I have been as guilty as most of my countrymen. We came to imagine that the proper duty of man was to arrange an easy way of life, individualistic to the point of selfishness...

I am myself of the Left; here most of us vote Radical-Socialist. But labels are of no account now and to tell the truth all parties are equally responsible. All of us, in every party, looked upon our representatives as natural intermediaries between ourselves and the government for the distribution of manna from the State coffers. It reached the point where Ministers of Finance dared not reveal that they had a surplus; otherwise every party claimed its share...

For many years now it had become evident that our parliamentary form of government had failed. Every successive Cabinet had been compelled to ask for dictatorial powers in order to be able to administer the country. But we persisted in our errors. For one thing, we persisted in leveling the nation down and in imagining that the State would prove an everlasting milch cow.

William Philip Simms also discusses this point in an analysis of the causes of the French defeat in The New York World-Telegram on July 3:

France was licked before the war started. She never had a Chinaman's chance. And it wasn't the Nazis that licked her. It was her own politicians, some of them incompetent, some soft, some highly visionary.

That is the well-nigh universal view in France and elsewhere in Europe today. It is the view not only of French thinkers but of the rank and file, of the workers, peasants and petit bourgeois with whom I rubbed elbows for many days and nights along the highways leading out of Paris.

France was not defeated in those terrible six weeks of May and June. She was defeated in the easy-going six years that led up to the 1940 showdown. She was not beaten on the battlefields of Flanders and Artois, but in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris and in the workshops and factories before a single shot was fired. When the story is told in the trials and courts martial that are almost certain to be staged as soon as the country can get around to it, it will dumbfound the world...

Similar opinions are held by other journalists and observers. They agree that France fell because of the absence of those ideals which Ukrainian Nationalists are seeking to teach their people. Materialism, selfishness, lack of ideals, atheism were the spiritual maladies that duped France at first and then exposed it unarmed to the German Army.

We in America have been fighting against these poisonous streams that have been conveniently disguising themselves in the garb of "liberalism." These same elements accused us of being "Fascists," "chauvinists" and exponents of a "dagger-ideology." But instead of giving way, we continued with our work because we believed we were right, and now history has proved us right. Many were our lecturers who called upon the people to believe in those same ideals, the lack of which led France to defeat. Now America is awakening to this very fact, and we cannot but be proud that we had some part, no matter how small, in helping to bring it about.

Let me cite a letter written by an anonymous English flier, who is now dead. It was printed by virtually all the English newspapers as an illustrious example of true patriotism and idealism. Some American newspapers, including The New York Times, (June 12, 1940) reprinted it. It reads in part:

Those who serve England must expect nothing from her; we debase ourselves if we regard our country as merely a place in which to eat and sleep.

The universe is so vast, so ageless, that the life of one man can only be justified by the measure of his sacrifice. We are sent to this world to acquire the personality and character to take with us. Those who just eat, sleep, prosper and procreate are no better than animals if all their lives they are at peace.

I firmly and absolutely believe that evil things are sent into the world to try us; they are sent deliberately by our Creator to test our mettle, because He knows what is good for us. The Bible is full of cases where the easy way out has been discarded for moral principles. . .

These words are familiar to all of us. Not a few times have similar statements been made by Ukrainian Nationalists, not just recently, but years ago, when in England and France, particularly the latter, such ideas were not very much in vogue.

Considering all this, we need not be ashamed of our ideological work in America. We have done good work. We have not harmed America, our adopted Fatherland. We have not repayed its generosity with ingratitude. Instead we have helped our Ukrainian people to believe in healthy ideas which make a nation strong and without which no state can survive.

Our teaching has neutralized in part the detrimental influences of other social doctrines and streams that undermine the nation by destroying these very ideals upon which all our American institutions are based. Proud of what we have accomplished, let us continue in the same direction. Let us give America good citizens. Let us guard its institutions. And at the same time let us not forget our humane duty toward our brothers in Europe who are still struggling for that liberty which we enjoy here.

An Interview with Bishop Buchko

By ROMAN LAPICA

This is an introduction to a man of whom it can truly be said: "He lives but to serve God and his country."

His country is Ukraine, a stricken land that has known but three years of embattled freedom in the last three centuries.

He has seen it fight with its back to the wall against half the armies of East Europe and fall, beaten and crushed, without hope of resurrection.

He has seen it suffer from examples of man's inhumanity so terrible that they stifled his breast and deadened his heart.

And he has seen it struggle to life, under two decades of occupation by foreign states, to challenge them again for a right to live.

They have chained Ukraine, but they have not stilled his voice crying out for justice.

They have whipped a nation of 45,000,000 people to its knees, but they have not extinguished the hope that was born in him in that wild free land that the Cossacks once roamed.

They have destroyed its name, proclaimed to the world that it is no more and displayed maps to prove it. but they have not destroyed the spark within him that he calls Ukrainian nationalism.

Therefore this introduction is not only to him alone, but also to the noblest of the Slav races, whose heroic, unceasing efforts to regain their lost heritage has gripped the hearts and minds of Ukrainians the world over.

Based on a dozen hours of conversation over a period of days, it is a brief account of the life, the works and the opinions of Ivan Buchko, 48-year-old Titular Bishop of Cadi and Temporary Auxiliary Bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Diocese in America, who arrived in New York on April 29 aboard the S. S. Uruguay from South America to restore the faith of the Ukrainian immigration in itself.

A short, stocky man with kindly brown eyes and sandy hair, a salty sense of humor, an enormous knowledge, the widest experience and a keen logical mind, he is not one of these sequestered clerics who have spent their lives in a monastery or a cathedral, far from the people, and come forth at rare intervals to bestow their blessing or deliver a weighty encyclical.

Bishop Buchko is of the people. He came from a family of thirteen. He grew up under the influence of Ivan Franko,

the master poet-writer, whom he saw almost daily. He lived through the Polish-Ukrainian War. He knew three Popes and most of the great men of Ukraine. He defied the Polish Army during the Pacification of Western Ukraine in 1930 and was the center of a Polish military attack on peaceful Ukrainian villagers in 1934. He received an official apology from the Brazilian Government after police broke up his church service in Curitiba last October. And in his first sermon in New York he called on the people to unite in the struggle against Bolshevism.

Bold, he speaks with the utmost frankness. Gifted with an amazing memory, he can cite dates, figures, names and historical facts by the score and discuss world problems by the hour without mentioning religion. He knows nine languages, including Hebrew, and can carry on a conversation in Latin. And he loves to tell stories.

An intense Ukrainian patriot, he believes nationalism coupled with faith in God is the only salvation of the Ukrainian people. "Ukrainian nationalists are the flower of the Ukrainian nation," he says. He denies that they are Nazis or Fascists.

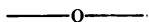
He believes Poland fell because it was not based on justice. "**Justitia est fundamentum regnorum,**" he quotes. "But the Poles considered the Ukrainian people to be a **minores gentes.**"

He sees no principal differences between Bolshevism and Fascism and Nazism. "They are nothing new," he said. "Even before Christ, regimentation of the mind was common."

Of Colonel Andrey Melnyk, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which is leading the Ukrainian liberation movement, he states: "He is the best man that the Ukrainian people could have for a leader."

He compares Mychailo Hrushevsky, the Ukrainian historian and first president of the Ukrainian National Republic, whom he met in Rome in 1914, to Pliny the Younger, "a giant in intellect. but unfortunately for the Ukrainian cause, not a great statesman." Sightless, Hrushevsky died in Soviet exile in 1934.

Of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who has dreamed of Ukrainian independence for three-quarters of a century and for the second time in a generation is a prisoner of the Russians, he says: "He will live until Ukraine is free."



BIOGRAPHY. Ivan Buchko was born on October 1, 1891, in Hermaniv, near Lviv, Western Ukraine, at the beginning of the nationalist era in the history of the Ukrainian people. The ideal of independence was beginning to inflame men's minds and people like Franko, Mikhnovsky, Petlura and



BISHOP IVAN BUCHKO

Whose dreams of a free Ukraine have been intensified by the latest developments abroad.

others were rereading Shevchenko's *Kobzar* and dreaming dreams. And there were many youths who left off with dreams and took to bombs. For Ukraine had stirred at last from its 19th century lethargy and begun to look about for

the means with which to shatter the Russian and Austrian fetters that bound it.

Close to the earth (his father was a farmer) and deeply moved by the sufferings of his people, young Buchko became interested in their welfare at an early age. He was twelve when he met the new Archbishop of Lviv, Andrey Sheptytsky, already a name on everyone's lips, a man who, in the decades to follow, was to do more for the Ukrainian people than any other individual. There was bound to be a strong impression on the mind of the lad, and later when he began thinking of studying law and entering politics, the appeal of the church and memories of the noble Sheptytsky could not be put aside.

At twenty-one Ivan Buchko began to study law. But two months of it satisfied him that he was meant for the priesthood. He told his aspirations to the Metropolitan, and was promptly dispatched to Rome to study in the Athenaeum Urbanum. Amid the Great War, in 1915, he attained his doctorate in theology and returned to Lviv the same year to find his country desolated. Metropolitan Sheptytsky had been exiled by the Russians. Russian, Austrian and German armies had cut bloody swathes across the fertile land. Ukrainians in the Russian Army were fighting Ukrainians in the Austrian forces. Everywhere there was hunger, despair and ruin. The young newly ordained priest vowed that he would never rest until the Ukrainians could call their land their own.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky, who at the turn of the century had been secretly given jurisdiction over all Russia by Pope Pius X, was finally released by the Russian Provisional Government in 1917. At the beginning of his exile in 1914, he appointed Rector Bocian of the Kiev Seminary as Bishop of Lutsk. Later the Poles were to use this act against him, accusing him of violating canonical law until he produced a document showing that Pius X had given him the power to appoint bishops in Russia. Upon his release by the Russians, he called the first Russian Holy Synod in Petrograd in years, and appointed Leonidas Fiodorov as Exarch of Russia. Then he returned to Lviv.

The Metropolitan was impressed by the work of the young priest, Father Buchko, who had been Prefect of the Ukrainian Theological Seminary since 1915, and appointed him secretary of the Ordinariate in 1918. The following year he founded the Little Seminary in Lviv to train Ukrainian youths for the Theological Seminary and the priesthood. In 1920 he became a professor in the Theological Academy in Lviv, retaining this position until 1929.

Poland conquered Western Ukraine, and Eastern Ukraine fell to the Soviets in 1920. Seeking foreign support for the Ukrainian cause as well as to raise money for Ukrainian war orphans, the Metropolitan left Western Ukraine in 1921. The

Poles began a campaign to discredit him at the Vatican and bar him from the country. He was gone for two years, visiting European countries, South America and the United States. Upon his return in 1923 he was arrested for a time for "illegal entry" into Poland and made to promise that he would do nothing to harm the Polish state.

Conditions were so terrible, that the Vatican had decided to send an Apostolic Visitor to Western Ukraine. The Reverend Buchko was appointed his secretary. Together they visited every section of the country, and the Apostolic Visitor returned to report that it was suffering under Polish occupation, and that the Metropolitan should return.

