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TARAS SHEVCHENKO (1814-1861)

The "Poet-Laureate" of Ukraine whose anniversary
Ukrainians the world over celebrate this month.

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- THE OPPRESSORS OF UKRAINE — by Elias Shklanka. The story of the downfall of the Ukrainian State.
- UKRAINIAN AGRICULTURE — by Mykola Sciborsky. Facts about Europe's richest land.
- CARPATHO-UKRAINE — Dr. Bachur concludes his present article with an account of Hungarian exploitation and denationalization.

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Appeasing Stalin

(An Editorial)

"In the second war will be born the second, unconfined, decisive world revolution."

STALIN, 1938

It is about time people took off their kubankas and admitted Joe Stalin is the most astute politician in Europe. And he got some first-class competition west of the Vistula too. Take a look at the record.

Hitler overran seven countries at terrific cost in men, materials and money and now has the British Empire of half a billion people in arms against him as well as the moral and financial opposition of the rest of the democratic world.

Stalin in two years annexed 675,563 square miles of non-Russian territory inhabited by 22,228,524 non-Russians with little or no opposition, except for Finland where he lost 200,000 men, his reputation and his shirt tails. But today Stalin not only is in a position to bargain with the democracies, he also can sit back and watch his hated enemies tear out each other's entrails.

We must remember that Hitler was and remains Stalin's worst enemy. Stalin realizes that, for he signed a pact with Hitler on August 23, 1939. He knew that the same German Army which destroyed Poland in three weeks would have needed but an additional three to cover the borscht circuit to

Moscow.¹ So he persuaded Hitler to let him carve up the fallen carcass of the Polish Republic, taking the Ukrainian portion in exchange for Soviet neutrality.

To fatten himself on Western Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Bessarabia and Bukovina without using many of his 1934 model planes, or in fact, without having to display military force of any importance except in Finland, Stalin needed only to wait and let Hitler shake the Eastern European plum tree for the fruit to drop into his ample lap.

Stalin's Shrewd Plan

In answer to insistent pleas for cooperation from the Allies Stalin has turned a bland Asiatic smile and a deaf ear for the simple reason that it is to his benefit to keep the war going indefinitely. We are told on the best authority that Stalin's whole foreign policy is based on but one plan: to do nothing to antagonize Hitler until he is down and out and then to jump on his back and help slit his throat. Something like the brave attack on Poland in September, 1939.

That means letting the Allies, i. e. Britain and America,² do the bloody work of destroying first the German air force and then systematically wiping out his ground forces. Those who so freely predict that this war won't be won from the air are not among our military informants, who are confident that with a naval blockade strangling the Nazi - occupied countries Britain will win the war once she gains command of the air. And, they add, she will succeed in doing this with American aid inside of 18 months. If she can hold out that long.

Stalin meanwhile will be saying nothing (one of the minor but interesting differences between the Red and the sputtery, foaming-at-the-mouth Brown and Black dictators farther west) and waiting for the inevitable attrition, insurrection, hunger and war-weariness to wear Hitler down.

According to our information, Stalin will pounce on Hitler just as soon as the last German division is immobilized and will then proclaim to the world the time-worn but quite effective battle cry of the fellow travelers: "Down with Fascism! Victory for Democracy and the Soviet Union!" In such an event the Allies will have no recourse but to accept Stalin's aid and perhaps even to thank him. Stalin, of course, would be allowed to keep his ill-begot riches for the practical reason that everyone would be too tired of war to march into Russia and take them away from him. (Remember 1919 when

¹ This is the belief of William C. Bullitt, former Ambassador to Russia and France.

² Does anyone still believe we are not in this war? Note the comments of Jesse Jones and Harold Ickes.

the Germans offered to send an army of 800,000 men to crush the Bolsheviks, and the Allies, particularly the French, refused?)

And the 45,000,000 Ukrainians, who had a democratic Republic when English colonists and Indians were beating each other's brains out, would then continue to tune in on the Moscow radio every night, tighten their belts, say a few impolite things about the Ogpu under their breath and listen to the glory and pleasure of living in the "workers' paradise."

The Attitude in Washington

America is doing its share to treat Stalin as a possible miscreant who may yet be made to see the light (but not, presumably, so long as 1,000,000 Germans are concentrated in East Europe). The Welles school of thought, attributed to Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles, is that Russia can be bought off sooner or later. While this theory prevails



Soviet troops pouring into Western Ukraine Sept. 17, 1939.

in our Government, no Administration official is going to dare to get up in public and say what he thinks in private about Brother Joe and his gang of cutthroats who perfected the Hitlerian system of spreading happiness by murder, rape, concentration camp, exile, starvation and regimentation when Herr Adolf was still pounding the pavements of Munich trying to get someone to listen to him.

That the Republican die-hard opposition is making the most of this is evident in their denunciation of the lease-lend bill. Note the acidic remarks of the Republican minority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding Secretary of State Cordell Hull's testimony before the group.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Hull did say there is no use

picking a fight with a third thug when confronted by two others. But if the President wishes to win even more support for his policies we urge him to declare, or at least recognize, that sooner or later the Soviet Union will have to release the millions of people it holds in bondage before his four freedoms can be secured for the world. And in this connection we hope that Britain, too, which is too busy fighting for her existence, will still take a moment at least to express the desire to see the restoration of the once glorious democratic Republic of the people of Ukraine, in which we, as Americans of Ukrainian descent, are interested.

Last year Russia obtained 6,172,000 pounds of sole leather, valued at \$2,180,000; \$7,864,000 worth of cotton, 1,000,000 barrels of non-aviation gasoline, valued at \$1,850,000, and large quantities of wheat from the United States. It is not hard to realize that since Russia has these products in enormous quantities she wants them only in order to be able to send more goods to Germany under their recent trade pact. Procurer for Hitler, Stalin has been called correctly. Thus whether Russia is waiting for Hitler's downfall or not, she is lending moral and financial support to the Brown Terror. And she has withdrawn 400,000 men from the Manchukuoan frontier, which may presage a Russo-Japanese treaty. And if we need another kick in the whiskers to realize that Russia is no friend of ours, it would be a Russian pact with Japan under which the Japanese could withdraw their forces for a massed assault on Singapore, which keeps Senator Wheeler up nights worrying for fear that we are going to help defend it.

Thus we see not a very pretty picture of Russia's role in the present crisis. For the United States, or even Britain, to come right out and say: "Joe, you're nothing but a 1920 version of Hitler with a longer soup strainer," would only serve to drive Comrade Djughashvili into swiping a few thousand hectares of somebody else's back yard, possibly even from Turkey. On the other hand, appeasing the insatiable killer of the steppes, who sent 5,000,000 Ukrainians to their death in 1932-33 (the year the United States accepted Russia as a respectable member of society) is impossible. Stalin is taking every advantage of the international situation for the benefit of himself and perhaps the little woman. The sooner the democracies (meaning Britain and the United States) forget about trying to bribe him and instead encourage some of the many anti-Soviet revolutionary movements rampant in the U.S.S.R., mainly the Ukrainian, the stronger will their argument be that they are fighting for a more just and democratic world.

Otherwise, as Lindbergh said, if we are going to appease Stalin, we may just as well appease Hitler.

ROMAN LAPICA.

Rus', Russia and Ukraine

The task of every science is to define and never to confuse. Science, therefore, must be careful about giving every object its proper name or "term," which ought to be precise and not permit the confusing of one object with another.



I. Padalka

HAYDAMAKY

Ukrainians who fought for independence against Poland in the 18th century.

The name of an object is its sign, its symbol. The importance that is attributed to the "name" is shown by the belief of most primitive people that a being's soul is closely connected with its name. In ancient Egypt, for instance, names were concrete realities. Moret says in "*Mysteres Egyptiennes*" that for the Egyptians the activity of the creator of the world consisted in "naming the things." Therefore the Egyptians, when describing the state of the world before creation took place, speak of a state "when there was not yet a god and no name was known." Nothing exists until the creator has pronounced its name. Consequently, in order to destroy a being, its name had to be destroyed, and so the conjurations of that kind began with the formula:

"To the end that its name exist no longer..."

One thing is evident, apart from the superstitions at the root of these beliefs that correspond in almost every people's folklore: the understanding of the personal or individual value of a name.

