



THE TRIDENT

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ХРИСТОС РОЖДАЄТЬСЯ!

— MERRY CHRISTMAS!

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HOLIDAY GREETINGS!

With this issue The Trident completes its fourth year of publication. During that time it has strived constantly to present the Ukrainian movement truthfully and accurately, to awaken the American public to the fact that a democratic nation of 45,000,000 persons was fighting for its independence against an oppression that antedated Nazism, that stability and peace could be achieved in Europe only after Ukraine obtained its independence. To date some progress has been made in each of these aims. More remains to be done. But meanwhile The Trident extends its most cordial greetings for the Holidays to all its readers, friends and sympathizers and to those many more friends of the Ukrainian movement for independence. On this Christmas of 1940 the Americans of Ukrainian descent stand behind their Government for all aid to Fighting Democracy, whether it be in London, Kiev or Lviv, and express the most fervent hope that by next Christmas that Democracy will have triumphed over all its enemies of whatever color.

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"Circulus Vitosus"

(An Editorial)

The great French writer, Jules Romains, in his latest book, **Seven Mysteries of Europe**, describes the so-called pathetic intellectual elite of Europe prior to the outbreak of the present war and asserts that the stupidity and shortsightedness of certain French leaders were chiefly responsible for the present tragedy of France.

Eastern Europe, or, to be more exact, the Slavonic peoples are far from being devoid of these faults. For centuries the Slavs fought among themselves; for centuries Ukrainians resisted Russian and Polish imperialism; for centuries Russians tried to suppress the Poles. Today the three-cornered struggle seems to be continuing while the menace of militant Germanism hovers over the whole of Slavdom.

H. G. Wells and the Poles

The shortsightedness of Polish statesmen is fabulous. Not without cause the Polish ecclesiastic of the XVIth century, Peter Skarga, wrote: "**Polonia confusione regnatur.**" (Poland is ruled by chaos.) Some Polish historians even attribute the three partitions of Poland (1775-1793) by Russia, Prussia and Austria to the quarrels, party struggles and petty ambitions of the Polish nobility. The present tragedy of the Polish people may be considered partly the result of the national

chauvinism of Polish statesmen toward non-Polish peoples, namely, Ukrainians, Jews, White Russians and Lithuanians. Such writers as Raymond Leslie Buell (Poland: Key to Europe), Alexander Powell (Thunder over Europe) and others support this view.

It is true that some Poles have finally recognized their mistakes in regard to the Ukrainians, but they are in the minority. The majority of the Polish leaders, friends of former Marshal Smigly-Rydz and Colonel Josef Beck, have yet to change their imperialistic attitude toward the Ukrainians.

This may be deduced from the letter written by the former Socialist member of the Polish Sejm, Adam Pragier, to H. G. Wells. The venerable British author had become a protagonist of the British-Russian **modus vivendi**, holding that Great Britain, Russia and the United States could defeat the Axis dictatorships with ease. In an article in the September 15th issue of The Sunday Dispatch, London, he justified, in part, the Soviet invasion of Western Ukraine, which had been a part of the Polish State up to Sept. 17, 1939. Wells stated frankly that the Soviet Union had a "plausible claim" to all territory reaching to the Curzon line. (In 1920, Lord Curzon tried to mediate the Polish-Bolshevik War, proposing that the River Bug serve as the frontier between the two states. This line would have divided Western Ukraine into two sections.)

We need not discuss this basically wrong philosophy of Mr. Wells, for Soviet Russia has never been nor likely ever to be a constructive element in the family of free nations. We merely desire to present the Ukrainian point of view.

Mr. Wells, as a great champion of humanity, must have certainly heard of the sufferings of the Ukrainians, who have never recognized any "Curzon line," whether it meant Bolshevik, Polish, German or Hungarian occupation. Freedom is as dear to the Ukrainians as it is to the British people, whose struggle against the Nazis are regarded by the Ukrainians as part of their own fight against dictatorship and foreign oppression. Therefore why does Mr. Wells seem to want to deny this freedom so cherished by his own people to the Ukrainians?

Arguments of the Polish Socialist Leader

In his public letter to Mr. Wells, published in the pro-Polish weekly, Free Europe, on Oct. 18, 1940, in London, Mr. Pragier disputes the so-called "plausible claim" of the Soviet Union to the territory in question. It should be noted that he belonged to the leftist (Socialist) opposition in the Polish Sejm and was arrested and severely beaten together with the Ukrainian Members of Parliament by Pilsudski's gendarmes during the notorious "trial" in Brest in 1930.

So it would seem that being a liberal Mr. Pragier would never resort to the arguments of ultra-Polish nationalists in dealing with the Ukrainian problem. He recognizes that the

"CIRCULUS VITIOSUS"

Ukrainians form a majority in Western Ukraine, a fact denied for years by the Polish Government, when he writes:¹

It is a fact that in some of the areas in question the non-Polish population, namely Ukrainians, White Russians, and in some small districts, Lithuanians, are in the majority. But, before it can be asserted that the Russian claim to these territories is morally justified, it would have to be proved first that these populations do not wish to live within the boundaries of the Polish State and that of all the forms of government open to them they would choose incorporation with the Soviet Union.

As matters stand, we know for certain that these national groups do not show such predilection for the Soviet Union. Although there are among the Ukrainians certain separatist tendencies with regard to Poland, yet these have never taken the form of a movement directed toward incorporation with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is the aim of the Ukrainians to build an independent State of their own.

But he also states further on that the capital of Western Ukraine, Lviv, (Lwow in Polish) "was always a Polish city" and "a center of Polish culture." Here he not only contradicts himself but also falsifies history, for Lviv is an ancient capital of the Ukrainian princes, founded by the Ukrainian King Danylo in 1253 and christened in honor of his son Lev. Its name means "the city of Lev" or in Latin, "Leopolis."

That the Poles have tried to polonize not only Lviv but the entire country as well does not necessarily mean that the area is Polish. It is the same as saying that Warsaw and Prague are "German." Mr. Pragier knows well how the Polish Government sought to colonize the non-Polish areas and polonize all non-Polish peoples, such as Ukrainians, Jews and White Russians. He knows that Polish statesmen like Grabski, Głombinski and others preached that "in twenty-five years there will not be a single Ukrainian left because they will all have become Poles."

In one particular, we agree with Mr. Wells; namely, when he writes that some Poles are deprived of common sense and are "romantic but essentially Fascist in spirit."

It is time for the Polish patriots to come out of this imperialistic labyrinth. Their nationalist prejudice and intolerance in regard to the Ukrainians should end. Ukraine and Poland are in similar positions. Instead of maintaining this mutually hostile attitude, they should cooperate with the British to destroy common enemy. Certainly the Ukrainians have no pretensions to Polish territory. Therefore it is up to the Poles to break this **circulus vitiosus** by offering a sincere and definite program of cooperation for the liberation of the two nations.

V. S. Dushnyck.

¹ Free Europe, Oct. 18, 1940, p. 228.

Ukrainian Political Thought During the Past Hundred Years

By YAROSLAV ORSHAN

I. The Heritage of Khmelnytsky and Mazeppa.

The history of Ukrainian political thought during the past century is the story of the reorientation of a nation which had lost its sovereignty after a long period of freedom. The era of the Cossack State in Ukraine represents a step in Ukrainian history connecting the ancient past with the present. The historians of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries emphasize that Cossack-Ukraine was a natural sequel to the Ukrainian Feudal State. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisy, gave Hetman Khmelnytsky the title of Prince of Rus, after the Ukrainian sovereigns of the Kiev era.

The defeat of Hetman Mazeppa and the Swedish King Charles XII by the Russian Tsar Peter I at the Battle of Poltava in 1709 sealed the fate of Ukraine, and it ceased to be an independent State. Russia soon began to liquidate the remnants of Ukrainian autonomy and to suppress the Ukrainian ideal itself. Russian writers endeavored to distort Ukrainian history in favor of their own country. For example, they incorporated the history of the Kiev period into their own. They also represented the so-called Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654 between Russia and Ukraine, which was one of the foreign treaties signed by Hetman Khmelnytsky, as the result of a basic urge of Ukraine to "return" to its former "close" association with Muscovy. Imperial Russia "naturally" felt that it could not tolerate an independent Ukraine and was determined therefore to annihilate it.