Conditions were somewhat ameliorated for a period because the people lost hope in immediate independence. In 1929 the Reverend Buchko was appointed Titular Bishop of Cadi and Auxiliary Bishop of the Metropolitanate of Western Ukraine. As assistant to Metropolitan Sheptytsky, he became secretary of the Ukrainian episcopacy and head of the commission to correct liturgical books. He was now one of the twelve Ukrainian bishops in the world, and entrusted with the work of bringing the liturgical books up to standard. The work took his commission six years and is now being checked by a commission of Cardinals in Rome.

During the Polish pacification of Western Ukraine in 1930, Bishop Buchko visited the stricken villages, gathered photographs, wrote affidavits for beaten villagers and brought words of encouragement to the suffering, upon whom Polish troops had descended without warning and without cause to beat, pillage, rape and burn. The Poles dared not attack a bishop, and his presence frequently prevented additional outrages. Bishop Buchko realized this, and purposely traveled as rapidly as he could from village to village.

Upon his return to Lviv there arose the problem of sending all the material he had collected to Rome. The mails were censored. He entrusted it to a messenger, who delivered it to a Ukrainian priest in Vienna. When the Pope received it, he immediately summoned the Polish ambassador. Naturally the ambassador denied that there had been any mistreatment of the Ukrainians. The Pope then produced the pictures. The pacification petered out as an organized campaign, but not until thousands of villagers had been beaten, many dying of their wounds, and hundreds of villages were destroyed.

Later this material was published by a Ukrainian committee under the title of *The Bloody Book*. That and other data was published in the United States in a book entitled *Polish Atrocities in Western Ukraine*. That pacification was the beginning of the end for Poland, for it proved to the world that the Polish government could not govern justly.

"Even if the Germans had not destroyed Poland," says

Bishop Buchko, "it would have collapsed of itself."

In May, 1933, 117,000 youths from all parts of Western Ukraine gathered in Lviv to celebrate the 1900th anniversary of the birth of Christ. The demonstration was organized by Bishop Buchko. Worried by this display of patriotism, Polish authorities stationed gendarmes on the outskirts to turn thousands of other persons away.

In 1934 Bishop Buchko was visiting the village of Nove Selo in Podilia. Several hundred Ukrainians turned out on horseback to greet him. As the procession approached the village, Polish soldiers began to fire over their heads with two machine guns. The horses began to break in panic. Drawing sabers, about thirty of the Poles fell on the crowd, and wounded eighty. Later when the Bishop addressed the villagers, urging them to remain calm and not take revenge into their own hands because "God sees what is going on and will hear your prayers," Polish civilians began to throw bottles and rocks. One glanced off the Bishop's forehead.

Incidents such as these were frequent all over the country. The situation grew worse during the rise and fall of Carpatho-Ukraine. More than 100 Ukrainian Orthodox Churches were destroyed in Volyn and Pidliashie. Rioting Poles even attempted to storm the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv, the church of the Metropolitan. As war gradually grew nearer, the relations between Poles and Ukrainians became more tense. The campaign against the Ukrainian clergy was intensified. Ukrainian nationalists were arrested in large numbers. The climax was almost at hand.

On July 24, 1939, Bishop Buchko left Lviv for South America as an Apostolic Visitor. For eight months he toured Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. Everywhere thousands of Ukrainians turned out to greet him as one of the most illustrious persons ever to visit them. Only one incident marred the trip.

On October 29 in Curitiba, Parana State, the Bishop was interrupted by Brazilian police during a sermon, and a scuffle broke out in church. The Brazilians demanded that he speak in Portuguese although he had permission from the Foreign Office to speak in Ukrainian. He was detained for a few hours, and upon his release he left the country in protest. Later the government apologized, the Brazilian Army promised him protection, and he returned to Brazil for two more months.

In South America Bishop Buchko was impressed by the hard-working, loyal Ukrainian immigrants, most of whom live on farms in colonies and take little part in politics, keeping out of the strife that seems to be characteristic of South American states. There are seventeen Ukrainian Catholic priests in Brazil and four in Argentina or only twenty-one for

about 180,000 Ukrainian Catholics. The 60,000 Orthodox Ukrainian have twelve priests.

Arriving in New York on April 29, Bishop Buchko went to Philadelphia to visit his old friend, the Most Reverend Constantine Bohachevsky, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Diocese in America. As newly appointed Temporary Auxiliary Bishop of the Church, he celebrated his first mass on May 5 in the Cathedral of Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia, and on May 12 in St. George's Church in New York. Thousands attended both services, and heard him pray that Ukraine would soon become free.

Recently Vistnyk, the organ of the Ukrainian Catholics in Paris, said of him:

"The twenty-five years of priesthood and ten years as a bishop of His Excellency, Ivan Buchko, are written in golden letters in the history of our church and our people. He is a living example of a true priest and a Ukrainian patriot. It has always been his principal thought that only through the education of Ukrainian youth can the ideals for which the whole Ukrainian nation dreams be attained. He has defended this point of view, been absorbed by it and carried it out in deed."

The Opinions of a Bishop

ON POLAND. "Even if the Germans had not destroyed Poland, it would have collapsed of itself. Instead of internal consolidation, it devoted its strength toward the Polonization of its non-Polish regions. Its whole concern was to lower all the national groups to one common denominator.

"Poland's most disastrous mistake was its failure to win the sympathies of the great Ukrainian minority of 7,000,000 people, who inhabited one-third of the state. The Polish policy toward them was to minimize their importance, and every means of the government machinery was devoted to eliminating them from government positions. Only those were retained who could be trained to become renegades to their people.

"The Ukrainian rite is the palladium of the Ukrainian nationality. Poland wanted to convert it into the Latin rite and prevent any Ukrainian participation in the national life of the state. The vital forces of the people did not permit them to be destroyed, and they did not weaken under this Polish action.

"In recent times Poland turned its persecution against the Ukrainian clergy, which has always felt itself to be part of the people, not above them or apart from them. In no other nationality is the clergy so linked to the national interests of the people. The Poles saw that they could not weaken

the Ukrainian national life without eliminating the influence of the Ukrainian church. So they began a campaign against the clergy. They accused Ukrainian priests of 'Ukrainianizing' Polish names, arrested them, imposed heavy fines and prison sentences ranging up to several years in an attempt to force them to separate themselves from the people.

"At the same time the drive against the Ukrainian Orthodox Church proceeded with equal intensity. Seeking to convert the Orthodox Ukrainians to chauvinistic Polish Catholicism, the Polish government began to destroy Ukrainian Orthodox Churches (120 were wrecked in Kholm and Volynia in 1938). The Polish 'Korpus Ochrony Pograniczna' (KOP) stationed on the frontiers would force all the men of some village into barracks and keep them there until they promised to become Roman Catholics. Thus the troops, instead of defending the country, became missionaries!

"People with strong characters did not weaken. But some through fear did become Polish Catholics. Then all the Polish papers would exult that such and such a village had become Polish Catholic. And although the people detested the Poles, a Polish priest would come to the village, the children would be taught in Polish and gradually they would be reared as janissaries.

"The Orthodox Church had no defense against such actions because it was directly under the Polish government. When the government ordered that sermons be given in Polish, the priests had to comply. On the other hand the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, being under the jurisdiction of the Vatican, a power beyond the Polish government, could resist such Polonization tactics.

"Because of this constant strife with non-Poles, Poland could not hold out long against Germany. Being one-third foreign, with 7,000,000 Ukrainians, 3,000,000 Jews, 2,500,000 White Russians, 1,000,000 Germans and 500,000 Lithuanians, the state could not hope to resist long without their support. However, instead of winning that support, it mistreated the minorities and regarded only the Pole as a first-class citizen.

"Faced by such tactics Ukrainian youth had no other recourse than to search for some means with which to alleviate their condition. Their terroristic actions were a means of attracting world attention to conditions in Poland. Without a doubt, Poland was responsible for the present war, for by its unjust treatment of minorities, it gave Hitler and Stalin an excuse to invade the country. Hitler came to 'free' the Germans, and Stalin to 'free' the Ukrainians.

"Until the Poles understand that they can exist only through brotherly cooperation with the Ukrainians, who are twice as great in numbers, they will not enjoy much indepen-

dence. Only through such cooperation can the two peoples, numbering 70,000,000, present a strong bulwark against the German 'drang' and Russian pan-Slavist imperialism."

—o—

ON RUSSIA. "Tsarist Russia fell, like Poland, because it was not honest with its people. Only the Russian had rights, and not many Russians at that. Communism was accepted more easily in Russia than in Ukraine because the Russian peasants did not own their own land but merely worked on it. As in Italy where there is no large middle class, Russia had only workers and a property class. The intelligentsia was corrupt, immoral and lived off the lower class. Bolshevism could have succeeded nowhere else but in Russia where poverty was greatest and the people had no moral endurance with which to resist it. The Russians accepted Bolshevism as a 'savior', not realizing that it would bring the same oppression but under a different name.

"Whereas Bolshevism had a fertile field in Russia, it met with fierce resistance in Ukraine where the people had been reared in a different tradition—on truth, culture and honesty. The best of Western culture and ideals had given the Ukrainian people a different character than that of the Russians. For example, foreigners have told me that even without a map, they know when they are in Ukraine on the trip from Moscow to Kiev. The people are clean and well-dressed, the cottages are neat and surrounded by trees and flowers. The Ukrainians like order, beauty, peace; the Russians have no talents in that direction.

"Bolshevism is unnatural and therefore it cannot last. Human nature is so constituted that every person wants something that he can call his own. **'Kozhda ruka do sebe kryva.'** (Every arm is bent toward one's self.) The enslavement of the human spirit, the regimentation of all thinking, the destruction of property rights as well as human rights and the destruction of individuality—all these characteristics of Bolshevism are anathema to the Ukrainian.

"Bolshevism is similar in these respects to Fascism and Nazism. They are nothing new. Even before Christ, regimentation of the mind was common. Debaters were silenced by a quotation from Aristotle and the phrase, **'Autos ephe,'** (He said). His was the supreme word. And so it was with the Caesars and with Napoleon. When a fact is recognized by science, then it has some authority. But to give a dictator supreme authority in all questions and accept his words as infallible is a travesty on the intellect!

"The Ukrainian church, being the only 'government' the Ukrainian people have, is always the first institution that the occupant tries to destroy. Long before Communism, Russia

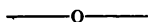
did everything to keep the Ukrainians from becoming Catholics. The Poles under Russia were persecuted for political, not religious reasons. But in 1839 and 1875 the Tsars instituted bloody persecutions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Kholm and Pidliashe because it was considered to be Russia's most dangerous enemy. It sought to unite the Ukrainian people. And that is why Russia wanted Western Ukraine last September. It is the center of Ukrainian Catholicism, which has instilled in the people a love of truth and morality and hatred of bolshevism.

"Russia probably had similar motives in taking northern Bukovina and Bessarabia from Rumania. Now there are reports that the Soviets also want Carpatho-Ukraine under Hungary. So long as a piece of Ukrainian land remains outside the Soviet Union, Russia fears that it may become a Ukrainian Piedmont from which a blow could be hurled that would shatter the Soviet structure and release the great Ukrainian race from bondage.

"Just as Hitler says he is a providential messenger sent by a divine power to bring an established order to Europe and reconstruct the German state, so the Russians say they must dominate other Slavs. Pushkin summarized this Russian mentality splendidly when he said: 'Every Slav river must flow into one great Russian sea.'