The same happens in regard to peoples when the value of the ethnic name has an enormous, it may even be said **vital**, importance for the normal development of the nations. The name of a nation that is developing and growing powerful will take on new splendor and be pronounced more respectfully. And when a nation is in decay, its name, too, will follow that process and will, perhaps, even pass over to some stronger people who — for various reasons of political or sentimental character — desire to take possession of the decaying people's inheritance.

As an example in Eastern Europe, there is the case of the Bulgarians, who are Slav people by language but Ugro-Finnish by name. They became a prey of an invading horde of Bulgarian nomads who transmigrated from the upper Volga into the Balkan regions in the VIIIth century and imposed their name on a little-known people who were, however, advanced and numerous enough to assimilate the invader completely.

Another example is the Rumanians, who assumed the name of the ancient Romans while the real heirs of the Roman Empire, when it disintegrated and became the prey of invading barbarians, gave themselves the name of Italians.

A third example — the most interesting and tragic one — is that of the Ukrainian people, who after becoming famous under the name of "Russians" were robbed not only of their independence but also of their glorious past and name. At first the Ukrainian people tried to keep this name that was bound to so many glorious traditions; but later, when they understood that the confusion which Moscow skillfully created was only compromising their struggle for freedom, they renounced that name voluntarily and assumed a new one which had been used sporadically back in the XIIth century, the name of "Ukrainians."

Theories on the Origin of "Rus'"

In order to know the history and the life of the Eastern European peoples, it is absolutely necessary to become familiar with the history of this "emigration" of the name "Russian" and with the consequences it brought.

The origin of the name "Russian" is uncertain. The so-called Norman theory prevailed for some time. This theory is based on the old chronicle history by Nestor, who says that the name "Russian" was brought by the Normans, the founders of the Russian State. According to him, the name of the ruling class passed over to the country, and the whole region got the name "Rus'."

The Norman theory, however, has met with many contradictions in the old texts, and therefore other theories appeared, such as the "Gothic" theory and the "autochthon" or Slav theory. The "Gothic" theory, which was propounded by Professor Budilovich at an archeological congress in Moscow in 1890, had but little success; but the Slav theory, which may be regarded as an expression of the national reaction against foreign theories, has found many exponents, and therefore it is worth mentioning here.

According to this theory, which has been elaborated chiefly by the Ukrainian academician Michael Hrushevsky, the name "Rus'" was applied to the territory of Kiev long before the arrival of the Norman Rurik, who is regarded as the founder of the first Russian State.

Indeed, in spite of Nestor who says that the tribes of the Polany obtained the name "Rus'" from the Normans, this assertion seems to be not very plausible, for, according to legend, the Normans-Rus' were at first in Novgorod and passed to Kiev and beyond only in the second generation, settling and beginning to rule also in further centers of the Slav tribes, in some of them even before coming to Kiev. Nevertheless at first the name "Russian" applied only to the land about Kiev and that of the Polany and only later passed over to the lands of other tribes, which came under the rule of Kiev, just as the name "Romans" passed from the citizens of Rome to the inhabitants of various conquered provinces.

The Russian Invasion of 860

Besides, the name Rus' occurs in different foreign documents of an earlier date than that of the Norman rulers' arrival at Kiev in the second half of the IXth century, and there it always referred to the land and people around Kiev. The chronicle of the life of St. George of Amastra, for instance, which was written in Greek in the first half of the IXth century, when speaking of the invasion of Amastra by the Russians, calls them "the people whom all know as being a severe and pitiless one." The chronicle of the life of St. Stephen of Suroz speaks of the invasion by the Russian prince Bravlin of the city of Suroz (on the south coast of Crimea) in the VIIIth century or at the beginning of the IXth. The patriarch Fotij, in his epistle of 866, describing the invasion of the Russians in 860, calls them "the people who are well-known to everybody for their fierceness and love of war."

The old Ukrainian chronicles attribute this campaign of the Russians against Byzantium in 860 to the Russians of Kiev, and this fact obtains a special importance since there is a general tendency of the later chronical to connect the name Rus' with the Normans who were not yet in Kiev. Other documents agree with Nestor's chronicle. Fotij himself, for instance, says in one of his sermons that in 860 the Russians came from a country separated from Byzantium by many lands and peoples, seas and rivers.

This last evidence of the patriarch Fotij is important because it excludes the theory that attributes the Russian campaign of 860 against Byzantium to a certain tribe "Rus'," which was supposed to have settled on the shores of the Azov Sea at Tmutorokan.

The "Russian" Ambassadors of 836

The "Bertinian Annals," the author of which died in 861, state that in 836 there came to Ingelsheim from Constantinople many ambassadors "of the Russian King called chacan" who had been sent to Constantinople in order to treat

with Emperor Theophile and then could not return home because their way was cut off by "a very numerous and savage barbarian people"; for this reason the Emperor would not let them return by this dangerous way. These ambassadors "called themselves and their nation by the name of Rus'" ("qui se, id est gentem suam Rhos vocari dicebant"). King Louis the Saint, speaking with them, knew that they were Swedes ("quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans, comperit eos gentis essere Sueorum"). Professor Ilovasky wanted to make the last word *Slavorum* instead of "Sueorum," but that reconstruction has not been accepted. The "Normanists" are using this text for their theory without being able, however, to explain the title "chacan" ("quos rex illorum, chacanus vocabulo"). But this title of "chacan," or "cahan," is used by the Grand Dukes of Kiev until the XIth century, and we have reason to believe that those "Russian" ambassadors were just the ambassadors of the State of Kiev. The academician Hrushevsky thinks that the sentence "qui se id est gentem suam Rhos vocari dicebant" ought to be interpreted as follows: "They, or rather their people (the people who sent them) are called Rus'." Thus the ambassadors may have been Swedes, that is, people of Germanic origin, but at the service of the Russian court. Professor Vassilevsky objects, however, that the Franks knew the Norwegians and Danes well, and that therefore the name "Sueorum" could mean neither the Norwegians nor the Danes but generally people of the North. We see, anyway, that long before the coming of the so-called Normans-Rus' to Kiev there was a Russian "King" or "chacan" there.

Besides, we must conclude from the mass of evidence we possess about the devastation the Russians inflicted upon remote countries in the IXth and Xth centuries that they represented a strong military organism, whose influence and power was felt at enormous distances.

An allusion in the same chronicle of Nestor, who says that the name Russian was brought by the Normans, is that the Russians were the Polany who dwelled in the territory of Kiev, and that the name was not a strange one, brought from far away, but the proper native one; thus, when speaking of the Slav language and indentifying it with the Russian, the chronicle unexpectedly uses the name Polany, evidently because the name "Russians" was a synonym of the name "Polany" in those times. "The Slav language and the Russian are one thing, for (the Russians) obtained the name Russians from the Normans, and first they were Slavs; though they were called Polany, their language is the Slav. They were called Polany because they lived on the 'pola' (fields)."

There is also a direct mention of the palace guard brought by Prince Oleh from Novgorod to Kiev, composed of Novgorodtzi (inhabitants of Novgorod) and Normans, who ob-

tained the name "Russians" only after their arrival at Kiev. "There were with him the Slav and the Normans, and they have been called 'Russians'" [Chronicle, p. 13]. Also the ancient chronicle, when speaking of Yaroslav's army, distinguishes between the Kievany [inhabitants of Kiev], whom it calls "Rus'," and the Normans: "Yaroslav gathered a great many Russians, Normans, Slovenes." [p. 100].

Rus' Applied to Kiev Area

The chronicle even distinguishes between the lands of Kiev in this ethnic sense and the other lands or principalities under princes from the same dynasty; when Prince Sviatoslav Olgovich, for instance, fled from Novgorod to Kiev where his brother lived, he fled into "Rus'." [p. 207]. Prince George of Suzdal, when he began his war against Kiev, went into "Rus'." [p. 259]. The Princes Mstislavichi exchanged presents: Prince Isiaslav of Kiev gave presents "of the Russian land (i. e., products of Kiev) and of the lands of the Tsar" (i. e., of Byzantium; the Tsar is the Emperor of Byzantium); Rostislav of Smolensk gave him in exchange gifts "of the upper lands (of the Dnieper) and of the Normans." [p. 322].

It is necessary to note that "Rus'" in the meaning of the territory of Kiev is contrasted not only with the northern lands but also with the southern principalities. Thus Prince Vladimirk of Halich, when expelling the ambassador of Kiev in 1152, says: "There is the Russian nobleman going away." These words clearly show that the principality of Halich (Galicia) was not yet considered "Russian" in the middle of the XIIth century and that this name was connected only with the territory of Kiev. Not only the remote land of Halich was contrasted with Rus, but also the very near one of the Derevlany (Volynia of the present time), which always was closely united with the principality of Kiev as its integral political and administrative but not **ethnic** part (the tribe of the Derevlany differed from the tribe of the Polany).