The politico-national ideal which the Cossack-Ukrainians left behind was very much alive. Among the political aims of Khmelnytsky as well as those of Mazeppa and the later Hetmans, the ideal of an independent Ukraine was supreme. Likewise the ideal of liberating all of Ukraine on both shores of the Dnieper "to the banks of the Vistula," as Khmelnytsky described the western boundary, and the restoration of the Cossack State remained an inherited ideal for the people of Ukraine. In 1767 when Catherine II called the deputies from "all the Russias" for a general conference, the Ukrainian deputies led by Hryhory Poletyka demanded the restoration of Ukrainian autonomy. Later the group was dissolved and the deputies were punished for their "impudent" claims by banishment, imprisonment and even execution.

Hryhory Poletyka is the author of a brilliant history of Ukraine, which was handed down hand to hand in rare manuscripts, among the Ukrainian intelligentsia from the end of

the 18th century on, and had great influence on the greatest of the Ukrainians in the nineteenth century, Taras Shevchenko. It deals with the surrender of the Feudal and Cossack States and is a terrible indictment against Moscow. Poletyka wrote: "If every wrong is righted and atoned for on earth, who shall avenge the blood of the Ukrainian people, shed in their fight for liberty on their own soil?" Only in recent years when his speeches and writings were made public has his political "battle program" been clearly expounded. He was an opponent of slavery and wanted to make the defense of self-government in a righteous social order the life work of the Ukrainian nobles. He was firmly convinced that Ukraine could free itself only by arms. "Every people," he says in his history, "must have its own hosts and must not entrust its destiny and security to others, but rather only to its own soldiers."

In 1791 the circles in which Poletyka was active sent Count Vasyl Kapnist on a secret mission to the Prussian Minister Herzberg to seek aid against the Russian "tyranny." The Ukrainians asked through Kapnist whether they could depend on help from Prussia if they revolted against Moscow. The mission failed, however, because Prussia wanted no war with Russia. But this fact tends to prove that the Ukrainian movement for independence was strong at this time under the leadership of the Ukrainian nobility, the former officers' corps of Cossacks.

To counter-act this movement, the Russian regime began a policy of removing all who actively and tenaciously defended the "rights and liberties" of the Ukrainian people and of bribing the rest by employing them in the service of the Empire. The defenders of Ukrainian autonomy died in exile, in prisons, in monasteries or had to flee into foreign lands. All the "loyal" elements, however, received Russian titles of "nobility" and Ukrainian peasants as serfs.

II. The Influx of "New Ideals."

During this period new ideas seeped into Russia from the West, culminating in the outbreak against Tsarism under the Dekabrist. But these ideas also dulled the spears of Ukrainian political thought and brought an abundance of tragic events as a result. At the moment when the spiritual values of the Ukrainian people were shriveling, when an uninterrupted attack was waged against them by the ruling nation, they were inoculated with the toxin of "brotherhood, humanitarianism and justice." At a time when the Ukrainian national ideal had reached a high level, the Ukrainian political mind was stricken with a sickness which was to oppress it for generations.

At the time of the reign of Tsar Alexander I, a network of secret organizations crisscrossed all Russia aiming at the abolition of serfdom and a change of the political order. In

them were many Ukrainians. But the ideologies of these organizations contained little understanding of the Ukrainian problem. The Dekabrist Pestel, which functioned in Ukraine, proposed a Russian Constitution for a centralized Republic in which all the peoples of the Empire would become "one Russian nation." Another Dekabrist organization aimed at a progressive Slav Republic, in which again Ukraine would have no recognizable independence. Since Ukrainians belonged to these organizations, it indicated that Republican and constitutional theories had won the upper hand over the ideal of Ukrainian emancipation.

The rebirth of Ukrainian literature, which began about the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, may be directly traced to the influx of ideas from Western Europe. (For example, the historical philosopher and ethnographer Herder had great influence on Ukrainian thought). This rebirth brought little progress in the development of the Ukrainian political mind and its representatives presented no political movement. In the works of the Ukrainian authors, historians, philologists and ethnologists of the time, we find love of Ukrainian nature, customs and usages, legends and songs. They defend the independence of the Ukrainian language and right of Ukrainian literature to an independent development. We even find a romantic desire for the historical past of Ukraine. However, this desire is purely passive and does not obligate the authors in their political life. They are the spiritual fathers of the non-political Ukraine — the "Ukrainophilisms" and "ethnographisms" of which we shall speak later.

The separatist ideal was still alive, but it was being heartlessly suppressed by the mailed fist of Moscow. It is shown by the "Lukashevych Circle." The Russian historian Semevsky reports in his work on the Dekabrists the testimony of witnesses who were involved in a Dekabrist case. One testified that the group sought to further the independence of Ukraine. Another said they worked for the establishment of a Ukrainian State with the aid of Poland. But the inquiry disclosed no concrete evidence against Lukashevych and he received no punishment but was placed under police surveillance.

From this period we have sundry letters which bear unambiguous witness to the vitality of the ideal of Ukrainian independence among the nobility. The uncompromising refusal to accept Muscovite overlordship sprang from the national spirit which still lived in the Ukrainian breast. The Tsarist Governor General of the latter half of the eighteenth century, Count Rumiantzev, complained that the Ukrainian intelligentsia, "ignoring every study and the knowledge of alien lands, remain Cossack-ish and preserve the love of their own nation and their own sweet homeland — as they call it,"

and that "this little band of people say nothing of themselves save as though they were the first on the world and as though there were never any mightier, more talented or wiser people than they, and that everything that belongs to them is the most beautiful."

Hatred of Russia was universal and strong. Here is some testimony of the Russians of the period: "Ukraine is not blessed by good fortune despite nature's generosity toward her. The political sun does not warm her as does the solar orb. She is exhausted, plagued by sundry maladies and painfully feels the loss of her centuries-old liberty. The dissatisfaction is dull but practically universal."¹

Another Russian traveler writes: "Unfortunately I must conclude my description of the morals of the Ukrainians with unsympathetic lines: I must mention their hatred of the Greater Russians... One often hears them say: 'A good man, but a Russian!' However, this is not all: They transmit this feeling even to their children and frighten them with the Russians, at the mention of whose name the child will cease to cry."²

The Russian General Michailovsky-Danilevsky writes in his memoirs on Ukraine (1823): "I met no man in Ukraine who felt any friendship for Russia. The spirit of opposition ruled in all." If this "spirit of opposition" did not always take the form of a movement for a national state, then it had its causes, namely, the above-mentioned "advantageous" ideals which guided it into the wrong paths.

III. The Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood.

The political picture in Ukraine at the beginning of the nineteenth century was characterized by the following: 1) A part of the leading strata went over to the side of official Russian nationalism under pressure from Moscow. 2) The rest, the Ukrainian Dekabrists, became enthusiastic about universal-humanitarian and universal-political "progress" and became the "spiritual" fathers of the later Liberal-Socialist "all-Russians" in Ukraine, including the Soviet Ukrainians. 3) The pioneers of Ukrainian science and literature earned many laurels in their respective fields, but remained apart from the political picture. 4) The independence stream of politically conscious Ukraine — which was menaced on one side by the Tsarist regime and on the other by the newer and more dangerous ideas — received an enormous impulse, thanks to Taras Shevchenko. However, this impulse did not take concrete political form until the close of the nineteenth century.

The fourth decade of the nineteenth century stands out in the Ukrainian political mind because of the "Cyril-Method-

¹ A Journey to Little Russia, by Gildenstedt, member of the Russian Academy, and Prince Dolgorukin, 1817.

² Levschin, A. Letters from Little Russia, 1816.

ius Brotherhood." But though this Brotherhood presented the first distinct political program, whose ideals of liberty and equality could have been a fruitful weapon against Tsarism, it represents a retrocession in comparison with the ideals of Poletyka, Kapnist or Lukashevych. The Brotherhood clung too tenaciously to the belief in universal brotherhood and progress and pushed reality into the background. In place of the ideal of an independent country it created the ideal of a federation of Slavonic peoples.