"Sooner or later, Russia must collapse internally. The reason for this is that Stalin is the whole Bolshevik state. He rules the 230 nationalities that comprise the Soviet Union with an iron hand. And so long as he lives, there is little chance of an internal explosion. But after his death, always after men like Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini are gone, there will come a collegium. And a collegium is the beginning of the end because there is no unanimity of thought.

"Stalin is a Nietzschean superman, immune to pain, suffering and the fate of millions. He has an abnormal gift for putting into practice the theories that the intellect Lenin created. So Lenin too was afraid of him. In the real sense of the word, Stalin is an idealist who works neither for fame nor money, but for an ideology. But after he goes, the system will go."



ON GERMANY. "The Germans have always considered themselves to be a people chosen by God, a *Herrenvolk* destined to rule other people. Who knows whether the Germans would have recovered so swiftly after the war without such a belief. But Hitler has developed this belief into gospel, given them the injection to make them go out and dominate because they are the most numerous race in Europe, excluding the Russians.

"In general they are not as able, but they are disciplined and know how to obey. This is the secret of Hitler's success. He thinks for the whole nation, and the people, who were trained to obedience long before he arose, follow him. He has less difficulty than Mussolini, for the Italian is still not used to dictatorship. For this reason it is doubtful whether Hitler would have succeeded in any other country as well as he has in Germany."

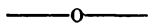
ON PEACE. "The war has now become a question of prestige. According to the latest news, Hitler wants England to get out of continental Europe, and England does not want to. Neither has much to gain by continuing such a senseless slaughter. On the other hand peace would be to the advantage of both. They could divide spheres of influence and draw up an agreement that would guarantee peace for a hundred years. The terms are not insolvable. Of those recently offered to England through Sweden, the most incompatible was the German occupation of part of France and a German protectorate over the rest of the country. It is doubtful whether such an arrangement would ever work, for the French people would never accept it. But the Ukrainians would benefit because in a general peace settlement, Russia would have to change its policy. Every nation now worried by the thought of further Soviet aggression would bring pressure to bear upon Russia, and conditions might improve for the Ukrainians. Most important, Russia would have to renounce its theories of world revolution."

ON POSSIBLE ENGLISH OR GERMAN "AID." "Even if the Soviets had united with England against Germany, they would have seized Western Ukraine. If only the American people would understand that the Ukrainians cannot expect much from England. It is too far away to help them. Even if England wins the war, it is doubtful whether it could change the Soviet Union or whether it would want to make it a democratic state. Russia would become too powerful as a result. With nearly 200,000,000 people, Russians and non-Russians, living harmoniously and richly because of the vast natural wealth of the country, Russia would become far too powerful and dangerous to England. For England it is better that Russia remain a cauldron of dissatisfied peoples, a weak nation, instead of a strong, united federation of peoples. Thus the Ukrainians cannot hope much from England.

"But neither do they expect anything from Germany. They have been too hardened by bitter experience to think that Hitler would give them independence once he conquered Ukraine. It would become another German colony for the

benefit of the mother country, just as it is a Russian colony now. And the Germans have told the Ukrainians as much.

"For example, several weeks before I left Lviv on July 24, 1939, it was reported that several German agents had arrived in the city and promised Ukrainians aid against Poland. The Ukrainians asked: 'And what if the Bolsheviks come?' Brutally and shamelessly the Germans were said to have retorted: 'It is not in our interest to defend you against the Bolsheviks.'"



ON THE PROSPECTS OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE.

"Ukraine must become independent. It has to become free because it is too rich, too large and too dangerous to the future peace of Europe so long as it remains under foreign occupation.

"The fact that it is not free may be attributed to two reasons: foreign aggression and internal weakness, which has made it hard for the average Ukrainian to accept a leader. One must remember that America would never have become free had its people refused to follow George Washington.

"Since the World War, the Ukrainian people have lived in a Gehenna of torture under Russia, Poland and Rumania, and now under Hungary. Their terrible experience has convinced them that, as the great poet Shevchenko wrote a century ago, 'only in their own homes can there be truth, strength and freedom.'

"They have become nationalistic as never before. Prior to the World War, not many persons dreamed of Ukrainian independence because conditions were not as bad. Even during the war, soldiers would say: 'Why should I fight? I'm a laborer. Neither the Poles nor the Russians can make me anything worse.' But Stalin showed them that he could.

"The new peace, and we cannot help but pray for it, will not be able to disregard the Ukrainian question. It must take into account the aspirations of the Ukrainian people, who have sacrificed so much in their unsuccessful struggle for freedom.

"In the last war the Ukrainians were not strong enough to resist the combined attacks of the Russians in the north and the Poles in the west. They had to give up. But today, Poland must fight for its own liberty, and Bolshevism has lost its initial drive. It is no longer novel; people have experienced it, and will not be duped again. Therefore, Russia is weaker too.

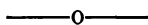
"Last summer I heard a Russian broadcast from Moscow. The speaker was complaining about the unpopularity of the Russian language among other people, especially the Ukrain-

ians. He said Russian must be accepted as the all-union language, and everyone should learn it. He then mentioned an incident in Poltava. A Russian official was visiting the Ukrainian kolhosp there. The guard stopped him at the gates. 'I want to see the man in charge,' the official said in Russian. The Ukrainian guard shook his head. 'I don't hear you,' he said in Ukrainian. The Russian repeated his words in Ukrainian, and with a smile, the guard opened the gates and waved him in.

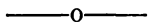
"A friend of mine, a former diplomatic official who had been in Kiev before the war, visited Kiev again not long ago. An Intourist guide led him to the museums. Stopping in front of a picture, my friend said: 'What wonderful Russian art!' The guide retorted angrily: 'That is not Russian! It is Ukrainian! Don't you know the difference between the two? What do those barbarians from the north have? Merely that which they took from Ukraine!'

"Later they met a priest in the streets, begging for alms. My friend offered him some money. The Intourist guide interrupted him with the remark: 'Money won't do him any good; no one is permitted to sell him anything. Let's buy him something instead.' That is an example of how the Ukrainian people regard their priests. Can you imagine such a thing happening in Russia?

"Thus, nationally conscious to an intense degree, desperate because of their intolerable domination by foreigners, hungry in the richest land in Europe while their grain is confiscated and exported, the Ukrainian people may achieve their independence sooner than we expect. In any case they will continue to fight for their liberty, which in the end will benefit all Europe."



ON UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM. "Ukrainian nationalists are the flower of the Ukrainian nation. Without a doubt the strongest national political force among the Ukrainian people is the Ukrainian nationalist movement. It has captivated the entire youth without exception. It has disciplined them, given them something to fight for and made them dream of a better day. It has united them in protest against occupation. By its very name, it is not and never has been Nazi, Fascist nor anything else that is foreign to the mentality of the Ukrainian people and harmful to their cause. It is Ukrainian and only Ukrainian because it is rooted in the Ukrainian people."



ON COLONEL MELNYK, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. "He is the best man that the Ukrainian people could have for a leader. Taciturn, hard-working, religious and respected by all, he says little but gets things

THE WAY
816 N. Franklin Street
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

done. We need a man like that.

"As a leader he is incomparable because he is foresighted. He weighs the consequences of any action beforehand, but once decided upon, it is carried out boldly. As an administrator of the properties of the Metropolitanate, he carried out a reorganization fearlessly, weeded out slackers and won the high regard of everyone.

"During his four years in a Polish prison for political activity, the Poles tried to break him through torture. He was dragged down three flights of stairs by the heels and frequently beaten. But his courage never faltered.

"A religious man, he went to confession and attended mass before he left Lviv on September 27, 1938, to succeed the late Colonel Evhen Konovaletz * as head of the OUN. As a conversationalist, he is always asking people their opinions, but seldom offers his. If questioned, he will reply: 'Perhaps,' or 'Possibly.' And he never betrays a confidence. To confide in him is like throwing a stone into the water. It never comes to the surface again.

"An impressive man, he was never petty nor small in speech or action. Even the Socialists and Communists respected him, as well as the ~~opposition~~ nationalist group, the **Tvorchy Nacionalism** (~~Active~~ Nationalism) headed by Dmytro Paliyiv. His Front of National Unity was founded in opposition to the OUN, but he had the highest personal regard for Melnyk.

"Andrey Melnyk has the confidence of the people, and they are proud of him as their leader. It is their prayer that he will succeed in leading them to independence.

—o—

ON METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY. "He recognized and came to love the age-old traditions of his Ukrainian ancestry and left his family to become a priest for the good of the Ukrainian people. He carried out the high ideals of his priesthood at every step and engaged in every field of human endeavor.

"He brought about the reform of the Ukrainian seminaries according to the West European model. He collected thousands of examples of Ukrainian culture and art. He founded one of the finest museums in Europe. A patriot and a philanthropist, he donated his entire income of a million zlotys a year to the poor, to the education of youth, to the construction of schools, hospitals and churches and to Ukrainian organizations.

"Most important of his ideals was to unite the Eastern

* Konovaletz was assassinated by an OGPU agent in Rotterdam on May 23, 1938.

rite to Rome. He believed that had Ukraine been Catholic, Russia could not have conquered it. His dream was and is the union of all Ukrainians in one church under a free flag. Although old, paralyzed and a prisoner of the Russians, he will live until Ukraine is free."

ON SOUTH AMERICA. "The Germans are the best organized people in South America. Some cities in south Brazil are wholly German. Even the Negroes speak the language, and most of the clergy is also German. The state is now restricting foreign activities. Portuguese must be taught in all schools. Sermons have to be in the official language. But the country is faced with great difficulties, for the foreign element has not been Brazilianized yet and still considers itself German.

"There are 75,700 Ukrainians in Brazil, 134,700 in Argentina, 20,000 in Paraguay, and 10,000 in Uruguay, or a total of 240,400. Of these about 60,000 are Orthodox and the others Greek Catholic. Most of them live in colonies on farms, but there are many oil field workers and others. There is also one Ukrainian millionaire. But all are peaceful, loyal to the country of their adoption and have no connections with the Germans.

"Contrary to a recent newspaper report concerning their alleged plotting to start a revolution under Nazi leadership, I found the Ukrainian immigrants in South America to be good citizens, religious, law-abiding and engaging in no political activities. Thousands of them came to South America decades ago. The 36,700 Ukrainians in Corrientes Misiones, Argentina, settled there in 1897-1901. In Brazil many arrived before the war. Those that have followed have taken up their peaceful pursuits without any strife. They are helping to build up the countries in which they live and to which they brought their culture, and not plotting to tear them down."

UKRAINE TOO?

DEMOCRATS—We pledge to extend to these (liberty-loving peoples wantonly attacked) all the material aid at our command, consistent with law and not inconsistent with the interests of our own national defense.

REPUBLICANS—We favor the extension to all peoples fighting for liberty, or whose liberty is threatened, of such aid as shall not be in violation of international law or inconsistent with the requirements of our own national defense.

Hetman Mazeppa of Ukraine

An Account of the Life and Works of One of Ukraine's Greatest Sons

By V. S. DUSHNYCK

(On the Anniversary of the Battle of Poltava, July 6-9, 1709)

Ukraine has always aspired to be free; but being surrounded by Muscovy, the States of the Grand Duke and Poland it had to seek a protector..

