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READ IT

The second installment of the Ukrainian novelette, "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors," translated, appears in the Weekly's overflow in today's Svoboda. Read it. Cut out and save all installments, and you will have an anthology of Ukrainian Stories in English.

PARTISAN WARFARE IN W. UKRAINE

A report that the Ukrainian population is virtually waging partisan warfare with Soviet troops in Western Ukraine, appeared recently in the London "Daily Express." The report adds that evidently the Ukrainians are well supplied with arms and munitions which they manage to keep hid from the GPU agents.

REDS HUNT DOWN NATIONALISTS

The Chief prey of Soviet persecution in Western Ukraine are the Ukrainian Nationalists, marked by the Reds as "enemies of the people," reports the Paris "La Parole Ukrainienne." They are hunted down systematically by the Soviet police. Those arrested ordinarily disappear without a trace, being either executed or taken into depths of Russia.

CHILDREN FORCED TO ATTEND RED MEETINGS

Even children of fourteen are forced to attend the political meetings GPU agents and propagandists arrange throughout Western Ukraine, says a Paris report. These meetings are becoming a veritable plague, being held at every possible occasion. Everyone is forced to attend them. Troops, however, surround the meeting halls, to prevent any untoward incidents or disorders. The presidiums are appointed by the agents and no opposition is permitted.

It is reported that at one such meeting a worker rose to ask what is being done with the food which the Soviet authorities buy out or simply requisition. Following a short conference among the presidium the worker received the following reply: "We notice that you, comrade, are anxious regarding the food for the people. We invite your cooperation."—The following morning, however, the man was arrested and the last heard of him was that he was taken into the depths of Russia.

CAROLS CONCERT IN PHILADELPHIA

In presenting a concert of Ukrainian Christmas and New Year's carols last Sunday night at the Ukrainian Hall in Philadelphia, the combined Ukrainian Youth Chorus of N.Y. and N.J. and the Ukrainian Youth Chorus of Philadelphia, under the direction of Stephen Marusevich, repeated the success they achieved at a similar concert in New York City on January 14.

The program was about the same as at the New York concert, with Michael Hayvoronsky's compositions predominating in the choral, string ensemble and solo numbers. Solos were sung by Anne Trocianecky of Irvington, N. J., soprano, and Michael Bukata of Philadelphia, baritone. Evelyn Kalakura of Newark, N. J. recited a Christmas poem. Opening address was by John Orlak of Philadelphia. Explanations of carols were by John Kosbin of Brooklyn, N. Y. The principal address, about the orientation of a Ukrainian-American youth, was by Stephen Shumeyko of Irvington, N. J. About five hundred persons attended the concert, and besides warmly receiving its offerings, participated in its community singing of the carols. The special stage setting for the affair was designed by Peter Zaharchuk of Philadelphia.

TOWARD UNITY

Undoubtedly the most encouraging development in Ukrainian-American life within recent times, is the decision of the four fraternal orders—the Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics, and the Ukrainian National Aid Association—to jointly sponsor or help to sponsor an All-Ukrainian-American Congress, in order to manifest the solidarity of Ukrainian-Americans in support of the movement to establish a free Ukraine.

The encouraging feature of this development is that the striving for unity among the four fraternal orders has at last reached first base. That of itself is a definite advance in the relations among the "Big Four," as they can aptly be called. For even if they find broad unity among them impossible, still they should cooperate in helping to bring victory to the Ukrainian national cause. This is precisely the stand taken by the U.N.A. officers at a meeting of the four associations last September (mentioned in our December 9. editorial), and we are happy to see it has prevailed over all difficulties.

Whether, however, this present advance towards some manner of unity among the "Big Four" reaches 2nd or 3rd base or home-plate, depends much upon their present and future leaders, especially upon the latter's ability to realize the great benefits such unity, not necessarily a merger, will bring to Ukrainian-American life and ideals. But such realization will never come to them unless they allow themselves to be guided by principles unmixed with partisan and personal feelings. If any of them don't, then such a short-sighted attitude on their part will make them unfit for the positions which they may occupy.

Insofar as the coming All-Ukrainian-American Congress is concerned, it is not known at present how far the four associations will go in binding themselves to it. Neither is it known just now whether they will sponsor it alone or jointly with other organizations. What is clear, however, is that they are behind it. This of itself should make the congress a success, for together the four of them have over 60,000 well-organized members and assets about ten million dollars—of which, incidentally, the Ukrainian National Association has over 35,000 members and over \$5,500,000 assets. With such resources at their command, the four should make the congress an important factor in influencing American public opinion in favor of a free Ukraine.