The founder of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood was the well-known historian, Mykola Kostomarov. As a professor in Kiev University, he founded a secret society of older and younger Ukrainians, which soon had more than a hundred members. He proclaimed the messianistic ideal of the Ukrainian people: "Ukraine shall arise from the grave and call to her Slavic brothers: Destroy the monarchy and all privileges of station in all the Slavic lands, and Ukraine will become an independent Republic in a Slavic federation. Then will all people point at the Ukrainian Republic on the map and say: 'This is the stone that the mason had pushed aside, but now it is the corner stone of the whole building.'"

The program of the Slavic federation was founded by Bilozersky, one of the Brotherhood's ideologists, who believed that Ukraine could not attain its independence alone. In one message from the Brotherhood "to the brotherly Russians and Poles," we read: "Russian and Polish brothers: Ukraine, your unfortunate sister whom you have crucified and tortured to death, turns to you. She will forgive you this injustice and will pardon you for everything and even be willing to spill out her own blood for your liberation. Read this brotherly message, consider and ponder the matter of your liberty, awake... be ashamed of your depravity... Permeate your souls with the inborn Slavic love for mankind..." etc., etc.

It is clear that such tactical measures could not bring the Brotherhood much success. It was soon discovered by the Tsarist police and the members were imprisoned and exiled. Alarmed by the "Spring of Nations" which was spreading throughout Europe, Nicholas I decided to begin gruesome repressions against everything Ukrainian. This period lasted until the Crimean War (1854-55) after which some reforms brought at last the minimum requirements for Ukrainian life.

VI. The Influence of Taras Shevchenko.

The Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood was also close to Taras Shevchenko, the giant of the Ukrainian national ideal who reached his conclusions long before and apart from the Brotherhood and went further in them. Shevchenko, the greatest poet in Ukrainian literature, takes his place as an outstanding revolutionary in the history of Ukrainian political thought. He was one of those great minds whose omniscience was far be-

yond their time and only later generations recognized their genius. He clung tenaciously to the idea of a return of the Ukrainian Cossack State and fought the idea of the rebirth of his nation in a federation of Slavonic states or unity with Russian democracy for the sake of "progress." He longed for the old days, but not in the manner of contemporary writers who mourned for the shards of the past but did nothing to make their dreams come true.

Shevchenko presents a clear ideal of political independence for Ukraine. This ideal permeates his entire work and manifests his attitude toward Russia, which he hated so profoundly as perhaps no other man of his time. His poetry is a mighty battle of ideals with the Muscophilism in Ukraine. He led the struggle for social liberation of the Ukrainian masses, and he fought for his ideal: "Ukraine without slaves nor masters." A lover of democracy, he was at the same time great enough to forgive historic personages their lack of democracy so long as they were good Ukrainian patriots. On the other hand he condemned every democrat of his time who bound himself to Russia.

Shevchenko asks:

"When will we have a Washington
With a new and just law?"

And answers:

"We shall have him absolutely sooner or later."

Firmly believing in this "absoluteness," he calls upon his fellow men to "sharpen your axes," to arise and shatter their fetters, to nourish liberty with the blood of their enemies and to build a new, a great and a free nation. It is obvious that these mighty battle cries should lead to armed resistance and to the development of a Ukrainian State based on national sovereignty and social justice, but not for several more generations.

When one considers the circumstances in which Shevchenko lived, one must wonder at his political conception of the world. His contemplation of a nation as "all the living, the dead and the still unborn"; his challenge to the people with his heroic words: "For the souls of the sympathetic and the loving, the castles in the air are more beautiful and lasting than the material palaces of the egotists"; his apotheosis of the struggle: "Fight and you will conquer!"; of the instinct of sovereignty: "Be able to rule!" — all this was written nearly a hundred years ago. These words show why he is not only a tradition in modern Ukrainian nationalism but also the actual spiritual leader of it.

Naturally Shevchenko had to pay for his courage. He was condemned to exile for the rest of his life by the Tsarist regime. After ten years he returned, still defiant and unbroken in spirit. He continued his work, his revolutionary voice echo-

ing as never before throughout Ukraine, until his death in 1861. "With clenched fists he went to his death," they wrote of him. From then on Shevchenko's name was emblazoned on the Ukrainian banner of independence for all the world to see. But the true Shevchenko, the spiritual leader of the nation, the prophet of an independent Ukraine and the uncompromising enemy of Russia unfortunately remained the object, for the most part, of platonic glorification by his contemporaries and by succeeding generations. Not until the close of the nineteenth century did Ukraine reach the point where it was able to act along the lines laid down by him.

(Next issue: Drahomanov, the "gente Ukrainus, natione Russus.")

UKRAINIANS WIN ELECTIONS

Three lawyers of Ukrainian descent were successful in state elections on Nov. 5. Stephen Jarema, New York City Democrat, was re-elected to the New York State Assembly; Marcel Wagner, Jersey City, N. J., Democrat, was elected to the New Jersey State Assembly, and John S. Gonas, of South Bend, Ind., was elected State Senator.

TWO UKRAINIAN-CANADIANS KILLED

William Todosh, 21, and Tony Leskiw, 20, Ukrainian-Canadian sailors of Saskatoon, Sask., died at sea, according to the Saskatoon Star Phoenix of Oct. 28. Todosh was drowned when his ship, the destroyer Margaree, collided with a freighter in mid-Atlantic and sank. Leskiw, attached to an anti-aircraft unit on board an armed auxiliary cruiser, was reported killed in action.

HUBITSKY KILLED IN LONDON

Bohdan M. Hubitsky, 25-year-old Ukrainian violinist from Winnipeg, Man., was killed during a German air raid on London on Oct. 15. He had won a scholarship at the Royal Academy of Music and appeared this year on British Broadcasting Company programs. His wife, a Scottish composer, survives him.

Ukrainian Song

By MICHAEL O. HAYVORONSKY

To understand the music of a people one must know something about their history. To understand the Ukrainian's love for his native folk song, one must know that the Ukrainians are primarily an agricultural people to whom the possession of their rich, black soil is the goal of their life, and their song is but an expression of their love for that soil. To appreciate the full meaning of some of the Ukrainian songs, one must know the history of the times when that soil was taken away from them by their aggressive neighbors.

Situated north of the Black Sea and east of the Carpathian Mountains for two thousand years and longer, and pushing southward and eastward and over the Pontian steppes as American pioneers moved over the Western prairies, the Ukrainian ploughman faced problems and dangers which spurred his initiative and love of private ownership. The acquisition of new land helped him to develop a more optimistic outlook on life, which he embodied in his song.

H. Hessell Tiltman writes in his book **Peasant Europe**, in the chapter "The Nation that Nobody Knows": The Ukrainians — and this was the real cause of their misfortunes — were neither warlike nor aggressive; they were and are one of the most cultured and democratic peasant races in Europe, desiring only to be allowed to live on their own territories undisturbed."

The Frenchman, Raymond Charpentier, says in a work on the Ukrainian folk song: "While Russian song depicts resignation, Ukrainian art, to the contrary, always remains healthy and full of sparks of happiness."

With his song the Ukrainian survived centuries of oppression by his western and northern neighbors. In fact there are few instances, if any, of the song of a people playing such an important part in a nation's history. We may deduct the full meaning of the native song to the Ukrainian from the words of the Czech music critic, Zdenek Nejedly: "In the Ukrainian song speaks the pure soul of the Ukrainian people, full of old traditional brotherhood and love for freedom."

Thus among the Ukrainians, during centuries of affliction, when all education was forbidden the peasantry, the teaching of the glorious past was passed on from generation to generation in the form of folk songs. The power of love expressed in the Ukrainian song is best depicted by a Ukrainian poet, who says:

With this great love he's like that Titan of the Greeks,
 That earth's unconquerable son,
 Who, being thrown, regains what he had lost and seeks
 To finish what he had begun.