Indeed, when Prince Sviatoslav of Kiev invites Prince Rurik, who lived in Ovruch, the city of the Derevlany near Kiev, he invites him to come "to Rus'."

The author of the chronicle of Gustyn expressed the thought that the name Rus' may have originated from the analogical name of a river that crosses the land of Kiev. The well-known Sanskritist Professor Knauer expressed his theory about the origin of the name Rus' at the eleventh Russian archeological congress, proving the kindred relation of the word "rus" with the root "ros," which means "dew" and "river." Professor Knauer showed also that the Volga River was known under the name of Rasa, Raha (i. e., the running water, river) in the Sanskrit language and in old Persian, which name changes into Ros and Rus in the Slav languages.

Also an anonymous Greek author of the Vth century called the Volga "Ros." And so a few Arab writers, too, called the Volga "the Russian River." These facts permit the assertion that the Russian people first lived on the Volga from which they emigrated to the Dnieper.

Kiev Glorified Name of Russia

We must admit, nevertheless, that if the real **origin** and meaning of the name "Russian" remains uncertain, in historical times, that is, after the founding of the State of Kiev from the IXth century to the XIth and even XIIth, the name "Rus'" **indicated above all the territory of Kiev**, that of the Polany, though later on it begins to mean all the lands that were **under the rule of the Princes of Kiev**. At the moment of its greatest development the State of Kiev united under its rule all the Slav tribes of Eastern Europe and so glorified the name Russia in the whole of Europe that it suppressed all other denominations; and when the State of Kiev was reduced to a principate of medium greatness among other similar principates, all the inhabitants of Eastern Europe of Slav origin remained equally "the Russians" for foreigners.

(To be continued.)

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LETTER TO SENATOR GEORGE

February 14, 1941.

Senator Walter F. George
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Capitol Building
Washington, D. C.

The Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, composed of Americans of Ukrainian descent, wishes to go on record as supporting the President's aid-to-Britain bill as the swiftest and surest method of helping the courageous English nation in its noble struggle against Nazi aggression.

We firmly believe that a victory of the Allied nations will benefit this great land of ours and lead to the establishment of a new world order, based not on tyranny and oppression but on democracy with equal justice for all. In that order we hope that the 45,000,000 Ukrainians in East Europe, now under Soviet and Nazi oppression, will be permitted to regain their independence lost 21 years ago,

ORGANIZATION FOR THE REBIRTH OF UKRAINE

V. A. Riznyk, Secretary

—:—

The Tragedy of Carpatho-Ukraine

By DR. GEORGE BACHUR¹

The present status of the Ukrainian people in their native land under foreign oppressors is one of the most tragic in the world. More than 97 per cent of them are under Soviet rule. The other 3 per cent are scattered over Europe, in



CARPATHO-UKRAINIANS
National costume.

fact, throughout the world. More than half a million of them are found in Carpatho-Ukraine, which is now under Hungarian occupation. It is to the plight of these people, sometimes referred to as Ruthenians,² that the writer wishes to call the attention of the civilized world.

The Carpathian Mountains, roughly speaking, along the Stryi-Stole-Lavochne-Mukachevo railroad line are still covered in several places with the "forest primeval," which has not yet been touched by the destructive hand of exploiters. Toward the end of the 19th century the place where the writer was born, the village of Libochora, Stryi District, Western Ukraine, was already humming with logging activities. The business of felling the spruce timber and getting out the logs for the market was, next to farming

and cattle raising, the chief occupation of the villagers and other imported workers. At the time when the writer's father was a youth of about 20, there was no railroad in that part of the country, and the logs had to be transported by water.

¹ The author's home was near Carpatho-Ukraine. Since coming to the United States he has been to Europe four times, visiting England, France, Belgium, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine), Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, etc. He spent four Summers in Ukraine before the present war.

² "Ruthenian" is the official ecclesiastical descriptive term for certain

Logging was quite a tedious and hazardous task because the river twists and turns and cascades, and in places a river elbow was so sharp that it had to be straightened. One of these elbows was formed by a piece of our land, the "meadow" (luh), which had to be cut open for the river. This place was about one-fifth of a mile from our home, situated on a hill from which the writer as a boy could see hundreds of laborers dig for weeks on the huge ditch across our fertile land. After they ripped this meadow open, the ditch, "prokip," looked like a giant furrow. A few of the workers from Carpatho-Ukraine who were employed in this project roomed in our house; most of them, however, lived in tents, "tzelta," and "koliba" (improvised shanty-like structures).

These workers, who came over the Beskid Mountains, seemed rather queer-looking folk to us. They did not wear overcoats or mantles called "serdaks" or "siraks," made of black wool, as we did, but mantles called "huni," made of white wool. To our astonishment most of them wore black woolen trousers in Summer. It was unbelievable. Our people on this side of the Carpathians wore white woolen trousers, "bili kholoshni," in Winter only. But we, of course, considered ourselves civilized; they just partly so. Who ever saw a man in our village wearing a mantle made of white wool and black woolen trousers in Summer! This costume worn by our villagers would have been considered preposterous, if not scandalous.

Since these workers came over the Carpathians from such counties as Marmarosh, Mukachevo, Uzhorod and other places, they called themselves "Rusniaki," but we called them "Hunianiky" because they wore "huni," that is, white woolen mantles or overcoats. We talked with them and they understood us. Nearly all of them were illiterate. They used, however a few "strange" expressions which sometimes made us laugh. They spoke the Ukrainian language as well as we did, but altered a little by the addition of alien roots and words.

Physically they did not differ from us; many of them were strong and handsome men, highly devout and moral. They brought no women with them, for they were mainly seasonal workers. They worked hard and saved their money for their families or relatives.

The farmers in our village, including the writer's father, knew these Carpatho-Ukrainians very well, for they used to go over the biggest mountain, "Byrzava," to Mukachevo to

religious bodies of Byzantine origin found in Eastern Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine (Podcarpathia, Slovakia, Hungary) with colonies in the Americas and elsewhere. The terms "Ruthenian" and "Ukrainian" are used synonymously. The Ukrainians are Slavs and may be justly regarded as the original progenitors of the Russians.

buy corn flour. For our staple food we had oat bread and corn bread, and workers who were employed in the lumber industry used to make "pulenta" or "tokon" of corn flour. This mush or corn meal was cooked and baked over an open hearth so long in a large "kitlih" or kettle that nearly all the water evaporated. As a result, the "pulenta" was so tough that one had to cut it with a knife. This "pulenta" was eaten with a "friika," a sort of omelet which is a combination of fried bacon and sour cheese, "bryndza."

These Ukrainian mountaineers used certain words which were unlike ours. For example, we said "kapeliukh," a hat; "remin," a belt; "legheen," sport; "tovarish," comrade; they said, respectively, "kresania," "cheres," "leghoon," "tzimbora."

It was these Ukrainians, their children and their compatriots who fought for their native soil, Carpatho-Ukraine, during the World War and then battled against the Hungarian troops who invaded it on March 14, 1939, to annex the tiny country. The consequences of this second heroic struggle were tragic for the defenders, their land and their independence.

Historic Retrospect

"Without history," says Vives, "no one would know anything about his father and ancestors; no one would know his own rights or those of another or how to maintain them; no one would know how his ancestors came to the country he inhabits; no one's possessions would be certain or valid."³ With these words we approach the study of the fate of the Carpatho-Ukrainian people.

The inhabitants of Carpatho-Ukraine, who are Slavs, find themselves today again under the oppressive regime of the Magyars who are of Mongolian origin. The Slavs are an Eastern branch of the Indo-European family and were known to the Roman and Greek chroniclers of the first and second centuries A. D. under the name of **Venedi**, inhabiting the vast territory southeast of the Vistula and northeast of the Carpathian Mountains in the upper basins of the Western Bug, the Pripet and the Dniester. In the course of the early centuries of our era the Slavs spread in all directions in Europe and by the 6th century they were already divided into three main branches: 1) the Western Slavs: the present-day Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Moravians; 2) the Southeastern Slavs: the Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes; 3) the Eastern Slavs: the Russians, Ukrainians (including Carpathian Ruthenians) and the White Russians.⁴ Thus in these three separate and

³ Juan Luis Vives, (1492-1540), the Spanish scholar and writer. Quoted in Edgar W. Knight's *Twenty Centuries of Education*. Boston. Ginn and Company, 1940, p. 3.