Also undetermined as yet, is the future relationship between the congress and the "Obyednanye" (United Ukrainian Organizations of America), which up to now was its sponsor. The "Obyednanye" has not as yet issued any statement on this rather unexpected decision of the four associations to sponsor the congress. In line with its previous declarations, however, that it will make every possible concession to secure full Ukrainian-American support to the congress, the "Obyednanye" is expected to remove itself as the original sponsor of the congress and to support the action of the four fraternal orders.

The "Obyednanye"—sponsored All-Ukrainian-American Congress was scheduled to take place March 16 and 17. in New York City, at Hotel Pennsylvania. Whether under the new sponsorship the congress will take place at the same place and the same time, is as yet unsettled. The conference of representatives of the four associations being held today at the home offices of the U.N.A. will probably settle that question.

We sincerely hope that the decision of the four associations to sponsor the All-Ukrainian-American Congress will encounter no snags in its execution, but will advance steadily to its successful conclusion and thereby lay the groundwork for mutual understanding among them, without which there will never be any sort of cooperation and unity among them.

In any event, the All-Ukrainian-American Congress deserves the support of all Ukrainian-Americans, old and young.

A number of our youth organization have already elected their representatives to the congress. Those who haven't, should do so at the earliest opportunity.

SOVIET POLICE FIRE UPON LVIW UKRAINIANS

Soviet police killed several persons last Sunday when they fired into a crowd of Ukrainians going to St. George's Cathedral to celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, reported The New York Times last Wednesday.

The shooting occurred when the crowd refused to heed the command to disperse. A number of arrests were reported made.

The Times report is based upon a dispatch from Chernivtsi (Cernauti), Rumanian, Ukrainian capital of Bukovina, published in last Tuesday's Lavoro Fascista in Rome.

LONDON TIMES STAND ON RED INVASION OF W. UKRAINE DEPLORED

The Ukrainian Bulletin, published by the Ukrainian National Information Service in London, reappeared last month after an absence since last August, and in the current issue comments upon the opinion expressed by the London Times on November 2, 1939 concerning the seizure of Western Ukraine by the Soviets.

The Times had written that Russia "regained the provinces of Poland which were mainly inhabited by Russians" and that "it must be recognized that White Russia and the Ukraine are racial parts of the Russian family." Even more astonishing was The Times statement that "the recent elections organized by the Russian authorities in those provinces may conform pretty closely with the natural feelings of the inhabitants." The logical conclusion that one must draw from such an argument, the Ukrainian Bulletin says, is indeed disconcerting.

A glance at the map, continues the Bulletin, will show that the former White Ruthenian (which is more accurate than White Russia) and Ukrainian provinces of Poland nowhere touch upon that part of the Soviet Union which is inhabited by Russians.

The expression "Russian family" used by The Times, says the Bulletin, probably refers to the various nationalities and republics which go to make up the Soviet Union. Were we to concede Russia's right to conquer all peoples who are "a racial part of the Russian family," the Chinese, the Turks, the Persians, the Rumanians, should follow one by one, for all these races have their kinsmen within the Soviet Union, the Bulletin points out. Such an argument would justify Stalin's dealings with the people of Finland. If, unfortunately, his Finnish campaign succeeds, he will not fail to hold a plebiscite, and will insure that its results are favourable as they were in V. I. Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia.

Since the tide of events is tending to make Russia one of the decisive factors controlling the destinies of Europe, the Bulletin concludes, those who offer opinions upon that heterogeneous country, should acquaint themselves with outstanding facts in its history and the histories of the non-Russian people who have had to endure its regimes, Tsarist and Bolshevik alike.

Youth Rally in Newark

The Ukrainian Catholic Youth League will sponsor a rally Sunday, March 3, at the Essex House in Newark, reports the rally committee, headed by William Gela of Jersey City its chairman and director of the Jersey City choir. The theme of the rally will be "Catholicism and Ukrainianism."

SURVEY OF BOLSHEVIK RULE IN WESTERN UKRAINE

The Last Days of Polish Rule

ONE of the last acts of the Polish Government was to intern a number of Ukrainians, among them the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Count Andrey Sheptytsky. Because of haste, or for some other reason, the Poles left intact numerous police dossiers relating to Ukrainian nationalists which are now being used by the GPU to track down politically-minded Ukrainians.