But although love of the native soil was the central motif of the Ukrainian song, there were other influential factors. The geographic position of the Ukrainian people made their contacts with the cultural south, Byzantium, Greece and Arabia, inevitable. The influence of that south may be seen in the Ukrainian music of the past. Thus we have the musical instrument "kobza - bandura", which is of Arabian origin, and certain southern melodies adapted for the then existing Christian church services.

The ethnologist, Wallashek, and others have proved that the diatonic scale is the oldest. Among the Ukrainians, as among other races, there exist a number of ancient songs, especially ceremonial songs, which verify the ethnologists' assumption. The northern Slavs, in their folksongs, have maintained the diatonic scales to the present day while the songs in Ukraine began to change their appearance early in history due to the fact that some of the tones of the fundamental diatonic scale, for reason of beauty and dramatic expression, began to rise. Thus in Ukraine the first diatonic scales were quickly changed so that the people not only used those leading tones but also other chromatically changed intervals such as F-G into F-G sharp, C-D into C-D sharp E-G (down) into E-G sharp, A-F (down) into A-F sharp, etc. The leading tone was adopted by Western Europe particularly from Ukraine with which it had connection through inter-marriage of the ruling families, through professional singers and through trade.

The text of the Ukrainian song is strongly bound to the melody. It is a highly developed poetic expression which testifies to the high native culture of Ukraine. The melodies of those songs are interesting with their lines, endings and varieties of rhythms. The world has recognized the high value of the Ukrainian folk song, for some time, and it is no wonder that foreign composers used Ukrainian themes with great delight. Among the different composers employing Ukrainian themes we find Joseph Haydn, N. Hummel, Ludwig Beethoven. C. M. Weber, Frank Liszt, Johannes Brahms, I. Knorr, Peter Tschaikowsky, Modeste Moussorgsky, I. Stravinsky and others.

The dominating scale of the Ukrainian songs of the pre-Cossack era is the major. The minor scale dominates the Cossack and later periods. The Cossack songs are marked by feeling and approach the peak of dramatism. They are the true picture of Ukraine's life and struggle.

Some songs are constructed in the old church scales:

Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian. The old pentatonic scale also has its use.

The old Christmas and Easter carols are in the antiphonal style. The melodic line progresses usually upward chordwise and downward scalewise. The ending of many characteristic songs are in the dominant. In the old Ukrainian ritual songs the time is the prevailing $3/4$, while the dances and songs of the last centuries are usually in double time.

Among Ukrainian folk songs the Christmas carols are the richest and dearest to every native. The whole history of the nation is portrayed in the carols, which retain their old five-syllabic form.

Critics the world over have acclaimed the Ukrainian song as the enduring culture of a great people.

Here are the comments of some foreign critics regarding Ukrainian music:

The Neue Freie Presse, Vienna, July 23, 1919, wrote: "Under the influence of powerful political developments, Ukrainian musical culture developed, absorbing its strength from the old ritual songs, ballads and dances."

The Journal de Geneve, July 15, 1919: "Far different from the songs of the Northern peoples with their nostalgic tendencies, the songs of Ukraine reflect in their energetic rhythms and melodies the flourishing health and optimism and the will of the people who long to be free."

Demain, Brussels, Jan. 1, 1920: "Before the War, Ukraine was a paradise of popular song. Nowhere else did the people maintain their ability to express their feelings through music as well. And it explains why choral music has developed so splendidly in this country."

Algemeen Handelsblad, Amsterdam, Jan. 25, 1920: "The Ukrainians must possess an invincible strength. Their songs are dominated by strength, joy, life and humor and reflect their happiness that they have saved themselves from destruction."

UKRAINIAN MUSIC TO BE RECORDED

The American-Ukrainian Congress Committee has appointed a Committee for the Recording of Ukrainian Music, which includes the following professional musicians: Prof. Alexander Koshetz, Theodosius Kaskiw, Leo Sorochinsky of Olyphant, Pa., John Korolishin of Detroit, and Peter Ordynsky of Beechurst, N. Y. The first step will be to record 20 choral songs by Prof. Koshetz's chorus. The set will sell for \$10.

The Problem Confronting Ukrainian-Americans

Address by Professor Clarence A. Manning, Acting Executive Officer, Department of East European Languages, Columbia University, Delivered at Cooper Union Hall, New York, N. Y., on December 1, 1940.

It is a great pleasure to be here at a meeting of the Americans of Ukrainian descent and their friends which has been called to protest against many of the charges which have been recklessly brought against the Ukrainian elements in this country at this critical time. There has been too much loose talk bandered around the country during the last few months and it is time that the persons who have been attacked should seek ways and means for meeting the charges.

There is, however, a right and a wrong way of answering attacks. Whatever may be the actual law of libel, it is of value in rare cases and attempts to secure legal justice do not always meet with the desired effect. One great reason for this is the difficulty of guaranteeing that the person libeled is 100 per cent innocent, and that this can be satisfactorily proved to the jury that is hearing the evidence. The task is even harder in the case of a group and particularly a group as large as the Ukrainian which has in the past been split into many mutually hostile factions, some of which were ready to secure a momentary profit by denouncing their rivals in season and out of season without thinking of the result upon the whole body which they were trying to help.

The First World War

Besides that, the Ukrainian movement in the United States has often been placed in a position which might seem suspicious by the very course of events. Let us look back for a moment to the beginning of the First World War. At that time there was still far from a union among all the Ukrainian groups which had come from Austria-Hungary and Russia. Russia, imperial Russia, had long enjoyed in the United States a certain friendship among the responsible classes of the population who remembered the many times that Russia had interfered more or less actively to help in the protection of American interests in both hemispheres. It is true that there had come a marked cooling of relations shortly before the World War, but this attitude had not gone too far outside of the great cities and certain classes of the population. It was only natural, therefore, that the Ukrainians from Russia should

have aroused suspicion in many minds during the first years of that struggle before America entered it and before the collapse of the imperial government. On the other hand, there was a natural suspicion of all groups which came from Austria-Hungary except in those cases where able leaders succeeded in winning the confidence of the American public and its representatives and putting over their point of view. Such leaders were Paderewski for the Poles, Professor Pupin for the Serbs, Dr. Pisek and his circle with Pupin and later Masaryk for the Czechs, etc. Attempts were made in all these cases by discordant elements of the immigration to break the influence of these men through petty jealousy, but at least in New York they did not succeed. It was unfortunate also that in at least one of these cases there was a disposition not to desire the best for the Ukrainians who were more or less divided and labelled as Little Russians, Ruthenians, etc. There was more or less open hostility between the Greek Catholics and the Ukrainian Orthodox who were largely within the regular Russian Orthodox organization. I do not want to go on raking up ancient history but I think that I am right in saying that at that time there was no Ukrainian leader who stood out not merely as a patriot but as an American, no one whose name was a household word in all American families who knew nothing of the Ukrainian problems.

That was a misfortune, and the sincere loyalty of the great mass of the Ukrainian population of the United States and Canada was passed over unnoticed.

The Contemporary Situation

Events since 1918 have been no kinder to the Ukrainians. America washed its hands of the war in 1918 on November 11 at 11 A. M. and any one who saw the Fake Armistice celebration and then the real one would understand what was going on. Meanwhile, Ukraine was engaged in the struggle with Poland and the Soviet Union and the White Russians and was unable to maintain its independence. The next years saw a succession of disturbances that destroyed many of its most influential leaders and the deliberate murder by the Communists of its two great leaders, General Petlura and Colonel Konovaletz. Then came in quick succession the handing over of Carpathian Ukraine to Hungary, the invasion of Poland and the conquest or acquisition of practically all Ukraine by the Soviet Union. It is small wonder that during parts of this period certain leaders may have hoped for aid from Germany. They were not alone in this, and it is unfair to say that this was their only interest.

What now of the present? Conditions have changed greatly in the past months and the Ukrainians must take advantage of it. In the United States and in Ukraine after the events of the last months there can be no hope for Ukraine save in

the victory of democracy. To this end every effort of the Ukrainians as of all lovers of democracy in the United States and the world must be directed.