⁴ Neiderle, Lubor. *La Race Slave*. 1911, *passim*.

more or less distinct divisions we find that the Ruthenians are most akin in language, religion, literature, tradition, history, physical structure and appearance and other aspects to their western blood brothers in Western Ukraine and Ukraine proper.

There are two theories to account for the presence of the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) in the Sub-Carpathian region. The first is that the people are native to the region, which they occupied with other Slavs — Bulgars, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes — who reached as far as Salonika on the Aegean Sea and even to Venice, Italy. The second theory is that they settled the land at the end of the ninth century. The primary sources⁵ which treat of the Slavs in general and the Ruthenians in particular seem to show that these people were already there when the Magyars appeared in Europe and were in constant touch with their blood brothers, the Ukrainians in Galicia and their kin, the Slavs, who were their neighbors for centuries, the Slovaks and the Poles. The historical fact is that when the Magyars took possession of the fertile Danube valley in the ninth century (884), they displaced the autochthonous Slavs and pushed them aside in all directions. Thus we see that the Ruthenians were under Hungarian domination from the ninth century on. Doroshenko holds to the second theory, namely, that the Ukrainian population of the "western slope of the Carpathian hills came from the middle Dnieper and settled there not later than the end of the ninth century."⁶ Since the Magyars settled in the Danube valley and formed merely a new island in the Slavic sea, they have increased their territory at the expense of the Ukrainians, Slovaks and other Slavs by driving them farther from the fertile valleys into the mountainous region. As a consequence of this pressure and ruthless oppression⁷ by the Hungarian feudal lords, the people of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine lived in abject poverty for centuries, virtually unknown until the World War period. Relations between the Hungarian magnates and the Ukrainian population were always strained and antagonistic. It will suffice to cite a single example: In the inventory of the estate of an insolent Hungarian landowner, drawn up in 1910, the "Ruthenes are classed with the beasts and figures in the list of cattle."

The geographic situation in Carpatho-Ukraine, a country of valleys running nearly parallel to one another, is without facility of communication. The land is linked only by the Great Hungarian Plain stretching across the mouths of these

⁵ Niederie, Lubor. *Manuel de L'Antique Slave*. L'Histoire. Paris. 1923. Vol. I. pp. 218-219.

⁶ Doroshenko, D. *History of the Ukraine*. 1939. p. 528.

⁷ Doroshenko, D. *Slaviansky Swit (The Slavic World)*. Berlin, 1922. Vol III, pp. 105-109.

valleys. Carpatho-Ukraine, as a tract of country on the southern slope of the Carpathian Mountains was, before the Great War, under Hungarian domination for more than a thousand years. But it was from the tenth century on that these inhabitants had to suffer the increasing pressure of Magyars, whose westward drive was checked by the Austrians and Czechs. After an obstinate struggle the Ukrainians were driven from the fertile plains and forced into the mountainous regions where the soil is poor and life extremely precarious. The Magyars were aided in driving out the Ukrainians by the Tatar invasion of the thirteenth century (1240) which ruined the Kiev State for two centuries and disrupted the regular political relations between the Carpatho-Ukrainians and their blood brothers in Galicia and Ukraine proper with Kiev as its capital.

Religious and Cultural Relations

Religious and cultural relations lasted longer. For years the Carpatho-Ukrainians maintained not only political and cultural but also religious ties with the Kiev State. They formed part of the feudal system at the head of which were the descendants of Prince Volodimir Monomakh. It was in Carpatho-Ukraine that the Slavic Byzantine world, the Eastern Orthodox Church, met the Catholic world. In this connection we wish to remark that in the year 1595, at the Church Council of Brest, a union with Rome was forced upon the higher Orthodox priests by the dominant rulers in Poland, secular and spiritual. In 1652 most of the Orthodox Ruthenians "were led by their clergy into communion with the Catholic Church, a monk named Peter Rostoshynsky, who had received consecration at schismatic hands, being recognized as their bishop (Union of Ungvar)."

However, it was only in the year 1700 that Eastern Galicia officially accepted a union with Rome. When the Uniate Church was introduced into Carpatho-Ukraine in 1614, it took on a clearly national character and was until the latest times the virtual guardian of the Ukrainian national consciousness. This much can hardly be said of the Orthodox Church. Here the Uniate Church had played a great national role by preserving the Ukrainian national feeling among the people who were being persecuted by the Hungarians. The Uniate Church was the "Ukrainian religion" as opposed to Orthodoxy, the "Russian faith." Recognizing the contribution which the Uniate Church rendered to the protection of the Ukrainian identity does not mean that the Orthodox Church did not struggle heroically against Magyar oppression. On the contrary, the Orthodox Church was more dangerous to

Attwater, Donald. *The Catholic Eastern Churches*. The Bruce Publishing Co. Milwaukee, Wis. 1935, p. 93.

Hungarian domination over the Carpatho-Ukrainians than many a bureaucrat would care to admit. The historic fact, however, is that in 1690 the last Orthodox bishop, Methodius, was expelled by force from Mukachevo."

Thus it is evident that since the seventeenth century the Uniate Church has been dominant in Carpatho-Ukraine. One cannot help but wonder why it has done so little in the educational and truly religious spheres for its faithful, to say the least. A serious threat to the Uniate Church and its prestige and complacent attitude appeared when the Orthodox religion was again admitted in 1919.¹⁰ A number of parishes returned to their early faith, and by 1938 the total number of those "converts" was over 150,000,¹¹ as compared with about 400,000 Uniates.¹² Thus we see that despite religious conflicts the part played by religious forces in Carpatho-Ukraine from the earliest times was of enormous significance to the spiritual life of the country.¹³ Foreign oppression and the policy of assimilation and denationalization practiced by their more powerful neighbors failed to destroy the national consciousness of these people, who have been called the "poorest peasants in Europe."

(To be continued.)

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New Ukrainian Play. The Ukrainian National Theater will produce its third play of the season, "Bright Stars," by Boris Hrinchenko, under the sponsorship of the Dniester Society in Carpathia Hall, New York, on April 5. The play is a five-act historical drama dealing with the Cossacks in Turkey. The cast includes Marie Gans as Amina, Michael Skoro-bohach (Dmytro), Peter Chorniuk (Panas), Y. Mirus (Pasha), Paul Slobodian (Khalil). Mrs. Olga Lachowitch will direct a musical trio.

⁹ Georgievsky, Ivan. *Rome and the Eastern Churches*. The Church Quarterly Review. October-December, 1940, p. 92.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 94.

¹¹ Referring to Carpatho-Ukrainians Attwater says that the Uniates in Czechoslovakia numbered 578,000 of whom there were "150,000 Orthodox." p. 94.

¹² Georgievsky. Ibid. p. 94.

¹³ "There are two eparchies of Podcarpathian Ruthenians, Mukachevo and Preshov." — Attwater, p. 95.

Ukrainian Geography

By ELIAS SHKLANKA

Ukraine is situated between Latitude 43 degrees and 53 degrees North and Longitude 21 degrees and 47 degrees east. In general outline its boundaries are: the Caucasus Mountains, the Azov and the Black Seas, the mouth of the Danube and the upper Tisa River in the south; the San River and the town of Brest in the west; the upper Narva River, the Pripet River and the towns of Mlyn, Old Osskol and New Khopersk in the north; from New Khopersk south to Rostov on the Don; thence east along the Sal River, the slopes of the Ergensi Hills, and a series of steppe lakes to the Caspian Sea.

More than 2,000,000 Ukrainians out of a total population of 3,500,000 live in the region between the Pripet River and the Dnieper adjoining the present official boundary as recognized by Soviet authorities. Crimea is the only region where the Ukrainians are in the minority. There are 178,000 Ukrainians in this area out of total population of 714,000. This compact territory, as outlined above, totals about one million square kilometers and is inhabited by a population of about 50,000,000 of whom more than 41,000,000 are Ukrainians. Ukraine ranks second in area and third in population among the European countries.

The territory adjoining the Caucasus Mountains between the Azov and Caspian Seas is called the Kuban, from the Kuban River. It totals about 293,000 square kilometers and contains more than 5,000,000 Ukrainians out of a total population of 8,000,000.