First it placed itself under the protection of Poland, which treated it as a subject; then it gave itself to Muscovy, which governed it as a slave as much as possible. At first the Ukrainians had the privilege of electing a prince under the name of general; but soon they were despoiled of this right, and their general had to be appointed by the court of Moscow.

The man who filled this position was the Polish nobleman named Mazeppa.

VOLTAIRE

Histoire de Charles XII (IVe partie)

Ukraine and Mazeppa! Those two names are indivisible. If Western Europe and the entire world know about Ukraine and its aspirations for liberty, it is due in great part to Hetman Ivan Mazeppa. He was neither a "gentilhomme polonais," as Voltaire wrote, nor a traitor of Ukraine, as he has been denounced by the school of Russian imperialist historians and their successors, the present Bolshevik apologists of Peter the Great.

To the western world, Mazeppa appeared as a legendary hero and a Don Juan. The "legend of Mazeppa," which includes the romantic story of his being tied to a wild horse by a Polish noble for flirting with his wife, and his love escapades at the courts of Polish kings and nobles, has inspired such writers as Byron, Hugo, Vernet, Boulanger, Liszt and Slowacki. The Frenchman, Edgar Quinet, has compared unfortunate France to the tortured Mazeppa.¹

Mazeppa, the Statesman of Ukraine

Adventurer or not, Ivan Mazeppa is known in the history of Ukraine as one of its greatest statesmen and patriots. He

¹ Borschak, Elie and Martel, Rene. *Vie de Mazeppa*. Nouvelle Collection Historique. Calmann-Levy, Editeurs. Paris, 1931, p. 10.



HETMAN IVAN MAZEPPA (1687-1709)

Had his Cossacks won the Battle of Poltava, Ukraine would be free today.

is compared with Khmelnitsky and Doroshenko. His name is closely connected to modern Ukrainian nationalism and Ukrainian aspirations for independence.

Mazeppa appeared on the scene during one of the darkest periods of Ukrainian history. At the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, Ukraine was the football of three powerful rivals: Poland, Muscovy and Turkey. Turks, Tartars, Poles and Muscovites fought on Ukrainian soil. Some of the Ukrainian Hetmans were frequently the tools of one

of these powers against the others.

With Mazeppa's election as Hetman of Ukraine in 1687, Moscow did not cease to sow its intrigues through its diplomats and agents in Ukraine. It instigated revolts among the Cossacks against the Hetman, scattered money among the Ukrainians freely, encouraged denunciations among the Cossack nobility in order to keep Ukraine in continuous chaos and under Moscow's domination. "**Divide et impera**" was Moscow's slogan.

Mazeppa governed the ambitious Cossack nobility with superb diplomacy in order to prevent it from constantly denouncing him to the Tsar and thereby harm his great plan: to sever all ties between Ukraine and Moscow. He saw that the Ukrainian-Muscovite Alliance, signed by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Tsar Aleksey at Pereyaslav in 1654, had become a scrap of paper, with Moscow constantly encroaching on Ukraine's sovereignty.

Soon after Peter I took over the Muscovite throne in fact as well as in name, toward the close of the 17th century, relations between Muscovy and Ukraine deteriorated so badly that the population of Ukraine began open revolts against Mazeppa. He was accused of betraying Ukraine to Peter, who, preparing for the Great Northern War with Sweden in 1700, began drafting Ukrainian Cossack troops, imposing huge taxes on the Ukrainian population and confiscating great food supplies.

The Communist organ, **Komunistychna Osvita**, published in Kiev, the capital of the "independent" Soviet Ukrainian Republic, explains why Peter began this war and why he had to conscript Ukraine:²

"Being talented and energetic. Peter I, after his first journey abroad, saw that the economic and political development of the Russian state was hampered by the lack of a permanent and nearby outlet to the sea. The port of Archangel, which freezes over for six months during the winter, could not meet the requirements of the growing state. Therefore Peter I's entire policy during his whole reign was concentrated on the Russian Baltic lands."

Lenin, who proved himself to be an able assimilator of non-Russian peoples and a follower of Peter I, could not find sufficient words with which to praise the Tsar, about whom he said: "In order to accelerate the process of Europeanizing Russia, Peter I did not hesitate to adopt barbaric methods in

² Vaschenko, L. Pivnichna viyna z shvedskymy zaharbynkamy. *Komunistychna Osvita*. Organ Narodnoho Komisariatu Osvity URSR. Kiev. October, 1939, No. 10, p. 66.

the struggle against barbarism.”³

Ukraine had been too weakened by the wars with Poles, Muscovites, Tartars and Turks to oppose Peter openly. Mazeppa realized this, and adopted an extremely circumspect policy. The Ukrainian people, however, did not understand, and became restless and rebellious. But Mazeppa, gifted with the qualities of true statesmanship, maintained good relations with Peter and simultaneously prepared Ukraine for complete separation and independence.

Mazeppa, Patron of Ukrainian Art and Science

Mazeppa understood that in order to resist Muscovy, Ukraine had to be enlightened. It was to his credit that while Muscovy was still an Asiatic and barbaric state, Ukraine flourished with schools, monasteries and churches. He himself became a patron of Ukrainian art, literature and science. He took the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under his protection and constructed new churches in Kiev and other cities, employing the style of architecture which came to be known as Ukrainian baroque. He rebuilt the famous Pecherska Lavra in Kiev. Aristocrats, priests, scientists, writers and artists glorified him, for they saw that he wanted to raise Ukraine to a higher cultural level. He was even called “the protector of the Athens of Kiev.”⁴

He took under his aegis not only the Ukrainian Church, but also the churches in the countries under Turkish domination, like Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and even Arabia. He ordered the Gospel printed in the Arabian language. On the copy at Alep there can still be seen his emblem and the inscription: “**Dux Cosacorum Zaporoviensium.**” In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem there is a silver plate inscribed: “Gift of the Generosity of the Great Hetman Sere-nissime, Ivan Mazeppa.”⁵

In his memoirs, the Marquis de Bonnac, French ambassador to Russia, said that he had never met a man in Ukraine who could be compared with Mazeppa in influence, wealth, intelligence and ideals.⁶

Mazeppa's capital, Baturin, was the center of the spiritual and political life of Ukraine. There gathered the outstanding scientists, poets and writers who wrote panegyrics and eulogies in his honor. Among them were Pylyp Orlyk, later his successor as Hetman of Ukraine in exile and author of the first Ukrainian constitution, and Teofan Prokopovych, later Bishop of the Russian Church who wrote the drama, **Volodymyr**, dedicated to Mazeppa.

³ Lenin. *Tvory*. Vol. XXII, p. 498.

⁴ Borschak and Martel. *op. cit.* p. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 37.

In 1690, an anonymous author wrote a Latin eulogy entitled: "**Illustrissimo ac Magnificentissimo Domino D. Johanni Mazeppa, Duci exercituum.**"⁷

Highly educated, Mazeppa concerned himself with the education of Ukrainian youth. He sent Ukrainian students to such West European universities as Padua, Leyden, Prague and the Sorbonne.

An Arabian scientist and traveler, Paul of Alep, said in his memoirs that during his journey in Ukraine he saw "many children in the schools."⁸ And about Muscovy he adds that when he arrived there, "he was depressed extremely" because "in that country, no one could feel even slightly free."

In a phrase, Mazeppa represented Ukrainian culture, which was deeply imbued with Latin influence and the heroic tradition, and was diametrically opposed to the semi-nomadic Muscovite culture, with its roots in the Mongol-Tartar tradition.

Mazeppa and Charles XII

To understand Mazeppa's alliance with King Charles XII of Sweden, we must remember that fifty years earlier, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky had sought a similar alliance with Charles X. Conditions were quite similar. After the Treaty of Pereyaslav the Moscovites abrogated the treaty by encroaching upon Ukraine's independence and by helping Poland against the Ukrainians on the right bank of the Dnieper River. Peter I even signed an alliance with the Polish King August of Saxony on November 11, 1699, confirming the Polish occupation of this Ukrainian territory.

Sweden, being hostile to both Muscovy and Poland, was an ideal ally for Ukraine. Khmelnytsky and Charles X had sought to weaken Muscovy and Poland under a plan in which Sweden was to take the Baltic provinces and Ukraine was to regain all its ethnographic territory under Poland. The premature death of Khmelnytsky prevented this plan from being carried out.

When the Great Northern War began, Mazeppa had to send numerous Cossack regiments to help Peter. Seeking to strip Ukraine of all its forces, Peter simultaneously helped Poland to strengthen its position on the right bank of the Dnieper. This was sufficient reason for a break with Moscow, but Mazeppa waited. He held his patriotism in check because of the demands of diplomacy.

In 1704 Mazeppa was sent by Peter against the Swedes in Western Ukrainian territory then under the Poles. He saw the devastation of the area by the Poles. In the war the Ukrainians suffered the most. The Cossack nobility complained

⁷ Ibid. p. 38.

⁸ Ibid. p. 39.

that Muscovite generals, mostly Germans, treated them badly; that Peter was forcing thousands of Ukrainians to help construct the new capital, St. Petersburg. (Ukrainian tradition says that St. Petersburg was constructed on the bones of Ukrainian Cossacks). The population began to oppose Peter openly, and Mazeppa was cheered by this opposition because it coincided with his plans to prepare the people for separation.

Only his closest friends, like Orlyk, Voynarovsky and Apostol, knew of his plans. Orlyk was his best aide and later nearly succeeded in realizing Mazeppa's aspirations after the Hetman's death.

In 1706 Ukraine began to reverberate with revolutionary enthusiasm against Peter's oppression. Inflamed demagogues began to conspire against Mazeppa, calling him a **cunctator**, a servant of Moscow. Denunciations against him poured into Moscow. Prince Kochubey, of the Ukrainian General Court, and Colonel Iskra accused him of treason. Peter, however, trusting Mazeppa, ordered both men executed.

Meanwhile Mazeppa was negotiating secretly with Charles XII and King Stanislaw Leszczynski, of Poland, rival of August of Saxony, for an alliance against Peter.

The Ukrainian-Swedish Treaty

The alliance between Ukraine and Sweden was signed by Pylyp Orlyk for Ukraine and Count Piper sometime in the fall of 1708, as follows:⁹

Article 1. His Royal Majesty assumes upon himself the obligation to defend Ukraine and that part of the country of the Cossacks that is annexed to it; to send without delay auxiliary troops, if necessity demands, or if the Prince¹⁰ and the States request them. These troops, after their entry into the country, will be placed under the command of Swedish generals. But, if they are used, His Majesty will confer the command upon the Prince or his successors so long as the troops will be needed.

Article 2. All that will be conquered among the old possessions of Muscovy by force of arms will belong to the victor; but all that is discovered to have belonged to the Ruthenian people will be returned to or retained by the Principality of Ukraine.

⁹ The exact date of the treaty is indefinite. The original was apparently destroyed at Poltava when the Swedish archives were burned. Elie Borschak found what appeared to be a copy of the treaty in a manuscript written by Orlyk, dated 1712, at the Chateau de Dinteville, near Chaumont, entitled, *Deduction des Droits de l'Ukraine*. Cf. Borschak and Martel. *Vie de Mazeppa*, p. 94 et seq.