That involves a cessation of all unimportant political and social conflict for supremacy. It means that the Ukrainian organizations that are believers in democracy, and democracy has always been dear to the Ukrainian heart, must work together and that they must seek to show themselves worthy companions of all others that are working in the same cause. They must learn to forget much that is past. They must realize that it is not to their interest to harp upon all that they have suffered during the past years, especially in Poland, which has been carried down in the same debacle, and they must sharply differentiate their ability to help in the present crisis from their endeavors to prove their antiquity and their ancient history. At the present time, the Ukrainian task is to prove to the world that they are a worthy, reliable God-fearing people who are fit to be trusted as free men.

This is not a matter of hurrahs and of shoutings. Every fifth columnist the world over is the most patriotic citizen in the country where he is until he is unmasked or does his deadly work and excess demonstrations of any virtue only lead to doubt of it. Not that they are not necessary. At times they are, and meetings such as this are a valuable part of the campaign to make the cause of Ukraine and the Ukrainians known and appreciated.

There is more than this to be done. It should be a matter of pride to every Ukrainian that he act properly in connection with the Selective Service that is coming into effect, that those who are qualified for exemption should apply but that there should not be any wild scramble to create exemptions and to present fishy ones that will bring discredit not only on the individual but on his race. Those young men who are called should serve with all their might and to the best of their ability and thereby win the respect of all with whom they come into contact.

Politics Must Be Shelved

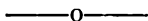
Yet individual service is not enough. All Ukrainian organizations in the United States should so conduct themselves that they too will win the respect of all who know them. They should cooperate zealously and willingly with all patriotic and governmental organizations, and without indulging in any witch hunts from which they have so often themselves suffered, they should stand out as organizations on which the American authorities, national, state and local, can rely.

This is the important fact, and it will not be long, if this is done carefully and honestly, before all charges of disloyalty will fall of themselves and be laughed out of court by all who know the Ukrainian character. It is not romantic,

It lacks the fire and the fury of those attacks by the Haydamaky of which your great poet Shevchenko sang so powerfully. It may seem too prosaic for one side of the Ukrainian character, but it will be a manifestation of that perseverance that has enabled the Ukrainian spirit to survive all the hardships and privations which it has undergone.

It must be the spirit of Volodymyr, of Khmelnytsky, of Franko and of the other great heroes that must actuate the people and that will again bring satisfaction and glory. There will be time to dream of the past, to formulate plans for the future independence of Ukraine and its entrance into the coming world organization on an equal basis with all other groups. There will be places where the Ukrainian leaders and scholars can meet and debate and dispute with representatives of other groups. That is not the primary task today. The primary task at this moment is for each society and individual to act at all times as if he were a representative of his heroes and their spirit and to show himself here or in Canada or wherever he may be as a worthy exponent of his people and as a worthy member of the democratic world of free men.

If all will do this, everything else will come and one and all, young and old, men and women, can feel sure that they have done their best, that they have lived up to the best Ukrainian traditions, and that they will aid in bringing back peace and happiness to their friends, their relatives, their country, the United States and the world of liberty, democracy and civilization.



UKRAINIAN COLLEGE IN STAMFORD

One thousand persons attended the Ukrainian College Holiday celebration held in Philadelphia on Nov. 24 under the auspices of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese, headed by Bishop Constantin Bohachevsky and Auxiliary Bishop Ivan Buchko. The Very Rev. Philemon Tarnavsky, Diocesan Chancellor, explained that the College needed \$200,000 for buildings and equipment and about \$60,000 for yearly upkeep. More than \$1,500 was contributed. Bishop Bohachevsky has already obtained a charter for the college at Stamford, Conn., in the form of a special legislative enactment. The school has about twenty students, but interest is growing, and with the support of the Ukrainian immigration, it is bound to succeed. The Trident urges its readers to support this worthwhile institution.



Youth's Dilemma *in a Democracy*

By Dr. GEORGE BACHUR

Social Conditions in America

Present-day unemployment, insecurity and fear are universal. The rapid advance of science and its technical application, with the resulting changes in modes of production, in the employment of labor and the vanishing frontier are responsible for this condition. It is not many decades since the western land frontier was open. Any man with strength, courage and ambition could leave the town and strike out for himself as an individual in the cultivating of fresh land, with the opportunities of a budding capitalist.

So long as there were frontiers of land or industry, there was an ever open doorway of escape from the extremes of exploitation. Comparatively high standards of living were enjoyed by the workers despite the fact that enormous personal fortunes were amassed by growing numbers of individuals. Every man thought of himself as a potential capitalist. There were many instances in which people of various classes accumulated wealth and achieved power. There was perhaps as much competition for wealth among the workers as among the capitalists. In so fluid a society no feeling of class-consciousness could solidify among the laboring groups.

But today there are no land frontiers. The circumstances for individual adventure are radically altered. The situation has changed completely since the last tragic World War, but the old psychology still persists to a large extent, among the old and the young alike. The economically dispossessed adhere to the philosophy of plutocrats.

The Dilemma of the American Youth

There are in the United States today five million young men and women between the age of sixteen and twenty-five who are out of school, unemployed and not married. Their dilemma is that of one who is "all dressed up with no place to go." Many of them have been partly prepared for certain specific vocations, but their services are not wanted. So the youth has to face and make three common but very crucial decisions. He has to determine whether he will: (1) leave home, or remain at home and be idle; (2) get married, even with no job in sight, or (3) continue in school. If he follows any one of these decisions, what then? There is no answer, and there can be no answer to this question so long as expansion economy resists any peaceful social and economic changes for the benefit of all citizens.

People must have jobs to earn money, since money is essential to purchase food, clothing, shelter and medical care. But these necessary things cannot be obtained without great difficulty in a society which is deliberately subsidizing the economy of scarcity.

The resistance to any change in our economic life is tremendous not only on the part of those who benefit from it but also resistance arises from those who are most acutely, though unconsciously, the victims of our economic disaster. For example, none so fiercely resents the deliverance from burdens as those who are most heavily laden, that is, mentally deranged as any student of personality and mental disorders will testify.

False Philosophy of Life

Millions of youth have been indoctrinated with a belief that success in life depends on their individual capacity to compete with their fellows in a system that awards its greatest prizes to those who show greatest ability. Until a very recent date, every youth imagined himself to be "a potential president or a consulting expert with a fabulous salary." It is not likely that they will suddenly accept another social philosophy of life, a philosophy of cooperation, of mutual aid. The fact which amazes the writer is the pathetic confidence which these young people seem to have, after a decade of unrelenting depression, that industry will resume its demands for their services. Imbued with the philosophy of rugged individualism, they cling tenaciously to the belief that the greatest satisfaction in life is based on their abilities to compete successfully in industry or business. There are many individuals who still believe that "anybody can get a job if he really wants to work."

The danger in the present situation is not that these five or more million of youth will start a revolution or found a new political party. It is that they will continue to stagnate emotionally, lose their courage to live and become wards of their communities. "The damage to self-respect that comes from being reduced to uselessness is very difficult to repair. Even more important than industrial recovery is the restoration of morale to the victim of industrial collapse."¹ Some of them will be the victims of acute mental disorders; others will become anti-social and embark upon a career of crime; a few will commit suicide. But the greatest proportion will continue to drift aimlessly and hopelessly with no prospect for a better fortune. According to Viola Ilma: "More than ever before, crime is becoming a youthful pursuit. Consider the ominous fact continued in the Uniform Crime Report issued by the

¹ Bryson, Lyman. *Adult Education*. American Book Company, New York, 1936, p. 37.

Department of Justice, covering the first half of 1939, wherein it is reported that the **largest** single age group in the nation's record of arrests is that of the nineteen-year olds! Fifty-seven per cent of all arrests were of people (mostly males) under twenty-five years of age."²

Why is it that American youth takes it on the chin? The cause of this apathy and impotence is ascribed in a large degree to the pernicious virus of capitalistic education. Youth is not infused with any great social or religious ideals in our schools. The basic ideals of democracy are very seldom taught. The minds of youth, it seems, have been incapacitated by their sham learning and are not capable of thinking independently and critically; for a system of education which continues to apologize for the chaotic state of economy and bureaucracy is hardly an education at all. It is a miasma of propaganda. So modern youth, it is being charged, has been subjected directly and indirectly to countless and incessant counsels to humility, obedience, submission and resignation to the calamity of unemployment and an inevitable spiritual paralysis. Teachers dwell too often on the sacredness of our traditional ideals without too embarrassing a scrutiny of their present application to our social problems. They turn their backs on controversial issues and seek refuge in the excuse, "My job is simply to study facts." The first escape from this spiritual paralysis is futile, the second spurious. It is no wonder the students' critical faculties are so prematurely arrested. Thus their ignorance, indifference and inertia regarding the present-day economic and political problems actually impede their social thinking.