The Kuban region was settled by the Ukrainian forbears at the dawn of Ukrainian history. It was then known as Tmutorokan. Gradually it became isolated from the Ukrainian mainland by the advent of the Nomads from Asia and remained separated until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1775 Catherine II liquidated the remnants of the Ukrainian military organization, the Cossacks, and sent them to colonize the land about the Kuban River. These Cossacks, with other Ukrainian emigrants during the past century, transformed this waste land into a settled country not dissimilar in character to the Kiev and the Poltava regions.

There are also about 3,000,000 Ukrainians in Siberia and more than a million Ukrainian immigrants in North and South America. The total number of Ukrainians throughout the world is about 45,000,000.

Although about nine-tenths of the surface area of Ukraine is either level lowlands or slightly undulating uplands, it exhibits a certain variety of physical features. In the south-

west there are the Carpathian Mountains. Adjoining them are the hills deeply cut by mountain streams. In these hills are found such minerals as salt and petroleum. The region between the San River and the Bug River is an undulating upland covered with forests and valleys of sandy soil of poor fertility. Volynia is a level upland of rich soil covered with forests. Polissia and Pidliashia, north of Volynia, are marshy with lakes and forests and sandy and clay soil. The territory adjoining Volynia between the Dnieper and Dniester Rivers is a low upland of rich soil with forests in the north and prairies in the south, cut by river ravines in which the villages are located. East of the Dnieper is the gradually rising upland of rich soil. The once mountainous Don region has become, by the process of erosion, a hilly country with rich deposits of various metals and minerals. The Black and Azov Sea Basins are level lowlands with the richest soil in the world. The northern part of Ukraine is covered with forests; the southern is steppe.

Nature endowed Ukraine with rich resources. Three-fourths of its soil is rich black loam. Its mountains provide beautiful and healthy resorts. The numerous rivers flowing down into the adjoining seas furnish facilities for inland transportation. The potential energy stored in the nine Dnieper Rapids supply immense electrical energy. Under its surface there are abundant deposits of coal, iron, petroleum, gold, silver, copper, mercury, salt, manganese, phosphorus and graphite. One-fifth of the area covered with forest supplies the inhabitants with fuel and building material. Because of its strategic position Ukraine is a natural highway from Europe to Asia, and especially to India, and is invested "with a pivotal position in the European balance of power."

The Ukrainian climate is temperate and equable. Winter is somewhat severe but short; Spring is attractive; Summer is long and warm and very hot in the southern portion; Autumn is invigorating. Most of the rain falls in June and July. The west winds bring precipitation; the east winds carry frost in Winter and dry heat in Summer.

SOME TRAITS OF THE UKRAINIAN CHARACTER

The bountiful soil and the beauties of nature express themselves on the Ukrainian character, endowing it with its chief quality, the good heart. The Ukrainians may be characterized as the good-hearted people, says Taras Shevchenko. They are hospitable to strangers, sympathize with the unfortunate and needy, have a keen sense of justice and respond readily to the beauties of nature. Often a Ukrainian peasant in his conversation will allude to the ideals of truth and justice. The neat white peasant houses with their flowery gardens and cherry orchards are salient features of the

beauty of village life throughout Ukraine. A Ukrainian expresses his love of nature in his verses, songs and cheerful disposition. Even adversity, with which history has so unkindly overwhelmed him, he turns into his peculiar form of humor. A Ukrainian peasant is famous for his common sense, and the rich store of proverbs saturated with worldly wisdom give proof of this. Being a part of his soil, which he so dearly loves and on which he works so hard, he has developed a deep sense of individuality and ownership. A Ukrainian is patient and peaceful, but beneath the surface of his disposition he harbors a certain combative stubbornness. If he is convinced of the righteousness of his cause, he will fight courageously either in the ranks of his party or in an army to the end. Ukrainian soldiers in the Austrian Empire were called "the Tyrolese of the East." He remembers the evil done to him but is not revengeful. He is sincere and readily believes in the good intentions of others whereby, not infrequently, he is duped and exploited. His political, social and economic organizations are promoted voluntarily rather than imposed upon him from above. He is deeply religious not in form but in essence. His country witnessed the growth of both the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic faith, side by side, and therefore made him tolerant of other religions than his own. On the other hand, a Ukrainian is sensitive and suffers not a little from an inferiority complex as result of foreign domination. He is generally locked up within himself and is reticent and therefore may be easily misjudged by his outward disposition. The appanage upheaval at the time of the Kiev State, the anarchy in the period of the Cossack Republic and the political confusion in 1917-19 lead one to the conclusion that there is a prominent trait of anarchy in his social behavior. But this trait is not innate. It has been developed as the result of the foreign and hostile environment created by the oppressors. Not a little time, energy and money did the Russian and Polish Governments spend for the purpose of undermining the morale of the Ukrainian people regarding everything noble in human life.

A Ukrainian woman is faithful and industrious. The average Ukrainian family is sound and healthy. Above all, a Ukrainian is a Christian, democratic and an individualist. The Russian terror ten times stronger will make him neither a Communist nor an atheist.

Ukraine Divided

Until recently Ukraine was severed by artificial political boundaries, dismembered and mutilated by its neighbors. Although accurate statistics concerning the number of Ukrainians during the post-war period cannot be obtained because of the falsification of records by the occupant govern-

ments, according to Ukrainian statisticians, the number of Ukrainians distributed in various countries as of 1931 was approximately as follows: in Russia 34,320,000; in Poland 6,876,000; in Rumania 1,200,000; in Czechoslovakia 650,000; in the United States 750,000; in Canada 400,000 and in other countries 368,680. Poland alone had seized 137,135 square kilometers of Ukrainian territory, constituting 36.6 per cent of its total area.

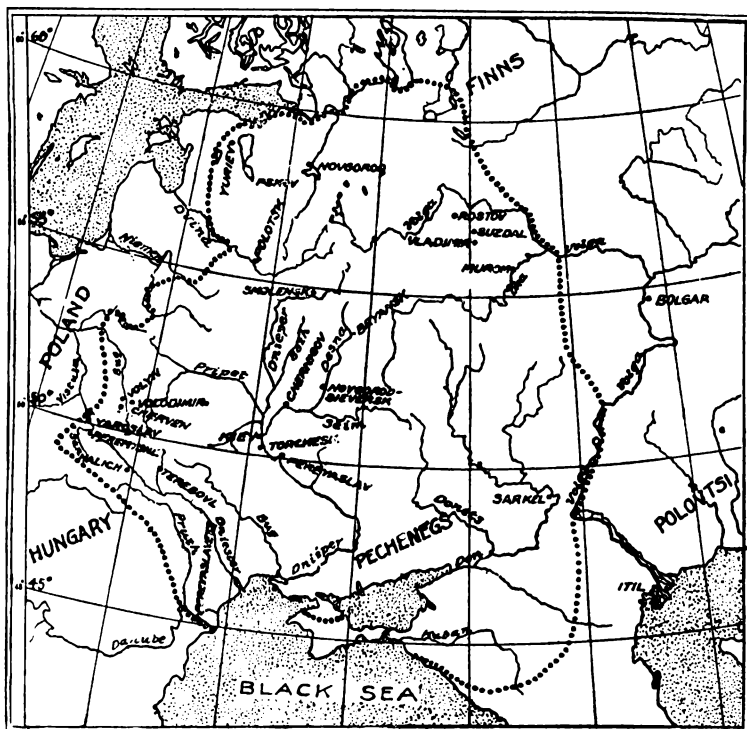
Today 97 per cent of Ukrainian territory is under the Soviet Union and the remainder under Hungarian and German occupation. As before the present war Ukraine is ruthlessly exploited by its conquerors. Prior to the war the Ukrainians under Rumanian corruption, neglect and heavy taxation had been reduced to a condition of decay. The Polish Government had destroyed the forest in the Carpathian Mountains, thereby causing annual Spring inundations of mountain streams which eroded the soil from the mountain slopes, reducing the Ukrainian mountain population to penury and starvation. The post-war redistribution of landed estates in purely Ukrainian territory under Poland had been used mainly for the purpose of colonization by Poles to the disadvantage of the native Ukrainian population. A Ukrainian was not permitted to buy any land soil by the Polish landlord. This Polonization of the Ukrainians over a twenty-year period so aggravated Ukrainian-Polish relations that it indirectly aided the Nazi conquest of the Polish Republic in September, 1939.