¹⁰ Mazeppa had evidently proclaimed himself successor to the old Princes of Kiev.

Article 3. The Prince and the States of Ukraine will be conserved and maintained on the basis of the rights which they enjoyed until the present time on the entire territory of the Principality and on those parts annexed to it. . .

Article 4. Ivan Mazeppa, the legitimate Prince of Ukraine, will not be disturbed in any manner in his possession of this Principality. After his death, which it is hoped will be long delayed, liberty will be conserved for the States of Ukraine according to their rights and former laws.

Article 5. No changes will be introduced regarding the emblem and the title of the Prince of Ukraine. His Royal Majesty shall never appropriate either this title or emblem.

Article 6. To guarantee this treaty and the security of Ukraine, the Prince and the States will give His Royal Majesty for the duration of the war and danger, several of their cities, namely: Starodub, Mlyn, Poltava, Baturin, Hadiach.

In accordance with this treaty, the Swedish Army crossed the boundaries of Ukraine in the fall of 1708. Peter I did not cease to send emissaries to Mazeppa inviting him to attend a war council and discuss plans for the campaign against Charles. But Mazeppa had already chosen. On November 4, 1708, the Ukrainian Army under his command crossed the Sych and Desna Rivers, the Ukrainian "Rubicon." Ukraine and Sweden had risen together against the common enemy, Muscovy.

Meantime the Russian Prince Menshikov, pursuing Mazeppa, captured the Ukrainian capital of Baturin, massacred the entire population and burned the city to the ground. Driven into Northern Ukraine, the Swedish and Ukrainian forces, weakened by a hard winter, were finally defeated at the Battle of Poltava, July 6-9, 1709. In the battle 25,000 Swedes and 10,000 Ukrainians commanded by Mazeppa were opposed by 60,000 Russians.

Thus ended military action for Ukraine's liberation. But diplomatic action and the great movement inspired by Mazeppa continued.

Mazeppa's Followers, the "Mazeppintzi"

In the small town of Bendery, Wallachia, in the St. George Monastery, the great Hetman died two months after the disastrous battle that had destroyed his dream of restoring Ukraine's independence. His legal successor, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, made a dramatic eulogy in Latin at the bier of his chief: ¹¹

"Helas! On this foreign soil, Destiny has taken our illustrious Hetman, Serenissimus Ivan Mazeppa, whose name will live forever in immortal glory in the memory of our people, because he had dreamed of the free development of their

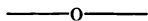
¹¹ Borschak and Martel, op. cit. p. 176.

limitless possibilities. Neither the Army nor the people should despair! Our cause is just and a just cause will always triumph."

Turning to the King of Sweden, he continued:

"No man will be as great in our country as was Mazeppa. Although we are not capable of pursuing the work begun by our chief of glorious memory, we will continue to steer the Cossack ship towards liberty through the sea and the tempests. But it is to you, O King, that we appeal before the bier of our illustrious chief. We hope that you will aid the Cossack ship. Magnificent Lion, you will oppose with your breast the Muscovite monster who subjugates and tyrannizes our Ukraine."

King Charles knelt and the others followed. Surrounded by a Cossack guard of honor, the mortal remains of Hetman Mazeppa were taken to Galach where this great Ukrainian found eternal rest.



To avenge himself upon Mazeppa, Peter I ordered the Holy Synod to excommunicate him as a "traitor and enemy of the Tsar." Mazeppa's alliance with Sweden was declared to be an "extraordinary crime, unheard of, terrible and incomparably horrible."

"Mazeppa is a Judas," Peter wrote to General Apraksin.¹² In his Manifesto to "Little Russia," he "defended" Ukraine thus:

"Because it is our duty to defend the Little Russian country, we will extend our fatherly hand over the entire country. We will save Little Russia from enslavement and ruin and will not permit the Temples of God to be dishonored... We appeal to all officers and colonels that they should not heed the treacherous whisperings of the former Hetman, this traitor, but to defend the troops of Great Russia against its enemies..."¹³

Until the Revolution of 1917, an anathema was pronounced on Mazeppa every year on the first Sunday of Lent, in every Russian church from the Baltic coast to Vladivostok. All Ukrainian patriots were persecuted as "Mazeppintzi." The Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church tried to blacken his memory for two centuries. Russian historians presented Mazeppa to the world as an adventurer and traitor, just as Polish historians maligned Khmelnitsky.

But the Ukrainian people accepted Mazeppa as one of their greatest sons. Legends were created about him. Songs were written in his honor. Poems and stories were based upon his life.

¹² Ibid, p. 117.

¹³ Ibid. p. 118.

There are many reasons why Mazeppa failed, but his ideas have survived two centuries of Russian defamation. To-day Mazeppa is a symbol of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

A Ukrainian historian writes: ¹⁴

"The flag of Mazeppa was raised high. His national ideals were forged into granite ideology, which invested itself with all positive elements of the past, encompassed the present and reached into the distant future. By their (Mazeppintzi) love of the fatherland, by their faith in the ideals of Mazeppa, there was born upon the grave of the Hetman "Mazeppinstvo" (the Mazeppist movement), which on the lips of enemies became an accusation and a curse, but in our hearts, remains a flag and a program of the Ukrainian state..."

The Soviets and Mazeppa

The official Soviet opinion of Mazeppa is similar to that decreed by Peter I in his 1709 Ukase. In the organ of the Commissariat of Education in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, **Komunistychna Osvita**, (Communist Education), L. Vaschenko, said in an article entitled "The Northern War with Swedish Aggressors:" ¹⁵

The Hetman of Ukraine, Ivan Mazeppa, representing the richest and Polonized rank of Cossack officers, dreamed with them for years about faithless betrayal of Russia and waited only for an opportunity. Reared and educated at the court of the Polish king, Mazeppa dreams of the introduction of an aristocratic regime in Ukraine, and about the oppression of the Ukrainian people under the yoke of the Polish masters. This is shown by his secret agreement with the nominee of Charles XII, Leszczynski.

The march of the Swedish king into Russian territory presented this opportunity for which the traitor had waited for a long time. Hating the Ukrainian people, who during his entire reign had more than one opportunity to demonstrate their hatred, bowing before Poland, whose nobility dreamed of annexing Ukraine and having bargained the title of herzog of Polotzk and Vitebsk for himself from Charles XII, Mazeppa betrayed the Ukrainian people, betrayed Peter I and accepted the "protection" of Charles XII.

Understanding the eternal hatred of the Ukrainian people against the Polish nobility and their brotherly love toward the great Muscovite people, Peter I uncovered the treachery and plans of Mazeppa and issued a manifesto to the Ukrainian people in which he said that "Mazeppa turned traitor and went to our enemy, the Swedish king, according to the treaty signed by him and Leszczynski, nominated by

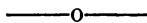
¹⁴ Holubetz, Mykola. Velyka Istoria Ukrainy. Ivan Tyktor, publisher. Lviv, 1935, p. 527.

¹⁵ Vaschenko, L. Pivnichna viyna z shvedskymy zaharbnykamy. Komunistychna Osvita, pp. 73-74.

the Swede as the Polish king, in order to separate the Little Russian Land from former Polish domination." ¹⁶

As expected, Peter I's manifesto aroused a tempest of indignation among the Ukrainian people against the traitor. The hated name of Mazeppa was cursed by the people. . . Thus contrary to Mazeppa's hopes, the Ukrainian people condemned the traitor and unanimously arose against the Swedish avalanche and the treacherous officers.

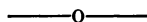
So writes the organ of the Commissariat of Education of the "independent" Soviet Ukrainian Republic about one of the greatest Ukrainian patriots! And while films are produced on the life of Alexander Nevsky and Peter I in Russia, in Ukraine, as in the time of the Menshikovs, Golitzyns and Peter I, Mazeppa is condemned again.



This is testimony that Mazeppa was right in 1709 when he fought Russia, and so are his descendants today who fight the same enemy of Ukraine, Stalinist Russia. Two hundred years ago Peter was able to convince some people that Mazeppa had sold out to the Poles and the Swedes. But today nobody will believe that Ukrainian revolutionary leaders are servants of Fascism, as the Soviets have tried to picture them.

Stalin himself has become at least temporarily a docile servant of Fascism.

The modern "Mazeppintzi," the Ukrainian people, await only an opportunity to avenge the Battle of Poltava.



In Stockholm there is a great statue to King Charles XII. Symbolically, he faces the east and looks out upon the distant roads which his Vikings traversed to fight the "Europeanized" Mongols.

There is no statue of Mazeppa in Kiev facing the Occident, which Mazeppa admired and defended against the menace from the East.

But the time will come when Ukraine will erect such a statue to this man who lit the deathless flame of eternal struggle against Russia.



¹⁶ This sentence was quoted by Vaschenko in Russian.

RESURGENT UKRAINE

By **GEORGE BACHUR, Ph. D.**

Editor's note: Dr. George Bachur is a staff member, Correspondence Study Department, University of Michigan, Extension Service. Born forty-four years ago in Libokhora, Western Ukraine, he came to the United States at an early age, obtained his B. S. from Valparaiso University and his M. A. and Ph. D. from the University of Michigan. His speciality is psychology and sociology. He is now writing a course on adult education.

Are the Ukrainians a Nation?

A nation is an aggregation of people who have a common origin and a common language.



The Author

It is more than the inhabitants of a given area of land across which a particular name is printed on the map. It is a body of people so firmly connected by natural ties of affinity, with such a strong sense of "we" feeling, that they instinctively sympathize with and understand one another, and thus can live in comparative harmony and happiness together.

The bonds which generate this affinity or unity vary in character among the various groups of peoples. Consequently, it is impossible to define these bonds or ties exactly even though one knows that they exist. But a nation, in the highest sense, inhabits a common territory and is united by a community of race, by the common possession of fundamental religious and moral ideals, by a common language and the distinctive ideas which that language expresses, and by a common tradition or memory of achievements and suffering shared in the past.

Therefore, the answer, as far as the Ukrainians are concerned, is in the affirmative despite the fact that the enemies of the Ukrainian people have denied it until a recent date. The Ukrainians, within their divided territories set up by their conquerors, exist as a homogeneous body of over 40 million souls, a distinct people, in relation to the Russians, the Poles,

the Hungarians, the Rumanians and others.

The Ukrainian nation, divided among three powers, defunct Poland, in Kholmschyna and Lemkivschyna (now under German rule), Carpatho-Ukraine under Hungary, and Bukovina and Bessarabia with the major part of Ukraine under Soviet dictatorship, is not a state. The state, according to Harold Laski, is a way of organizing the collective life of a given society. The coercive power of the state is supreme and there is, at least in theory, no activity which it may not define.¹ The political state is a territory controlled by a single government. Some writers define the state as essentially a class-structure, an organization of one class dominating other classes. Others regard it as the one organization that transcends class and stands for the whole community.² So Ukraine as a state in the political sense, unfortunately does not exist.

It is easy to name real nations in the political sense, for example, Switzerland, or the United States, which lack one or more of these features, but no people who lack them all or most of them, can be called a nation; nor can the claim to national unity be considered as a sound one unless in all the divided sections of the nation there is a real sense of cultural coherence or affinity and a genuine desire for unity.