Ignorance, however, is not simply an attribute of the unlearned, or the illiterate — people who have not had the advantage of the thing we call liberal education. Ignorance is found frequently among the highly educated, especially the specialists. **Ignorance** consists in the disposition to ignore the ideas or theories advanced in disagreement or conflict with the prevailing beliefs, theories or customs of the dominant class.

Indifference is a negative attitude. It is inattention and insensibility to novel ideas. Lack of interest in the things that are vital is characteristic of those persons who are so indifferent to social and economic problems that they never read a serious book or listen to an important discussion, and yet feel competent to express an opinion on any political or social problem.

Inertia, as defined in physics, is nearly the same in human beings. It is a compound of ignorance and indifference. It is a mental laziness. How frequently one hears, "You can't

² Ilma, Viola. "Youth, Joblessness and Crime." *Dynamic America*, May, 1940.

change human nature," "We have always had wars and depressions, and we always will," "There has always been greed in the world and there always will be," and "The poor are themselves the cause of their own poverty." This type of dishonest rationalization is the activity of an aberrant mentality.

From the preceding discussion it is evident that in a class state education, religion and law "tend to be expressions of the dominant class — the dominant ideas of society are inevitably the ideas of dominant class — these defensive ideas gain the character of natural and immutable beliefs."³

Unemployment vs. Democracy

The social injustices and exploitation flourishing in our midst as a result of economic depression and other evils testify to the fact that our so-called democracy no longer squares with the practice. We talk glibly of democracy but seldom do we analyze to determine how far all the institutions of society are democratic. We repeat mechanically, "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable rights of American citizens," without examining their practical implications. So it was written by the framers of the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, the foundation stone of our republican form of government, and bequeathed to us to have and to hold in trust for ourselves and our posterity: freedom of conscience and religious worship (except, as the cynic says, for the Jehovah's Witnesses and their children if they refuse to salute the American flag); a free press (one wonders how the private press can be free; perhaps Lenin was right when he spoke of "Liberty" in these caustic words: "The capitalists have always understood liberty to mean liberty for the rich to make profits, and liberty for the workers to die of starvation; by 'liberty of the press' they mean liberty for the rich to bribe the press and to fabricate and inspire so-called opinion"); free speech (how free, with the radio and other means of communication in private hands?); the right of assembly (if one can afford to rent a hall or a loft), the right to be one's master (even though one may starve through destitution) — these are the foundation stones laid by the founders of the Republic.

These rights are beautiful sentiments. But if they do not function in practice, they are but empty words. The "democratic" behavior during the past decades has amply demonstrated the fact that capitalistic society cannot or will not solve its economic problems. It is asserted that the ruling class, as a way out of the economic crisis, deliberately plan wars to break up the internal forces of radicalism, labor unions, the spirit of discontent and rebellion among the masses. They make a strong counter appeal under the banner of national

³ Rumney, J. *The Science of Society*. Duckworth, London, 1938, p. 52.

aggrandizement, patriotism, God and Country, justice, national honor, democracy and divine purpose. In their hands, these terms are but sentimental fantasies. They are epithets hurled at the defenseless folk to arouse some desired resentment or warm emotional glow of assent in the middle class minds which receive them. Behind these magnanimous slogans and sentiment the capitalist democracies have so skillfully masked their actual reactionary and repressive policies that they have partly deceived the world regarding the true nature of their despotism practiced against the underprivileged, the dispossessed and the colonial peoples.

Denying citizens the opportunity to earn a living, security and protection from the hazards of life, is destructive of these inalienable rights of which we hear so often yet see so little universally in operation. These inalienable rights are actually the claims made by individuals upon the common good, claims to the conditions required for the fulfillment of personality in harmony with their own mental and physical potentialities.

When the masses are deprived of these elementary economic rights and have no control over the means of production, they are forced to sell their labor as a commodity. A regime that allows this type of coercion is based on despotism no matter how loudly it may boast and advertise that it is a democracy. When the workers are abused, or have to endure bad working conditions on pain of losing their jobs and consequently their livelihood, their "liberties" are an illusion. Real liberty implies in physical life an economic guarantee for all; it supposes a social regime in which no men are required to make a living at the price of over-arduous or degrading work or the integrity of their consciences.⁴ The workers, the men lacking the means of production, who can exist only by selling their labor energy, are theoretically constrained by nobody; they are free. But in reality their freedom is such that they can die of hunger if they prefer that alternative to the degrading work of a sweatshop. Even the case of PWA workers, with jobs created by our government, brought forth Paul de Kruif's burning protest, "Why Keep Them Alive?" He describes the conditions under which these men had to work as not fit for chickens or pigs. The welfare, he writes, "went St. Paul one better. By not only believing that if a man doesn't work neither should he eat but also that if a man is lucky enough to have work, he shouldn't mind freezing."⁵

"Freedom to work" means that men must sell their own muscle or brain energy under a threat of starvation. These are the policies and the practices of the capitalist democracies, no less ruthless than those of the totalitarian states. The

⁴ Berdayev, Nicholas. *Christianity and the Class War*. Sheed and Ward, 1933.

⁵ Kruif, Paul de. *Why Keep The Alive?* p. 29.

young and the old alike must remember Shelley's noble and immortal words: "What the rich give to poor is not a perfect favour but an imperfect right." Those who are satisfied with crumbs are seldom invited to the banquet table.

Christianity and the Class Struggle

If Christianity is to be true to the religious and social teaching of its founder, it must take sides with the working class in the social struggle and defend the dignity of the workers, their personal conscience, their reason and freedom. It cannot, as in the slave question, straddle the fence and speak out boldly only after the battle is won. It cannot, as in the last World War, raise its hand in blessing upon brother setting out to murder brother. The modern youth bewildered and frustrated in an attempt to find a secure anchorage in our society does not ask for a new religion. The old one expressed in the words, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," they say, "is good enough for us, but we want it translated into deeds." Man cannot love his neighbor as himself, when he is compelled to fight with his neighbor for the crumbs of bread that fall from the tables of rich. "Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven" is a noble ideal. But why, then, do not those who mouth this sacred prayer of the Master do something to bring it in? Do they believe that it was not meant to be taken seriously? Youth does not want to see, as the post-war generation saw, when the heat and the fury had died, that each side sent its men to the front with the prayer: "Lord, God of Hosts! Be with us yet! Be with us yet!" It is true, as Sherwood Eddy says, that "on its social side religion is founded on reverence for personality, equal brotherhood, and love as implying practically equal sharing with all (of worldly goods). Our present economic order is founded on the profit motive, monopolistic ownership and consequent class inequality, injustice and strife. Here is a flat contradiction!" There can be no brotherhood in the social life unless there is a brotherhood in economics.

The present profit system "is an economic system under which the ownership of the means of production, such as factories, mines and field, is in the hands of individuals or groups of individuals and they are worked by those who do not own them for the profit of those who do." This definition indicates two of its essential features, i. e., private property and production for profit. The enormous accumulation of wealth in the hands of the privileged few is capital. Capital, then, is the creation of labor, and in the form of profit, interest, rent and debt, it is the accumulated and withheld wages of labor. The present economic system must be abolished. A cooperative society must take its place. Cooperation and not wars, contentions, dissensions and misunderstandings must dominate our civilized lives.