The Soviets have reduced the Ukrainian population in the Soviet Union to a new type of serfdom. Everything has been taken away from the once prosperous kulaks. The freeholders were forced into "collectives" where they are huddled together and treated not unlike cattle. Each year the Moscow authorities impose a specified number of kilograms of grain, potatoes, vegetables and dairy products for each hectare of land which must be turned over to the State notwithstanding the success or failure of the crop. The Moscow Government attributes a crop failure to no natural cause but to counter-revolutionaries, nationalism and fascism. Hence the perennial famines that have threatened Ukraine since the advent of Bolshevism.

How did a nation of more than 40,000,000 people living upon a land richly endowed by nature become one of the most destitute in Europe today? How did a nation which so heartily cherished freedom become so shamefully enslaved? No doubt there are psychological causes peculiar to the Ukrainian people which helped them to bring this wretched plight upon themselves. These causes shall appear in the course of their history. At the outset, however, we shall advance the thesis that the principal factors causing the downfall of the Ukrainian people were geographic.

GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS IN THE DECLINE OF UKRAINE

The geography of a country is the stage upon which the drama of the history of a people unfolds. If the stage be in a well-sheltered building, the play may be concluded happily there and a new one produced. But if the stage be under the open sky and beside a beaten highway where outlaws pass looking for plunder, it would be difficult to complete the play. The stage for the drama of the history of the Ukrainian people was located under the open sky and by the beaten highway from Asia to Europe upon which the wild hordes of nomads poured into Ukraine through the



(History of the Ukraine)

THE KIEV STATE IN THE 10th and 11th CENTURIES

centuries, destroying the people and their achievements. Their play of free development was too frequently interrupted, and their song of freedom was never given a chance to be completed.

The great Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa liked to quote his favorite aphorism taken from popular tradition about the ill-fated lapwing which hatched her fledgelings by the beaten road. How realistically the picture represents

the history of the Ukrainian people who made their home by the highway of the Asiatic nomads! The steppes proved a dangerous gift for them. They promised much but demanded strenuous effort on the part of those who chose them for their home. The black fertile soil required two occupations: farming and soldiering. The sword had to accompany the plough. The lapwing which came from a region sheltered by forests and lakes and loosely built her nest by the busy highway in order to hatch her fledgelings in the warm south had to undergo a turbulent trial to insure her existence.

The beaten highway was the wide plains in Southern Ukraine, which are but a continuation of the Asiatic steppes stretching out from Central Asia to the Black Sea Basin down through the Lower Danube River to the Balkans. Due to the extreme continental climate in Central Asia the nomads inhabiting that territory could subsist only on the flesh and milk of animals they raised on the scanty vegetation of the steppes. In time of drought fierce wars would break out among the various nomad tribes for plunder to save themselves from starvation. These inter-tribal wars would finally result in the subjugation of the other tribes under one powerful leader, and then led by him they would search for grassland. The luxuriant glass plains and milder climate of the Black Sea Basin always attracted them. Consequently horde after horde, like packs of Siberian wolves, was ever pressing westward, bringing panic, havoc and destruction to the early Ukrainian settlers who peacefully and steadily were penetrating the steppes with their agricultural civilization.

There in the so-called "neutral zone" the ox, the plough and the higher degree of culture of the Ukrainian farmer would finally clash with the horse, the sword and the barbarism of the nomad. The adversaries were unequally matched. The one, timid, peaceful, humane and a home-lover; the other hold, warlike, cruel and a wanderer. The one, mundane, attached to his soil and skillful with his plough; the other fierce, vigorous attached to a leader and skillful in the art of war. The nomad proved stronger than the tiller of the soil. "The onsets of the Asiatic nomads upon Ukraine and other European countries," says N. Shapoval, "are truly called 'barbarian.' During their tidal onslaught upon various lands the hordes slaughtered the peaceful population, their hostages and their war captives with untold cruelty and ferocity. They sacked, burned and devastated all the settlements in their path. They plundered and laid waste the land mercilessly; they robbed it of its wealth and destroyed its art and culture. They enslaved the peaceful populace and compelled it to fight against kinsmen and brothers. In a word the nomads were the symbol of the greatest cruelty and the most complete destruction."

The territory in which the Ukrainians lived was so extensive that it could not be adequately controlled because of the sparseness of the population. There are no statistics available of those early times, but authorities have calculated on the basis of the size and number of tribes that the early Kiev State was inhabited by about half a million people, according to O. Terletzky. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the population of Ukraine did not exceed 2,000,000. Considering the vastness of the territory and this sparseness of population, the great tracts of forests separating the tiny communities and the primitive methods of communication over bad roads and swollen rivers, it is not difficult to see how hard it was to unite and organize those dispersed elements. Without such organization there could be no strength which could have protected the country against the nomads. The land must have been a conglomeration of unwieldy tribes and masses of people. This lack of unity and control might account for the appanage system of government peculiar to the early Ukrainian form of political organization.

Ukraine is situated in the easternmost part of Europe adjoining Asia. During the time of the Golden Ages of the Arabic and Byzantine civilization (800-1100) Ukraine's proximity to these countries proved advantageous, for it was able to draw freely upon their spiritual forces and material resources. It assimilated some elements of these cultures into its native forms and produced a civilization of its own. But the time came when the Arabic civilization fell into decay; the Byzantine culture began to decline, and Italy became the center of European enlightenment. In the thirteenth century Eastern Ukraine fell under the yoke of the Tartars. Communication with the Greeks was severed; Italy was far away, and Ukraine became isolated and remained on the outskirts of European civilization. In addition it became more estranged from Catholic Europe because of its Greek Orthodox faith. Eastern Ukraine became weakened and was dismembered by the Tartars; Western Ukraine, although independent, could not withstand its enemies, the Magyars and the Poles, who had the support of such powerful figures as the Medieval Popes.

To summarize: the steppes, the nomads, the lack of natural boundaries, the extent of the territory with its sparseness of population, the lack of communication with the Black Sea, the attraction that the bountiful agricultural resources held out for the barbarians and the remoteness from the center of enlightenment were important factors in the decline of Ukraine. But they alone were not decisive. The greatest evil for the unfortunate nation came from the character of its neighbors, who became its conquerors.

(Next issue: The Oppressors of Ukraine).

The Columbia Lectures

Sponsored by Columbia University's Department of East European Languages and the Ukrainian National Association, a novel and highly interesting experiment, a series of lectures on Ukrainian topics, was begun at the University on Feb. 14 with Professor George Vernadsky of Yale University as the first speaker. The introductory remarks of Professor Clarence A. Manning, acting head of the department, and an abstract of Professor Vernadsky's lecture follow:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By PROFESSOR CLARENCE A. MANNING

The problem of Ukraine is one of the most thorny and disputed problems in the Europe of today. History with its many changes of names has completely obscured the development of events and politicians and scholars, some honestly and others for personal or national advantage, have sought to profit by the confusion.

Propaganda and ignorance have done their part, also Ruthenians, Russians, Ukrainians, Galicians — all simple and definite words — have been equated and separated until we can well pardon the careless observer for washing his hands of the whole matter.

But today there is a major conflict in the world and all the basic concepts of a well-ordered universe are being questioned. It is the task of a university to serve as a guide to intelligent thinking on important problems and therefore the Department of East European Languages, with the co-operation of the Ukrainian National Association, is only too glad to arrange this series of lectures on the development of Ukrainian literature and culture. To the friends of Ukraine these will be welcome; to others we can only point to many episodes in American history. It is always dangerous to prophesy what might have been, but the development of the United States of America out of thirteen separated and struggling colonies into an integrated and powerful state may offer food for thought. It seemed a mad idea at one time but it has proved more than practical. We are, then, justified in discussing on a university platform a problem that involves the culture of some forty million people who have been forgotten or disregarded and we are only too glad to hear of their achievements.

We are very fortunate in having as our first speaker Professor George Vernadsky of Yale who is well-known to all of you for his keen studies on the history of this area for many years and he will open the series with a talk on Kievan and Kozak history.

THE KIEVAN AND KOZAK PERIOD

By PROFESSOR GEORGE VERNADSKY¹

It was in the throes of the Revolution that modern Ukraine was born (1648). It was the same Revolution which made it possible for its contemporaries to pick up the traditions of statehood of the Kievan period broken as they were by the Mongol invasion and subsequent incorporation of Ukrainian lands into Poland. Thus, the Kozak

(Cossack) period, with its dramatic events, secured the continuity of Ukrainian history.