This desire for unity among the Ukrainians is very strong and it grows by leaps and bounds as the years pass. Thus, likeness or identity among the people is the essence of nationality. In brief, a nation is neither a state nor a church nor a race nor a geographic or linguistic unit, but it is a tensivity, intimacy and dignity, related to a definite fatherland.

The words "nation" and "nationality," however, are very elusive. In one sense, the term nationality may mean race and the word nation, state. Nationality, in the proper concept of the word, is "the sense of community which, under historical conditions of a particular social epoch, has possessed or still seeks expression, through the unity of a state."³ The manifestation of nationality is a fact of nature. The process of unifying or welding a people into a nation or a state, however, is largely the work of man. This work has to be done by the superior leaders who are the members of a race or a nation. By nature deeply imbedded in every people is the desire for full development, the longing, as Mazzini has put it, "to elaborate and express their ideas, to contribute their stone also to the pyramid of history." The spirit of nationality has been necessary to save the conquered peoples from univer-

¹ Laski, Harold J. *The State in Theory and Practice*. The Viking Press. New York, 1935, p. 10.

² MacIver, R. M. *The Modern State*. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. London, 1928, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.* p. 124.

sal and irredeemable slavery. In our day too, the invoking of the spirit of nationality of the Ukrainian people is indispensable to rekindle the political consciousness in them.

Nationality like democracy has been one of the dynamic forces making for man's progress during the past hundred years. Due to this potent force of national self-consciousness, the Ukrainians have maintained themselves as a distinct anthropological and cultural group through more than a thousand years of continual changes in political allegiance.

The affirmation of nationality has been necessary to infuse them with hope, ideals and self-respect. Since it is the incontestable right of every nationality, small or great, to be itself, to live according to its own natural instincts, this right is merely an outcome of the universal principle of freedom.

Nationality has uplifted and made purposeful millions of lives of the oppressed peoples. It has offered them a future and revived all that was valuable in their historical past. The preservation and assertion of nationality raised Ireland, after many centuries of terrific struggle, from slough and despondency. It inspired Southern Slavs, like the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, to heroic deeds in their struggle for independence. It freed Greece and Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke. It created a united Germany and a united Italy. It will help to create a united and an independent Ukraine. Each of these peoples developed and retained their identity because, as Mazzini said, they were enabled to proclaim "to the world that they also live, think, love and labor for the benefit of all."

The Ukrainian Nationality

Any American who, prior to the World War, knew of the existence of Ukraine, ranked among scholars. The existence of Ukrainian nationality, until very recent date, was denied. But is there actually such an entity as a Ukrainian nationality? Let us apply the following criterion to the Ukrainian people and determine whether it will fit the case.

W. Allison Phillips defines nationality as "an extensive aggregate of persons conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences or qualities which make them feel themselves a distinct people." And he adds, "If we examine the composition of the several nationalities we find these elements: race, language, religion, common habitat, common conditions, mode of life and manners, political associations. The elements are, however, never all present at the same time and none of them is essential."

A common habitat, that is territory, and "common conditions are doubtless powerful influences at times in determining nationality."

The Race Concept

A common race is one of the factors which determine nationality. What is "race"? It is not at all an easy term to define. Race is a word used to distinguish types of men. We can recognize, however, the races of whites, negroes, American Indians, Asiatics and others. They differ from one another by a number of external physical features. When we define a race we enumerate a set of salient traits which we take to be characteristic of a certain body of people. For instance, we might say that the Nordic has a long head, blond hair and blue eyes. But we must be certain that the traits which we describe are hereditary and not environmentally determined. Thus race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind.

From the social point of view, the race theories have their roots in the distant past. At all times and in all countries the ruling classes have sought to justify their right to dominate the masses. Even in ancient times, slave owners asserted that masters and slaves are creatures of different species, one of them predestined by nature itself for slave labor, the other for domination. This view, however, is denied by modern anthropology.

The concept of nationality must not be confused with that of race. Nationality is not a genetic concept at all. It can be defined in political terms, as all the people living under a certain government, or it can be defined in cultural terms, as all the people enjoying a certain cultural tradition. Neither of these two differences has anything to do with the concept of race.

Next to the elements of race, the conscious community of sentiments, common experiences and common qualities, are perhaps equally important elements which contribute to the structure of a nationality.

Religion, folklore, traditions and customs bind the people together. The similarity of experience produces similarity of sentiments. Common suffering that intensifies the feeling of brotherhood helps to overcome nearly all the influences that make for diversification and division.

Assertion of Ukrainian Nationality

Writing about the New Americans, Seton-Watson says, "America is full of nationalities which, while accepting with enthusiasm their new American citizenship, nevertheless look to some center in the world as the source and inspiration of their national culture and traditions." The most typical example is the feeling of the Irish for Ireland (Eire). Likewise, the Ukrainians in Canada and in the United States are intensely concerned about the oppression of their kinsmen by the Muscovite tyrants in Ukraine.

There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to the Ukrainian people because America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. The traditional ideals of America are the insistent demands for freedom and justice for all. The older and younger generations of New Americans must defend these ideals as expressed in the Bill of Rights. Derived from the Declaration of Independence, it embodies the love of liberty and reflects the determination of succeeding generations to safeguard the freedom they won. It inspires us today to renew our loyalty to the principles of human equality upon which that freedom rests.

The Ukrainians strive cooperatively to solve their individual and social problems under the oppressive domination of the occupants of Ukraine. Therefore it is natural for the Ukrainian-Americans to help their kinsmen across the seas to win their independence.

Many fellow Americans, imbued with generous spirit, are sincerely sympathetic with the Ukrainian efforts to help their countrymen in Ukraine. The Ukrainians respond to this sympathetic understanding and assert that their loyalty to American ideals cannot be doubted.

Thus it is imperative for them to work earnestly, courageously and cheerfully in the struggle for Ukrainian emancipation from oppressive foreign domination.

The Ukrainians today do not think in terms of what foreign domination they shall subject themselves to, but they place before themselves the goal of economic, social and political freedom. All imperialism, whether "democratic" or totalitarian, is anathema to them.

Ukraine's Aspirations

The aspirations of the Ukrainians are perhaps the biggest unsettled political question in Europe today. A Slavic people numbering more than 40 million, they constitute a majority in an area extending from the eastern shore of the Black Sea to the Western Carpathians. Their fate in the Soviet Union, defunct Poland and (Carpatho-Ukraine) in Hungary is deplorable. Under practically continuous rule by Poland, Russia, Austria and Hungary, Ukrainian nationalism has had little chance to express itself in political activity. Due to this frustration, the intensity of the Ukrainian national consciousness varies greatly in different regions.

The unique mission of the Ukrainian nation, like that of any other submerged people, is the maintenance, development and propagation of its own national individuality. For the individuality of a nation is its birthright. War or conquest may obliterate it; an alien culture may overlay it; the unseen processes of history may efface it; immigration may dilute it, and yet it makes a fight for life, and that battle is just.

For more than eight hundred years the Ukrainian people have preserved their individuality, withstood the encircling powers of Tartars, Turks, Poles and Russians, maintained their cultural heritage despite the armed occupation of the Tsars and the administrative assimilation of Peter the Great and Catherine II. Against the more insidious pressure of Russian propaganda, church, books, newspapers and, it must be added now, radio, the Ukrainians maintained and maintain a steady resistance.

The Ukrainian language is the outward expression of their individuality. In their literature are enshrined the traditional values and habits of thought, the life of their spirit, their aspirations, visions, their tribulations and their continuous efforts for freedom from foreign domination.

Their ideal is the individual and social welfare in a united and independent Ukrainian state. To realize this ideal it is, therefore, imperative that they develop through the education of their young people an intense love for their social heritage and the country from which their parents originated. They need to develop an intelligent patriotism. Patriotism, the willing sacrifice of the individual for his country and his people, was the highest virtue of the Ukrainian tradition. It still is. The heroic defense of Carpatho-Ukraine against Hungary is an illustrious example. And it is only the constructive and sacrificial deeds that proclaim one's patriotism.

Nationalism as a Historical Development

The term nationalism, like democracy, means different things to different individuals. Nationalism in modern history had the prime mission of intensifying life and rendering it more efficient. This phenomenon which made its appearance before the Reformation in the sixteenth century with the disintegration of medieval cosmopolitanism, has become the most prominent political feature of our times. It was nationalism which split up the vast medieval community into homogeneous groups based upon race, language, customs and traditions, Science and its subsequent manifestations, technology and also liberalism and democracy, contributed to the development of nationalism.

Nationalism at one time was wholly a good thing. It was the acknowledged right of every nation and country to work for its full expression and self-determination. To subjugated countries still struggling for their political or economic independence, nationalism is still the greatest inspiration and the most powerful appeal to arouse and move the conquered people.

Nationalism as Imperialism

The undesirable feature of extreme nationalism, that is,

chauvinism, which has the same aims as imperialism, is a menace to the development of a civilized life. This type of nationalism has long been a source of strife and warfare. The cult of power and national egotism as it is brutally exhibited today by the dictator nations, is the superlative of vulgarity, and this is what has tainted civilization repeatedly. Nationalism becomes vulgarity if it becomes so narrow, so sectarian, so exclusive as to menace the existence of other nations with a view to expansion, exploitation, oppression or even outright extermination. Raymond Leslie Buell says that the liquidation of Ukrainian intellectuals by the Bolsheviks in the Kiev trials of 1930 has well-nigh destroyed nationalist leadership in Soviet Ukraine.⁴

This type of imperialistic nationalism must be condemned, outlawed and proscribed. Any imperialist nation is a predatory nation, whether or not it possesses colonies and extensive foreign investments. Therefore, the nation that is predatory is not a democracy.

These bad features of nationalism cannot be ascribed to the Ukrainian people as a whole because they believe that a nation is on the right road to culture when it strives after greatness, peace, liberty and harmony with its neighbors, not for self-aggrandizement and extirpation of other races, but in order to serve humanity. In the words of Romain Rolland, "Love of my country does not demand that I shall hate and slay those noble and faithful souls who also love theirs, but rather that I shall honor them and seek to unite with them for our common good."

The essence of Ukrainian nationalism is the affirmation of life, the belief that as a people they have a right to national existence. The wide-spread Ukrainian national movement has for its object the liberation of the Ukrainian people from the tyranny of foreign powers, a tyranny that has been directed not only against their economic and political liberties, but also and most energetically, against their language, their literature, their newspapers, their schools, their churches, their homes and families—in a word, against their whole cultural development.