The young people are increasingly becoming aware that there is a struggle in our society as there is a struggle for existence in the plant and animal kingdoms, and that the wrong which is a result of the class struggle is standing up to judge us. In the words of E. Stanley Jones: "The nemesis has now met us. The battering ram which is thundering at the gates of civilization is the class war. We created a class society and now we are on the verge of having to pay for it." Man, "as a slave, was property, as a serf semi-property, and as an employee he is under duress to the privilege and powers of property."⁶ If workers take away an employer's property, the law punishes them (sit-down strikes are now illegal); but if an employer discharges workers from his employ, the law does nothing. We can see the law is built around property rights and not around human rights, as the pulpit has been trying to convince us. The facts, the undemocratic conduct of these employers, speak louder than words. "The rights of property," as Carl Sandberg so well expressed, "are guarded by ten thousand laws and fortresses but the rights of the worker to live by his work is vague and undefined." The South Chicago massacre on Memorial Day, 1937, where ten dead and ninety wounded strikers and bystanders were the victims of a police assault, can hardly be called a democratic action.

Is There a Way Out?

No, emphatically no, so long as the capitalist structure and its profit motive are allowed to exist and dominate our lives. History tells us of the drastic attempts which were made to solve the economic and social ills by the French and Russian Revolutions. These attempts were too violent and bloody. The common men are prone to condemn them, but if driven to despair, they, too, resort to violence.

Other methods, democratic methods such as agitation, organization, education and popular decisions, perhaps, can bring about a social change. An organized and informed group or community is better equipped in the struggle with the privileged classes than a community or group unorganized. "The political states are organized for defense and aggression, for the maintenance of law and order, and for the control and consolidation of property and territory." Likewise, all the workers should organize themselves in order to protect their rights as did the National Association of Manufacturers. The fight of workers to organize into unions of their own choosing is constitutional today.

If the workers and the jobless realized that their interests were identical, they would organize themselves into labor

⁶ Christ's Alternative to Communism. The Arlington Press, New York, 1936.

unions, voters' leagues and consumers' associations. The Consumers' Cooperative Societies in the United States are on the increase today. Their methods of cooperative living must be emulated by other workers' organization if the workers are to survive and preserve their rights in this greedy world. More specifically, if democracy is to become a reality, it must function in three areas, viz., social, industrial and economic. It must serve the interests and needs of all the useful people. This aim can be achieved, at least in part, (1) by promoting clean living and development of healthy minds in healthy bodies; (2) by educating the youth in desirable citizenship for a new social and economic democracy; (3) by building up fraternal organizations and fighting against all economic exploitation and political tyranny; (4) by participating actively in labor and progressive movements and promoting their development; (5) by demanding opportunity and security of employment, education, worthy use of leisure time and recreation for all the youth in the city and on the farm; (6) by defending civil liberties, religious freedom and equal rights for all persons'; (7) by opposing all subversive efforts which attack, undermine or attempt to discredit and destroy the workers' organizations from within or without; (8) by enriching the lives of the young and the old people with the study and knowledge of mankind's heritage in the arts and sciences.

If these principles were followed they would help to solve the problem confronting youth today. Any just relief from the ravages of physical and mental sufferings, to be effectual, must be on this side of the grave and immediate. Only the simpletons are satisfied with post-mortem happiness in the land where they will eat pie by and by. National "Defense" today is an incident, but the employment of youth is a major issue. A way for this dilemma must be found.

Finally, in the words of Thomas H. Huxley: "There is no alleviation of the suffering of mankind except veracity of thought and action and the resolute facing the world as it is when the garment of make-believe with which pious hands have hidden its uglier features had been stripped off."

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Dr. Tracy Philipps Speaks

Addressing the Canadian Club in Winnipeg recently, Dr. Tracy Philipps, lecturer and author on Near Eastern affairs, said: "The question of the Ukraine is one of the most important problems for the post-war settlement."

The Story of Ukrainian Art

By EDWARD SEREDYNSKY

PART II.

Ukrainian Contributions to Russian Culture

Ukrainian influence was felt in music, dress, painting and literature. Ukrainians taught the Russians the art of printing and linear notation in music. Practically all the church scholars and clergy were Ukrainians. Even as late as the reign of Catherine, there were only seventy-four physicians in all Russia, of which fifty-three were Ukrainians. The Russian Pypin wrote that Ukrainian writers "composed works of which no one dreamt in Moscow."

So it is natural to find that the early leading Russian painters were Ukrainian by birth. The Ukrainian who introduced modern painting to Russia was Dmytro Levytsky.² When Russia instituted a rigorous repression of Ukrainian culture in the middle of the eighteenth century, Levytsky and many other Ukrainian artists migrated to St. Petersburg where they were able to earn a living as court artists. Losenko and Borykosky, Ukrainians also, became successful court painters.

Gorged with the tribute of the newly conquered territories of Ukraine, Siberia, Latvia, Estonia and White Russia, Russian society began to imitate the manners of French aristocracy. A Russian Academy of Fine Arts was founded on the French model and for years it remained a mere annex of French art.

The Russians were not content with imitating the work of Ukrainian artists. They drew heavily upon Ukrainian history and tradition which they claimed for their own. In 1862, the Cathedral of St. Vladimir was built in Kiev. The Russian painter, Victor Vasnetsov, was commissioned to decorate the church. He made a careful study of the Ukrainian medieval style of decoration in order to reproduce it. But although he succeeded in part, there are several noticeable changes that differentiate his work from the original style. His faces are national-Russian and his backgrounds betray a nationalistic feeling. For inspiration for another of his paintings, Vasnetsov turned to Ukrainian legend, the story of Prince Ihor. His "After Prince Ihor's Defeat" shows a solitary figure, armed and astride a great white horse on the field of battle. The warrior looks upon the record inscribed in stone and is lost in thought. Skulls and bones still lie in the wild grass, and a flock of carrion crows hover over the monotonous landscape that stretches out to a dismal sky. The Epic of Prince

² cf. *The Ukrainian Weekly*. Oct., 30, 1937.



(Repin)

AFTER PRINCE IHOR'S DEFEAT

Ihor was written in the twelfth century by an unknown author and is the most famous in Ukrainian antiquity. It describes Prince Ihor's crusade against the pagan Polovtsi.

Rising above all the Russian painters was Iliya Repin, who admitted his Ukrainian origin in a letter to the Ukrainian National Republic. He was born in Kharkiv in 1844 and died in 1928. His "The Exile's Unexpected Return" was fiercely attacked by critics for its "ugliness" and supposed "intention." It shows a tattered, weary figure entering his home in a slinking manner, a strained look in his eyes, exhaustion and fear in his face. The wife has risen from her chair, astonished, and only her extreme profile is visible. Of the two children doing their lessons at the table, the little girl is apparently unfriendly and her brother is excited and curious. A girl in her teens, interrupted while practicing the piano, turns half-way around on the music stool with a startled expression. She is old enough to remember the past. We can discern the different temperaments of the children at a glance and guess the attitude of each toward the exile. None of Repin's work combines such insight with such an austere, plain-spoken realism to the same degree.

Repin is "at his best in great scenes, in spacious settings, or in depicting moments of intense emotions translated into violent action," writes the critic, Rosa Newmarch. His canvas, "The Cossacks," merits this opinion. In the center is the scribe, or "pysar," who is doing the writing but evidently very little of the composition of the letter. The Cossacks are the famous Zaporozhian warriors of the seventeenth century. The incident portrayed by Repin is true, and the original letter is supposed

to be in some Russian museum. The occasion for the correspondence was the demand of the Sultan of Turkey for the surrender of the Cossacks. Sultan Mohammed IV at the time created a powerful empire, but he was constantly annoyed by the Cossack raids. The story of his "ultimatum" runs as follows:



(Repin)

COSSACKS WRITING TO THE SULTAN OF TURKEY

In the year 1600 in that God's year
A letter came from Akhmet
To our Zaporozhe,

"I, Sultan, the son of Mohammed,
The Grandson of the one God,
The brother of the Crescent
And even of the Sun;
Knight strong and great,
King of Kings,
Champion of all the world
And Tsar of Tsars:
Tsar of Constantinople,
Tsar of Macedonia,
Greece, Serbia, Moldavia,
Tsar of Babylon, Podolia and Halych,
And glorious Crimea,
Tsar of Egypt, Arabia, Jerusalem,
The Keeper of the Tomb in Jerusalem
And of your God;
I am the Sorrow and the Help

Of all Christian men —
 I say to ye, Cossacks,
 Surrender!
 Or expect no good from me.”