V. Massiutin

BOHDAN KHMELNITSKY

who founded the Ukrainian Cossack
Republic in 1648.

led by the princes of **Rus**, and so the name gradually spread over the whole country. The Greek Orthodox Church and the church Slavonic language, as the language of the learned,

The Kievan period may be considered in its turn but one of the stages of the ancient **Rus** history. Aboriginal Slavic tribes lived in the territory of modern Ukraine from time immemorial. In the 6th century A. D. the Antae were the strongest of these tribes. Their ruling clans were of Iranian stock. One of these clans was known as **Rohs-As** (the light Antae) and it is probably from their name **Rus** was derived. In any case the name **Rus** originated in the South long before the coming of the Varangian princes and was subsequently assumed by the latter. The Kievan State was a federation of **Rus** and other East Slavic tribes

¹ Professor Vernadsky is a naturalized American who was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, on Aug. 20, 1887, of Ukrainian ancestry and was educated at the Fifth Moscow Classical Gymnasium and the University of Moscow. He came to the United States in 1927 and began teaching at Yale. He is the author of "Lenin, Red Dictator," "The Russian Revolution: 1917-1931" and "Political and Diplomatic History of Russia" and has completed a biography of Khmelnytsky. At the Columbia lecture he made several other interesting comments, to wit: "In my opinion the Rus are

were the unifying factors in Kievan civilization. By the 12th century, out of so many tribal dialects there started the process of formation of national languages, the Ukrainian and the Great Russian.

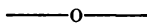
While even in the 12th century the **Rus** were cut off from the Black and the Azov Sea by nomadic tribes of Turkish stock, it was the Mongol invasion (1240) which administered the final blow in that respect. By the end of the 16th century the Ukrainian steppes were controlled by the Crimean Tatars while the northern part of Ukraine was by that time incorporated into Poland. Due to the lack of protection on the part of Poland, the population of border provinces had to depend chiefly upon themselves, and that is how the Kozak Host came into being. It was the same Kozaks who before long became the protagonists of the Ukrainian nation in its struggle for freedom.

The Ukrainian Revolution of 1648 was an historical event of no less significance than the Thirty-Year-War or the English Revolution of 1640-49. Its main objectives were: (1) religious freedom; (2) social equality, and (3) political rights. After his first successes over the Poles, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky was ready to compromise with the King, provided the latter would satisfy his basic demands. The Poles, however, were not ready to grant any far-reaching autonomy for Ukraine, and the landlords especially were not ready to give up their privileges. Thus, the struggle continued, and in 1651 Bohdan, because of the defection of his allies, the Crimean Tatars, was defeated by the Poles. He then was compelled to turn to the Tsar of Moscow for protection (1654). Complete autonomy of Ukraine was guaranteed, and, according to the provisions of the treaty, Bohdan even reserved for himself the right of maintaining diplomatic relations with foreign powers.

Bohdan was taken by death in the midst of a war with Poland and before the autonomy of Ukraine had sufficient time to strike root (1657). His life work was thus not completed. Even so, his achievements were of tremendous importance, and the foundation of his policies was sound. It was the mistake of his successors and the lack of cooperation between various factions which eventually undermined the

the ancestors of both Ukrainians and Russians." "The original Ukrainian Cossack State was a democracy. But when the movement spread to all parts of Ukraine, other social elements came into evidence — the old gentry and the starshina (the officers), among whom an aristocratic movement began, which later opposed a union with the Don Cossacks because they were considered too democratic. The Ukrainians feared the spread of their [the Don Cossacks] ideas to Ukraine. Yet had Ukraine and the Don Cossacks united, the whole course of Ukrainian and Russian history would have been different."

unity of the Ukrainian nation and thus contributed greatly to the subsequent extinction of Ukrainian liberties.



THE MODERN PERIOD

Stephen Shumeyko, editor of *The Ukrainian Weekly*, lectured on Feb. 21 on the Modern Period in Ukrainian History. At the start he criticized the manner the press has been treating the Ukrainian question, "usually in relation to Hitler's dream of expansion towards the east." As a result, he said, the average American regards Ukraine "as something the Kremlin has and the Wilhelmstrasse wants." In reality, however, the Ukrainians "are as opposed and hostile to Hitler as they are to Stalin, for both stand for foreign rule of terrorism and oppression."

Tracing the development of Ukrainian history from the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654, he explained the significance of the Treaty of Andrusiv, which partitioned Ukraine between Russia and Poland in 1672, Mazepa's courageous but ill-planned rebellion against Peter I and the beginning of Russia's denationalization of Ukraine. He pointed out the part played by such writers as Kotliarevsky, Kostomarov, Shevchenko, Drahomanov, Ukrainka and Franko.

Shumeyko said the Ukrainian Republic of 1918 fell because of lack of a powerful army and lack of unity "due to socialistic theories" prevalent among the Central Rada members. The union of Western and Eastern Ukraine on Jan. 22, 1919, was the "supreme gesture," he said, and was followed by war on three fronts against Poles, Bolsheviks and Royalist Russians, ending in the collapse of the Republic. "No nation was ever made the object of so many attacks," he said.

At the Versailles Peace Conference, he continued, quoting Gibbons, an independent Ukraine did not "seem to fit into the interests of the victors." As a result Eastern Ukraine remained under Soviet Russia, Bukovina and Bessarabia were handed to Rumania, Carpatho-Ukraine was taken by the Czechs and Western Ukraine was occupied by Poland. He listed a series of charges against each of the occupant governments, especially the Moscow regime, which instituted mass terror, famine and military oppression in Ukraine. But, he added, "the spirit of unrest is on the rise" in Soviet Ukraine. "No amount of terror and oppression can quell the Ukrainian movement toward complete independence." Quoting Tiltman, he said the Ukrainians "face the world undaunted" and will continue their struggle for centuries, if necessary. He concluded: "There can be neither lasting peace nor justice until Ukraine's demand for freedom is granted."

Ukrainian News

UNITED STATES

Relief Drive. The Ukrainian Gold Cross, women's auxiliary of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, is conducting a campaign to raise funds and collect clothing for Ukrainian soldiers of the French Army who are interned in Switzerland.

On Jan. 29 it sent \$200 by cable to Professor E. Nizankivsky at Lausanne, Switzerland, for their relief. Contributions should be sent to the Ukrainian Gold Cross, P. O. Box 13, Station D, New York City.

The new UGC officers are as follows: Mrs. Maria Lechitsky, president; Mrs. Eva Levitsky, vice president; Mrs. M. Demydchuk, recording secretary and editor of the women's page of Ukraine; Mrs. Pauline Riznyk, financial secretary, and Mrs. Anna Hladun, organizer.

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Ukrainian War Relief. The State Department list of all organizations collecting funds for war relief for belligerent countries shows that there is one such registered Ukrainian group, the Ukrainian Relief Committee, of New York, which through December, 1940, had received \$451.26. It sent \$150.46 in cash abroad plus \$200 worth of goods, spent \$175.89 on administration and publicity and has \$124.91 on hand.

In contrast some 80 Polish organizations collected \$2,839,327; Allied committees, \$9,861,689; Germans, \$1,204,150; Jewish, \$4,180,554. Total collected was \$20,491,086.

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Committee Supports Bill. Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, read into the record on Feb. 7 a statement supporting the aid-to-Britain bill from the Ukrainian Congress Committee, signed by Nicholas Muraszko, head of the Ukrainian National Association, and Miroslav Sichinsky, head of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association.

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Bureau Closed. Eugene Skotzko, director of the Ukrainian Bureau in Washington, announced in the February issue of the magazine Ukraine that the Bureau has been closed because of lack of public support. Founded in March, 1939, it published periodical bulletins, informing Washington circles, newspapers and organizations throughout the country of the Ukrainian movement. It consistently defended the Ukrainian movement as democratic, opposed Nazism and its extension to Ukrainian soil and supported the cause of the Allies. Mr. Skotzko expressed the hope that conditions would improve among the disunited Ukrainian immigration so that the Bureau may be reopened.

Businessmen's Association. A Ukrainian Businessmen's Association with 76 members was organized in New York on Feb. 16 with Platon Stasiuk as temporary president; S. Buchatsky, secretary, and M. Kravchuk, treasurer.

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Piznak Married. Michael Piznak, prominent New York attorney, was married on Feb. 18 in Palm Beach, Fla., to Miss Jane Elko, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Elko, of Kenilworth, N. J.