The nationalist movement is natural, spontaneous and not artificial. It is not imperialistic. The fact is that beneath the spirit of the Ukrainian nationalism is a substructure of herd instinct which is part of the basic structure of human nature and which manifests itself when a group of people or a nation is endangered. If self-preservation is the first law of nature for organisms, including those of a political variety, then Ukrainian nationalism is a natural phenomenon. In the state of nature "it is not the individual but only the species

⁴ Buell, Raymond Leslie. *Poland: Key to Europe*. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1939, p. 256.

that Nature cares for and for the preservation of which she so earnestly strives, providing for it with the utmost prodigality through the vast surplus of the seed and the great strength of the fructifying impulse.”⁵

What is instinctive in a nationalist movement is the habit of feeling oneself to be a member of a clan, a tribe, a nation, bound together by mutual life interests which must be indefatigably defended against other clans, tribes or nations and demand for their defense a certain unanimity of opinion with certain readiness to accept the mandates of the merited, competent and duly recognized leaders. This sort of nationalism aims to achieve the national-political and social-economic ambitions that are common to all Ukrainians. Thus Ukrainian nationalism is a necessity today because only through a consolidation of national life can they eliminate those conflicts from which the Ukrainians suffer today. “At the present time, nationalism,” according to Leveller, “is essentially a form of revolt against imperialism. Whether of a colonial people, a dependent nation, or a national minority, nationalism is a progressive force, in so far as it is directed against imperialist domination.”⁶

Cooperation among Ukrainians

In order to add a constructive contribution to any worthwhile cause and to promote a democratic life, the Ukrainians must follow the advice of a wise teacher who admonished, “Unless people are willing to seek the widest measure of agreement about what is to be done, unless they are prepared to discuss with a view to reaching agreement; unless they are willing to modify their own particular view about what ought to be done, and unless they resist the temptation to impose their own views upon the rest of the community,” no kind of democratic government nor any undertaking will function satisfactorily and escape the threat to an orderly organization of society.

In order to fight the violence of enemies who menace their national existence, they must have not only courage but intelligence. They have to learn about the insidious forces that can destroy them and about the counter-forces that can save them.

But it is not enough to fight the violence of the enemies and remain unprogressive and unorganized. If they want to build an independent Ukraine they must begin first by creating and educating their people with a sufficiently free mind; a people not crushed by need, by constant toil; a people not

⁵ Mann, Thomas, Schopenhauer. Longmans Green & Co. New York, 1939, p. 97.

⁶ Leveller. “Nationalism and Imperialism.” *The Plebs*. June, 1939, p. 141.

befogged by all manner of superstitions, dogmas and fanaticisms; a people that would be master of its destiny and victorious in the struggle for its national existence, independence and freedom. They need that sort of progress in education that leads the people away from mythology and superstition and toward science. They must aim at creating a people of intelligent workers who will desire that the treasures of culture be accessible to them.

Mazzini saw in education the salvation of the world. He maintained that "education can conquer nearly all things."

"Education is the bread of the soul... Without education you are incapable of rightly choosing between good and evil; you cannot acquire a true knowledge of your rights; you cannot attain that participation in political life without which your complete social emancipation is impossible; you cannot arrive at a correct definition and comprehension of your own mission... Without it your faculties lie dormant and unfruitful, even as the vital power lies sterile in the seed cast into untilled soil and deprived of the benefits of irrigation and the watchful labor of the agriculturist."⁷ The value of education lies in the fact that it enables society to improve the race by struggling against the rude process of natural selection and against those social evils which are in opposition to human liberty.

The Ukrainians should in all national circumstances place education and freedom above all else. This idea was expressed in the pithy words of Jefferson thus: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."

Garibaldi also emphasized the supreme value of national freedom. He said, "Freedom is more sacred than all else and I would prefer a free and poor fatherland to one rich and enslaved. I would rather see it free and its palaces in ruin than cowering beneath the rod of a barbarian."

And in the challenging words of Taras Shevchenko, the greatest national poet of the Ukrainian people, the second part of his behest,

"Rise and break your chain,
Water your new liberty
With blood for rain,"

must be fulfilled so that the Ukraine may be free.

⁷ Ward, Lester F. *Applied Sociology*. Ginn and Company. Boston, 1906, p. 248.

Echoes from Western Ukraine

By NICHOLAS BRITSKY

Editor's note: The author, who was born twenty-six years ago in Weldizh, Western Ukraine, came to the United States when he was ten. He attended the Textile High School in New York and then Yale University from which he received his B. F. A. in 1938. He won the Alice Kimball English traveling fellowship and went to Europe for a year. In April, 1939, he visited Western Ukraine for several days. His comments that follow are based on what he saw. He is now art instructor at the University of Illinois.



Photo by the author

WELDIZH, WESTERN UKRAINE

The Ukrainians had to pay heavy taxes, but little of the money was returned by the Polish government, as this picture shows.

The country south of Lviv extending down to Boykivschyna is beautiful and rich, but the Ukrainian peasants were poor, discouraged and helpless when I saw them in April of 1939, a month after the fall of Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary.

The reason for this tragic and discouraging atmosphere was the continuous punishment of nationalistic Ukrainians by the Poles, who sent the majority of the youths to prison for petty political reasons. I saw almost no Ukrainian youths between the ages of 15 and 30.

Although the soil is rich, poverty was widespread because taxes were high, ruinous trade treaties brought produce into the land from abroad and the peasants received very little for their own. None of the taxes apparently was spent on

the particular area I visited, as can be seen from the pictures. Instead it went for building up strictly Polish areas of Poland.

The youths seemed to suffer the most in this part of Western Ukraine because they had no future to look forward to and were forbidden to enroll in colleges or study a profession, in Poland or even outside the country. They had to return to the farms.



UKRAINIAN HOMES IN WELDIZH

The land in this area is rich, but as a result of the 20-year. policy of the Polish government, the Ukrainian people were poor and had nothing to show for their hard work.

Continuous pogroms, lack of freedom and the impossibility of remedying their lot made the people suspicious, frightened and depressed. The Pole's attitude was that of a master toward a servant. Because of the Polish policy, the Ukrainian peasant was illiterate or only slightly educated. For this reason he was looked down upon by the Pole, who loved the pompous, aristocratic way of doing things. Hand kissing and bowing from the waist were still the marks of culture to the Pole. This love of hollow pomp and little work produced a lethargic people, dirty, neglected cities and a lazy corrupt government that eventually caused Poland's downfall.

No wonder the Poles refused to permit foreigners into the country. All my attempts to get a visa failed, and it was only through the help of the American Consulate that I was able to enter. Upon my return to Paris I found an official letter from the authorities in Warsaw, informing me that they could not grant me a visa to enter Poland!

The 10th ODWU Convention

With Text of Resolutions and Telegram to President Roosevelt

Marking ten years of progress during which \$200,000 was raised for the Ukrainian liberation movement, the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODWU) held its tenth annual convention in the Fort Pitt Hotel in Pittsburgh, Pa., from July 4 through July 6.

Highlights of the convention that was attended by 100 delegates and guests from nearly a dozen states:

1. Resolutions were adopted pledging loyalty to the United States, supporting the government's national defense program, reiterating the organization's independence of all foreign ties and denouncing fascism, nazism and communism.

2. A telegram was sent to President Roosevelt calling attention to the resolutions and declaring that ODWU members were ready to defend "our country against all enemies."

3. Dr. Alexander A. Granovsky, professor of entomology at the University of Minnesota and AEF veteran, was reelected president. Other officers: Walter Cherewatuk, New York, first vice president; John Popowych, Cleveland, second vice president; V. A. Riznyk, New York, recording secretary; Stanley Krywen, New York, treasurer; William Scebal, Osyp Trush, Peter Hawrysh, New York, controllers; Basil Onyshkow, Pittsburgh; Antin Malanchuk, Wallingford, Conn.; Dmytro Szmagala, Cleveland; Peter Didyk, Chicago; Frank P. Huzil, Detroit, tribunal.

Mrs. Stephanie Halychyn, New York, was reelected president of the Ukrainian Gold Cross, women's auxiliary; Mrs. Mary Lechitsky, New York, vice president, and Marie Klachko, New York, secretary. Roman Lapica, New York, was elected president of the Youth of ODWU; Olga Hryszko, New York, secretary; Bohdan Buczak, Cleveland; Theodore Motorney, New York, and Pauline Popadiuk, Chicago, organizers.

4. The Ukrainian Bureau in Washington was taken over by the organization. Eugene Skotzko was reelected director.

5. Branches, delegates and sympathizers contributed \$1,500 and pledged \$2,400 more to support the organization's activities, including the publication of Ukraine and The Trident and the maintenance of the Washington bureau.

6. Messages were sent by prominent Ukrainians and organizations. These included the Most Reverend I v a n Buchko, Auxiliary Bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America; Colonel Andrey Melnyk, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Europe; Stephen Bandera, Mykola Lebid and Doria Hnatkivska-Lebid, Ukrainians who had escaped from Polish prisons; Volodymyr Kossar, president of the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, and from Ukrainian organizations in Argentina, Canada and throughout the United States.

RESOLUTIONS

Of the 10th Annual ODWU Convention, Pittsburgh, Pa., July 4-6.

1. The Tenth Convention of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, the majority of whose members are citizens of the United States of America, must remain absolutely loyal to this country, defend the Constitution of the United States at every step and be prepared to make the highest sacrifices for this country in case of need.

2. In face of the present international developments, the Tenth Convention of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine regards the national defense program of the United States as a non-partisan issue, which should be supported by the whole nation without exception.

3. The Convention declares that the ideological work, which the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine has conducted in America during the past ten years, has been entirely legal. The Convention promises to continue this work. The latest developments in Europe have proved that people in whom the nationalist spirit has died; in whom the spirit of heroism and sacrifice has vanished; in whom the spirit of materialism and Godlessness has developed—become weak and fall under the blows of enemies.

The most recent example is France, which ten years ago was the strongest military force in Europe. Now it has been defeated by the German Army. French leaders themselves admit that the reason for the French tragedy was that the spirit of sacrifice was lost, and in its place arose the spirit of materialism, internationalism and self-love. This spirit was nourished for years among the French people by various international socialists, radicals, communists and popular

frontists. The Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine constantly opposed these harmful tendencies and supported healthy nationalist tendencies, especially those whose lack has brought France and other spiritually crushed countries to tragic downfall.

4. The Tenth Convention of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine declares that the fate of 50 million Ukrainians, with whom the membership of ODWU is linked through ties of blood and spirit, weighs heavily upon it. These people today find themselves under the brutal yoke of an oppressor. Their slavery includes the destruction of all human rights. Struggling for these human rights is in accordance with the great traditions of American civilization. The struggle with these inhuman oppressors in the first instance should be waged by the oppressed themselves and those who are related to the oppressed. Should Ukrainian Americans withdraw from the struggle for human rights for their brothers, they would prove themselves unworthy of those highest human democratic rights, which they enjoy in America.

5. The Tenth Convention of ODWU once again offers its deep sympathy for the liberation aspirations of the Ukrainian people on their ethnographic territory, and announces its preparedness to its utmost ability to help them in these aspirations. Simultaneously the Convention announces that at no time does it accept responsibility for the entire political **demarches** of Ukrainian political groups on Ukrainian territories and in emigration, even of those with whom it may sympathize and in some respect help. We are too few in America, are too far removed from Ukrainian lands and above all are tied by bonds of loy-

alty to America to give national leadership to our kinsmen on their native land. On the other hand because of these same specified reasons, ODWU could not place itself under any foreign leadership. ODWU is an independent American organization of Ukrainian Americans.

6. The Tenth Convention of ODWU condemns the brutal attacks of strong nations on weaker, and declares its sympathy for those attacked. Should morality and ethics disappear from international relations, the present high western civilization will fall, and in its place will arise the law of the jungle. We do not condemn force as such. But we voice our wish that power be placed in the hands of those people who have ethics and morality.