The reply sent by the Cossacks disregards all the niceties of Mohammedan custom and religious belief. But its abruptness and candor are entirely in character:

“Thou, Sultan, art the devil’s son,
 The grandson of Haspid³ himself,
 And thou a horned chort!...⁴
 Thou art but a wretched innkeeper
 In Constantinople,
 A Macedonian brewer,
 A Greek and Moldavian swine
 And a Babylonian blacksmith;
 Thou oppressor of Serbia and Podolia,
 Crimean parrot. Egyptian swineherd,
 Owl of Jerusalem!
 No help of Christians art thou, but a fool;
 No protector of our God.
 Thou art not worthy to kiss anywhere —
 Nor worthy to hold our Zaporozhe.
 We shall fight thee
 By land and sea!
 Thou son of a dog —
 Such is our answer!”

We know not what year this may be,
 Because we have no calendars in our Sith —
 Our Missiatz⁵ is now in the heaven,
 This day is the same day as with you,
 Then Turks, after these words,
 Try to take us!”

(To be continued.)

³ Basilik and Haspid were serpents.

⁴ A swamp devil.

⁵ Literally moon, meaning month.

Ukraine in Figures

A Statistical Survey of Ukrainian Territories, Population and National Economy

By MYKOLA SCIBORSKY

III. INDUSTRY

Ukraine's industries are concentrated in the East where the largest deposits of hard coal, iron and manganese ores and oil are located. The Western Ukrainian areas have only oil and potassium salt deposits. The most important districts are Kharkiv, Dniepropetrovsk, the Don Basin, Kiev, Odesa, North Caucasia and Boryslav (Western Ukraine).

1. The Kharkiv district is one of the greatest industrial centers, producing transport, agricultural and electrical machinery and machine tools. New factories planned and some already in operation are: a tractor factory to turn out 40,000 tractor wheels a year; a turbine factory with a 1,500,000 kilowatt capacity; a car factory with a capacity of 4,000 train cars; a tool factory and a chemical plant.

2. The Dniepropetrovsk district contains the following industries: black metallurgy, heavy transport and agricultural machinery, chemical and electrical plants. Industrial centers are located at the cities of Kamensk, Kichkas, Dniepropetrovsk, Zaporizhe, Nikopil and Kryvy Rih, containing the following plants, which were to have been completed in 1938 under the plan: Zaporizhe metallurgical factory, productive capacity: 1,230,000 tons of iron, 1,600,000 tons of steel and 1,000,000 tons of finished steel; Kryvy Rih metallurgical factory, productive capacity: 1,300,000 tons of iron, 1,140,000 tons of steel and 1,225,000 tons of finished steel; Nikopil tubular factory; Novomoskva tin factory; an aluminum factory; wire factories, and a coke and chemical plant.

Production of electricity in the Dniepropetrovsk district reached 530,000,000 kilowatts in 1932, and according to the Second Five-Year Plan, 4,000,000,000 kilowatts in 1938.

3. The Donbas (Don Basin), besides coal mines, has a deposit of black and colored metals and is a center for heavy industry, agricultural and transport machinery and the chemical industry.

This district is divided as follows: 1) Horlivka — chemical and coke-chemical plants; 2) Makiyivka — metallurgical, tubular and coke-chemical plants; 3) Sloviansk — machine and chemical plants; 4) Kramatorsk — machine building plants; 5) Luhansk — railroad engine plants, capacity, 1,000 engines; tubular and tool plants; 6) Konstantynivka — sink, glass and chemical products plants; 7) Mariupol — metal-

lurgical and coke-chemical production plants.

In the Donbas district there is also a train car plant with a capacity of 30,000 freight cars. Similar plants are found in Mykolayiv. They produced 55 per cent of all the engines and freight cars manufactured in the entire U.S.S.R.

4. The North Caucasian district, besides the oil and coal industries, also contains machine building and food industries. In Rostov there is a large agricultural machinery plant as well as plants for automatic tools, electrical armatures, bulbs, generators and telephones. The food industry includes canned meat, butter, cheese and starch.

5. The Kiev district contains many food, sugar, leather and other light industries.

6. The Odessa district, like Kiev, includes food, sugar, leather and other industries.

7. The Boryslav district (Western Ukraine) contains the oil industry in two main centers at Boryslav and Drohobych.

Construction of sea and river craft is also an important industry in Ukraine. Ocean-going vessels are constructed at Mykolayiv and Sebastopol. In 1938 another center was established in Berdiansk. River craft are built at Kiev and Dnepropetrovsk.

This survey clearly shows that Ukraine can be an independent and self-sufficient state, contrary to the claims of its enemies that it must depend on the Russian economic system because it lacks economic resources and development.

It shows also that Ukraine has great possibilities for further development.

Ukrainian Economy in the U.S.S.R.

The importance of Ukrainian economy in the USSR and its degree of colonial exploitation by the Soviet regime may be demonstrated by the following table, based on figures computed at the end of the first Five-Year Plan in 1932:

Product	Quality	% of U.S.S.R. Production
Coal	44,896,000 tons	69.8
Iron Ore	8,444,000 tons	70
Oil	9,075,000 tons	40.8
Manganese Ore	443,000 tons	75
Pig Iron	4,624,000 tons	69.9
Steel	3,546,000 tons	63.3
Finished Steel	2,745,000 tons	64
Precious metals	1,579,600,000 rubles	23
Phosphates	63,846 tons	50

Cement	1,566,000	tons	45.4
Bricks	1,325,000,000	bricks	28.1
Leather footwear	17,175,000	pairs	24.3
Meat	120,000	tons	27.7
Fish	207,000	tons	26.4
Sugar	575,700	tons	69.5
Canned food	197,000,000	cans	60.2
Margarine	140,000	tons	33.3
Sugar beet acreage	1,173,800	hectars	76.3
Planted acreage	33,638,000	hectars	25.4

Thus it may be seen that Ukraine produces as much as two-thirds of the total of USSR production of such important resources as coal, iron ore, pig iron, steel, manganese and metals.

The Five-Year Plans have been carried out with great exploitation of the material resources of Ukraine for the benefit of Russia and its imperialistic policy. Russia develops its own heavy industries in the Ural and eastern regions of the USSR at the expense of Ukraine. It is a far-sighted politico-economic plan, the realization of which is based mainly on the exploitation of Ukraine and upon the complete disregard of Ukraine's own needs and interests as an independent economic organism.

Thus it can be seen that if Russia's occupation of Ukraine is to continue much longer, Ukraine will become secondary to Russia in regard to industrial development and will remain only an agricultural area, exporting its food to the USSR. The Russian areas would not only be developed industrially but also would become the center for manufactured products needed by Ukraine.

Such is the economic "planning" behind the Five-Year Plan for "social reconstruction." Its aim is to prevent Ukraine from developing economically and to maintain its status as a colony, which will supply raw materials and import its manufactured goods from the mother country.

This Russian plan also has political motives. The national activity of the Ukrainian people and their struggle against foreign occupation as well as the critical international situation compels Russia to consider the possibility that its domination of Ukraine may end.

Ukraine's Diminishing Importance

Anticipating his possibility, the Soviet Government has accelerated the establishment of separate industrial centers on Russian territory, necessary for the prosecution of war. This Russian policy has been evident during the Second Five-Year Plan.

(To be continued.)

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Therefore, those Ukrainians who want to aid a brave nation struggling against brute force are urged to contribute to the following war relief organizations which are responsible groups with responsible people at their head:

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Bundles for Britain, Inc., Squibb Bldg., 745 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

Greek War Relief Association, Inc., 730 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

Thousands of Ukrainian veterans of the French Army who fought against the German invasion are now interned in Switzerland and in need of food, clothing and medicine. The Ukrainian Gold Cross is collecting funds for their relief and forwarding the money to the proper committee in Switzerland. Send contributions to:

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P. O. Box 13 Station D, New York City or 149 2nd Ave., N. Y. C.

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