UKRAINIANS IN EUROPE

Nazi School for Ukrainians. Dr. Jose P. Junosza, Polish physics teacher who escaped from Poland last October, told newspapermen in New York on Feb. 10 that he believed the Germans were "courting" the Ukrainians because the Nazis had not abandoned Hitler's plan of conquering Ukraine. A school for Ukrainian officers has been set up at Tarnov (Tarnov), he said.

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Ukrainians Exiled. The Polish Information Center, New York, estimated on Feb. 8 that 500,000 inhabitants of the Polish and Ukrainian territory occupied by Soviet Russia have been exiled to Siberia where many are starving to death. Of the 300,000 peasants taken from their land, 210,000 were said to be Poles and 90,000 Ukrainians. The estimate was based on letters and reports of Polish consulates.

GENERAL NEWS

Friday, Inc., Sued. Friday, Inc., is being sued for \$500,000 by William Randolph Hearst and the International News Service on charges of libel, growing out of the allegations in the company's publication, *Unbelievable*, that INS received money from Nazi Germany. The publication Friday has been sniping at Ukrainians as Nazis for the past year. Its editor, Dan Gillmor, recently sought to persuade Helen Keller not to resign as honorary chairman of the Communist-controlled American (Spanish) Rescue Ship Mission. Friday's promotion manager, Leverett Gleason, is also listed by Secretary Helen R. Bryan (formerly local secretary of the dissolved Communist American League for Peace and Democracy) as active in the Spanish mission. Gillmor has steadfastly followed the Communist Party line in opposing the U. S.-Canadian treaty, opposing conscription and other similar measures. Russia is never attacked in his magazine.

Benjamin Stolberg says in *The Saturday Evening Post* of Feb. 15 that Gillmor, who "was active in various Com-

munist transmission belts," sought to buy The New York Evening Post about three years ago at a time when the Communist Party was trying to get a "respectable liberal daily which would follow the party line." He says of Friday, which was founded in 1940, that "it is a strictly fellow-traveling publication. On its staff in the beginning were Cameron MacKenzie, a known Communist sympathizer, Ruth McKenney, party member and an editor of the New Masses, and Richard O. Boyer, a fellow traveler, who later became a foreign correspondent for the New York daily, PM."

The Pink "Nation"

The Nation has also attacked Ukrainians. Stolberg says of the editor, Freda Kirchwey, that she "herself is neither a Communist nor a fellow traveler. She is merely confused and timid, and she could not buck the Stalinist fashion in the liberal world. On the staff when she bought the magazine (in 1937) was Maxwell S. Stewart, who was also one of the contributing editors of Soviet Russia Today. Miss Kirchwey brought in as managing editor Robert Bendner, a youngster who had formerly been one of the editors of the New Masses; I. F. Stone, formerly an editorial writer on the New York Evening Post and a fellow traveler; and James A. Wechsler, a recent Columbia graduate who had been an active fellow traveler in the American Student Union. The Nation's foreign correspondence was almost exclusively pro-Soviet until the Russo-German pact. Harry Block, its Mexican correspondent, is hand in glove with Toledano, outstanding Mexican labor leader, who is hand in glove with the Soviets. The late Robert Dell, The Nation's Geneva correspondent, was a straight fellow traveler. Louis Fischer, its Moscow correspondent, had been for years a Soviet apologist. The Nation remained a Popular Front organ until the Russo-German pact, which Miss Kirchwey couldn't swallow. Today she is violently pro-Ally."

This Red background of The Nation may explain why it published a falsified story about Ukrainian activities recently and has never said a word about the Ukrainian independence movement, which is not only anti-Nazi but anti-Communist as well.

Finally Stolberg summarizes the story of PM and the number of Communists and fellow travelers who were on its original staff. Last September PM issued a verbal blast against Ukrainians as Nazis. No retraction appeared until after Oct. 18, the date Marshall Field bought complete control of the newspaper and fired a good many of the Reds.

The above should be an object lesson for the editors of a Ukrainian newspaper in the United States and another in Canada, who have been quoting such discredited publications as reflecting sober American public opinion.

Three Poems

Translated from the Ukrainian by
FLORENCE RANDAL LIVESAY



Mr. Livesay

Mrs. Livesay, now living in Clarkson, Ontario, Canada, in a woodland home, is the author of "Songs of Ukraina," (published in 1916), "Shepherd's Purse" (original verse), "Savor of Salt" (a humorous story of the Irish in Canada) and "Marusia," translated from the Ukrainian of Kvitka. She was born in Compton, Quebec, near Sherbrooke, and educated at Compton Ladies College, now King's Hall. She is married to J. Fred B. Livesay, former general manager of the Canadian Press, and has two daughters, one of whom, Dorothy Livesay, is the author of two books of poems. Mrs. Livesay has virtually completed an anthology which will include essays on Ukrainian folklore and literature. For her work in making much of the best of Ukrainian literature available to the English-speaking world, Ukrainians are deeply grateful.

THE FOLK-SONG OF UKRAINE

By IVAN FRANKO

Behold the quiet well that from the grave-hill steep
Amid the wide steppe drips like to a gentle tear —
In it as in a glass the moon's face sometimes gleams,
A silver moment there the dancing sunbeam stays.

There's movement in the depths, stirring of secret veins,
The waters deep within would never wish for rest —
Thousands of peasants drink of this well-water pure.
In thirsty crowd that press Spring's little children come.

The well that so sparkles, all life is, all pureness,
'Tis the soul of the nation, creating, in gloom bound!
With its speech, living, true, to the heart it is singing.

As the source of the well is for us ever hidden,
So this song from its deep spring pours like the tears
Or like the clear flame it enlightens our being. falling,

YOUNG YULLIANKA

Walking was young Yullianka,
In her garden walking, plucking
Flowers in scented garden growing.

She took all Kalina's blossom,
Pressed her cheek against its whiteness.
Then she cried out to her mother:

"Oh, Matinka, mother dearest,
Shall I ever be so lovely
As this dear Kalina flower?

"Marry me to a great noble!
Happy life for me, a blossom.
Then, no sewing and no housework —
I'd be sweet, like this Kalina,
White, with pretty clothes to wear!"

W I N G S

Wings! For wings! O for Eagle's wings!
To my native land I'd soar, I'd fly —
Where huts of kinsfolk lie as in a garland,
And orchards, circled in their hills —
Striya, with her blossomy banks,
Forests, slim young trees
And mountain-tops that reach the stars!

Wings, O wings, let me yonder fly!
To my happy, happy fate!
Where Beskid proudly lifts its summits.
O there, entranced, at Heaven's gate,
In Eden there my heart shall rest.
Bear me, O wings, unto that land,
My world of miracle — Youth's Paradise!

Letter to the Editor

Editor, The Trident:

I have just seen your Trident, Vol. V, No. 1. Your first article was remarkably good — better than most of the things which I have read during the last few months. It is a little too optimistic and a bit too brutal, but very sound and strong.

For fourteen years I was the staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor in Central and Southeast Europe.

R. H. Markham
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"The pen," said Napoleon, "is mightier than the sword."

By informing the world, especially the Allies and influential American circles, of the Ukrainian problem, we may be able to accomplish more in the field of diplomacy than has yet been achieved on the field of battle.

At present The Trident is the only **Independent** American magazine devoted to the Ukrainian liberation movement. It supports that movement because it believes it to be democratic and that it will lead to the establishment of a peaceful democratic Ukrainian Republic, which will help restore peace to East Europe.

However, The Trident is not a propaganda organ. The truth and strength of the Ukrainian movement eliminate the need for Goebellian distortion of the facts. What is happening to Ukraine today is a crime against the laws of society, no less so than the Nazi destruction of the independence of 11 States in the past three years.

Because of the self-interest of all the forces involved, however, the Ukrainians have no one to speak in their behalf. Convinced that their cause is as much the cause of the Allies as that of any other occupied country, The Trident devotes itself to Ukrainian news, history, politics, culture, art, science, music, drama and literature in order to show that Ukraine is a nation with a great history and with tremendous potentialities.

Yet readers are urged to remember that The Trident is an American magazine published by Americans of Ukrainian origin or descent, who put the interest of the United States above any other. That is one reason why they wish to see America support the cause of the Ukrainian people, for it would be an extension of aid to a sister democracy.

So subscribe to The Trident and help us to help our kinsmen!

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