7. The Third Reich and the Soviets in recent months have carried out not a few brutal attacks on weaker nations. If German attacks on democratic states aroused great criticism, especially in America, then the brutal attacks of the Soviets have been pictured in lighter terms; sometimes they have even been defended.

We recall that the Soviets, led by their extremely egoistic policies, created such international conditions that inspired Hitler to war. The Soviets have always wanted to arouse one West European nation against another, to weaken them by this war and thereby become masters. The Soviets want to prolong the unnecessary murder of people in Europe and in other parts of the world. The Soviets are the black spirit of Europe and the whole world. They have great secret hatred toward West European nations and their civilization. They would like to destroy them. In this manner they will always try to set one nation against the other until they

all are destroyed.

8. The permanent order in Europe and in the world can be guaranteed only when the Soviets are partitioned into independent countries. Satisfied with their own common interests these countries would defend them with their blood. Only the satisfaction of all people can bring peace to the world. Those who defend one oppressed nation and close their eyes to the oppression of others and sometimes even approve this oppression create unhealthy conditions which sooner or later will disturb international stability. This disturbance of the peace is not in the interests of America. It is understood that it is not in the interests of the oppressed Ukrainian people. All people desire to have on their ethnographic territories those rights that other free people enjoy. They will not cease to fight until they have won these rights.

RESOLUTIONS

Of the 4th Annual Youth of ODWU Convention, Pittsburgh, Pa., July 4-5.

We the Youth of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine assembled in Pittsburgh, Pa., for our Fourth Annual Convention do resolve:

1. That we will uphold the Constitution of the United States and defend it against all enemies to the best of our ability.

2. That we uphold the foreign policy of the government of the United States in its attempts to restore peace to the warring world and bring freedom to oppressed peoples. And that we support the national defense program to make this nation impregnable to invasion.

3. That we do not acknowledge the pretensions of any foreign power regarding Ukrainian territory. Par-

ticularly do we call attention to the fact that Soviet Russia has conquered and enslaved 97 per cent of the Ukrainian people while the other three per cent find themselves under the occupation of Germany and Hungary.

4. That we give moral and material aid to the democratic Ukrainian independence movement based on the principles of Ukrainian nationalism and springing from the age-long struggle of the Ukrainian people for freedom.

5. That we strive to unite all American youth of Ukrainian descent under the two-fold aim of strengthening American democracy and helping the Ukrainian liberation movement.

6. That we condemn the forces of aggression in all its forms, be they nazi, fascist or communist. And that we call attention to the fact that the strongest bulwark against these forces, especially in East Europe, would be the creation of a strong, independent, democratic Ukrainian state of 50 million people.

TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

The American Organization of the
Rebirth of Ukraine begs to call your
attention to the fact that its tenth

annual convention meeting in Pittsburgh July 4-6 adopted resolutions pledging its entire membership to absolute loyalty to the government of the United States and to the defense of our country against all enemies.

The Convention also upheld the administration's attempts to bring peace to a warring world and freedom to oppressed peoples, among whom are fifty million Ukrainians in East Europe, who now find themselves under the occupation of Soviet Russia, Germany and Hungary.

Denouncing fascism, nazism and communism, our patriotic organization appeals to the American people for an understanding of the independence struggle of the Ukrainian people and points out that the greatest bulwark against future aggression in Europe would be the creation of an independent democratic Ukrainian state.

Pledged to the defense of American democracy, traditions and institutions, we seek to help the Ukrainian people regain their independence in order that they too may enjoy the fruits of freedom and enlightenment which we enjoy in America.

The Organization for the Rebirth
of Ukraine.

Dr. Alexander A. Granovsky,
President.

V. A. Riznyk, secretary.

UKRAINE AND RUSSIA

A Survey of Soviet Russia's
Domination of Ukraine

by **Mykola Sciborsky**

96 pages 24 pictures

(in English)

50 cents

Ukrainian Printing and Pub. Co.

107½ St. Mark's Place, N. Y. C.

PARK SIDE HOSIERY SHOPPE

LINGERIE - BAGS - GLOVES
AND NOVELTY

A. Radaczynski K. Bendrowska

137 Avenue A New York, N. Y.

Bet. 8th and 9th Sts.



THE UKRAINIAN COSTUME

The beauty of the Ukrainian costume is shown here by these two Ukrainian girls, Martha Stek and Slavka Surmach, students of John Zabolotsky's dance school in New York, who are doing the "Pletinka" or Weaver's Dance at the Surma Radio Ball. Unrivaled by that of any other Slav nationality, the Ukrainian costume expresses the love for beauty, color and artistry innate in the people of Ukraine.

Tel. GRamercy 5 7226

PETER ZUK
JERSEY PORK
AND DELICATESSEN
56 FIRST AVE., N. Y. C.

Tel.: ALgonquin 4-9185

THE PRINTING SHOP
BOOKS-MAGAZINES-FOLDERS
CATALOGUES-PAMPHLETS
LEAFLETS
34 Gt. Jones St. New York City

COME TO THE CONGRESS!

COME TO THE FAIR!

THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH'S LEAGUE
OF NORTH AMERICA

— Presents —

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL UKRAINIAN
YOUTH CONGRESS OF NORTH AMERICA

to be held at

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA

33rd Street and Seventh Avenue,

New York City

August 31st, 1940 - September 1st and 2nd, 1940

Labor Day Week-end, Saturday, Sunday and Monday

Business and Discussion Sessions

Banquet and Ball

Saturday and Monday

Saturday Evening

UKRAINIAN AMERICAN YOUTH DAY
at the

NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR

Sunday September 1st, 1940, at the American Common
Commencing 3 P. M.

Featuring Ukrainian Choral Music, Folk Dancing,
and Exhibit of Ukrainian Arts.

Do not miss these grand and unusual events.

Make arrangements to attend NOW !

Phone: Court 8472

Opposite Court House

SZABATURA'S GRILLE

BEST FOOD AND LIQUOR

529 FIFTH AVE., COR. ROSS ST. and 510 COURT PL.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

HARRY SZABATURA, Prop.

Ukrainian Bazaar

Religious Articles, Post Cards,
Books, Wall Calendars, Novelties
Fancy Linens and Materials for
Needlework, D.M.C. Embroidery
Cross Stitch Designs, Beads.

170 E. 4th Street, New York, N.Y.

FOR A DELIGHTFUL BITE!

PARK VIEW LUNCHEONETTE

H. S. DYSHUK

153 Avenue A. New York City

THE VOICE OF UKRAINE

under direction of
MR. RODION SLIPY

In the Ukrainian language over
Station WARD, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mondays and Fridays—6 to 6:45 p.m.
Station Telephone—TRiangle 5-3300

SURMA FALL FESTIVAL ... AND RADIO BALL

Sunday, Sept. 8, 1940

WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11th St.,
N. Y. C.

Commencing 5 P. M. — 60 cents
Two Orchestras, Concert
and Movies

Real Ukrainian Barber Shop

D. PAWLYK & SONS

431 East 5th St. New York City

ALgonquin 4-5441

A. PASICHNYK

UKRAINIAN TAILOR

Suits Made to Order
And Ready Made Clothing
Also Ladies' Suits and Coats

107 St. Marks Place, New York City
E. 8th Street

PE. 6-9051

Est. 1905

WOLOSCHUK and SON

Manufacturing Furriers

Full-line, popular-priced and better
Fur Coats made to order. Repairs at
very low prices.

343 SEVENTH AVE., NEW YORK

TEL. GRAMERCY 5-7244

STEFIE'S BEAUTY PARLOR

318 East 6th Street, New York

Permanent: Finger Wave; Hair Dye;
Manicure

S. ABRAHAMOVSKA, Prop.

JOHN PETRASH

UKRAINIAN BOOKBINDER

267 E. 10th St. GRamercy 5-8842

New York City

Res. Phone ORchard 5-2588

PETER JAREMA

Undertakers and Funeral Directors

Manhattan Office: 129 E. 7th STREET, NYC.
Tel. ORchard 4-2568

Bronx Office: 707 PROSPECT AVE.
Tel. MElose 5-6577

FURS to ORDER

Ladies' and Men's Coats

Repairing - Remodeling - Redyeing
Cleaning and Pressing

HARRY KOWERDOWICH
Furrier

120 St. Mark's Pl. (E. 8th St.
Bet. 1st and Ave. A) New York City

GRamercy 7-9656

CARPATHIA HALL

217 E. 6th St., New York City

Features: restaurant with bar;
concert hall, suitable for balls and
plays; smaller club rooms for offices
and meetings; also available for wed-
dings, christenings and celebrations.
BASIL LAZUTA and
SIMON DEMYDCHUK, Managers

\$ 1,000 IN PREMIUMS

now being given away by

The TRIDENT

in subscription and sales campaign
ending midnight Oct. 20, 1940

Following premiums will be awarded to each person who sells proper number of subscriptions or copies. Each subscription is worth 10 points; each copy one point.

PREMIUMS

Girls' Gold Swiss Wristwatches.....	value \$25.00....	500 points
Imported Hutzul Desk Sets (inkwell, blotter, holder and pen)	" \$10.00....	250 "
Imported Hutzul Jewelry Cases.....	" \$8.00....	200 "
Imported Hutzul Picture Frames.....	" \$5.00....	150 "
Doroshenko's History of Ukraine, 702 pp.	" \$3.50....	120 "
Comb, Brush and Mirror Sets.....	" \$2.50....	100 "
Bound Tridents (1939), 432 pp.	" \$2.50....	100 "
Beaded Indian Belts.....	" \$2.00....	80 "
Cigaret and Lighter Sets.....	" \$1.50....	50 "
Beaded Indian Necklaces.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Engraved Leather Wallets.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Imported Hutzul Letter Openers.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Karpatska Ukraina v borotbi, 232 pp. ..	" \$1.00....	30 "
Shelukhyn's Ukraina, 248 pp.	" \$1.00....	30 "
Embroidery Sets with 2 frames.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Small Embroidery Sets with 2 frames....	" \$0.75....	20 "
Imported Hutzul Fountain Pens	" \$0.75....	20 "
Sciborsky's Ukraina and Russia.....	" \$0.50....	20 "
Beaded Watch Fobs.....	" \$0.75....	20 "
Evhen Konovaletz, collection, 110 pp. ..	" \$0.50....	20 "
Fountain Pens	" \$0.50....	20 "
Chotyry Shabli, short stories, 191 pp. ..	" \$0.50....	20 "
Spivannyk Karpatskoyi Sich, songs....	" \$0.25....	10 "
Mosendz's Zasiv, short story, 60 pp. ..	" \$0.25....	10 "

The TRIDENT, P. O. Box 13 Sta. D. New York City

\$150 ODWU-TRIDENT SCHOLARSHIP

The Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODWU) and The Trident will award a \$150 scholarship by February 1, 1941, to a member of the Youth of ODWU who writes the best paper on any Ukrainian or Ukrainian-American theme. Rules will be announced later. Details, suggestions for topics and methods of procedure are being prepared. Persons interested in obtaining this material as well as information on the organization should write to Youth of ODWU,

P. O. Box 13, Sta. D, New York, N. Y.