It has been reported in the Ukrainian press that because of complete disorganization following the first two weeks of war, several hundred Ukrainian nationalists succeeded in escaping from Polish prisons and concentration camps.

Bolshevik Casualties

Most of the reports seem to indicate that the Polish army did not resist the invading Bolsheviks. Red Army casualties must have resulted, therefore, from encounters with partisan units. At the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Council, Molotov, the Soviet Premier and Foreign Minister, reported that in Western Ukraine the Red Army suffered 1,850 casualties, among them 491 killed. On the other hand Russia gained 96,000 square kilometers of territory in Western Ukraine and 108,000 square kilometers in Western White Ruthenia. The total gain in population he estimated at 13 million, of which over seven million are Ukrainians, over three million are White Ruthenians, over one million are Poles, and over one million are Jews. This, according to Molotov, is a great victory for the USSR. One American paper said that the population figure should be increased by another million to allow for the Jews who escaped from the territories occupied by Germany.

The Red Army

The September venture of the Bolsheviks revealed many interesting facts about the Red Army personnel and its equipment. The excessive amount of defective war materials is a sad commentary upon the Soviet system, which for two decades has been depriving the people, sometimes of bare necessities, in order to build up a gigantic war industry. And the ignorance which reigns among the Red troops is unique. One American correspondent wrote that from conversations with soldiers bearing on events outside the Soviet Union he got the impression that he may have been talking with the inhabitants of Mars.

It was inevitable that their stay in Western Ukraine would have a profound effect upon the rank and file of the Red Army. The Moscow correspondent of the New York Times reported, for instance, that the soldiers were greatly impressed by the fact that indispensable goods of unheard of quality can be obtained for little money in Western Ukraine; a pair of boots can be bought for 15 roubles, or one-fourth of the price that has to be paid in the Soviet Union. What surprised them most was the absence of queues....

Bolshevisation

Bolshevik propagandists and the GPU followed closely in the wake of the Red Army. They brought with them car loads of literature—books, pamphlets and leaflets—and distributed these among the inhabitants. Afterwards they organized numerous meetings and demonstrations with a view to passing resolutions and making demands that the country should be immediately sovietized. At one such rally Mykyta Khrushchov, secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine and Stalin's trusted henchman, promised that these demands will be granted, that Western Ukraine will be completely bolshevized and united to Soviet Ukraine. As an afterthought he promised the most severe reprisals against all who would dare to oppose bolshevization.

Next the inhabitants had to be grouped into appropriate social

classes. The political commissars evolved a simple and direct method of verifying who is not "politically trustworthy" (politicheskoye blagonadizhny). The people were assembled and Soviet class experts went around examining their hands. Those without callouses were segregated, questioned in detail and usually assigned for shipment into the depths of Russia.

Towards the middle of October they began to introduce some of the more elementary Soviet reforms. In L'viv, for instance, all buildings were confiscated regardless of who were the former owners. The same thing was done with all larger landholdings. Some of this land was assigned to village committees, to be distributed among the peasants, but most of it was retained by the Government and, according to the *Krasnaya Zvezda*, of October 9th, is to be converted into several types of state farms. In any case, the act of distributing the land among landless peasants is of questionable value since the Soviet authorities passed a decree that from the 28th of October all the land in Western Ukraine becomes state property. Probably the most painful reform was the ban on the activities of the well-established Ukrainian Cooperatives, which were the product of thirty years of painstaking labor. The Bolsheviks consider them to be centres of irredentism and, therefore, dangerous.

Bolshevik Occupation and the Church

The official attitude towards the Church is in harmony with orthodox communist theory. A ban has been placed upon every religious Order; the highest Ukrainian Church dignitaries, including the revered patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, were placed virtually in solitary confinement, and the organized activities of Churches have had to cease. A general order made it a punishable offense for clergymen to wear clerical garb.

Then followed preparatory propaganda to justify the inevitable forthcoming measures against organized religion. Early in October the anti-religious journal, *Bezbozhnik*, wrote that a number of Catholic and Orthodox priests in Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia have been liquidated. According to *Bezbozhnik*, these priests, together with capitalists and Polish officers, locked themselves in churches and fired upon the Red Army. Besides, they were spies and paid agents of the Polish Government. When they saw that the government of the landlords no longer existed they took up arms against the Red Army. "But," says *Bezbozhnik*, "their prayers and invocations were of no avail; Soviet tanks overcame all obstacles."

Having prepared the ground, the Soviet authorities proceeded with more comprehensive measures. Towards the end of October arrests of priests became more numerous, churches were closed down and measures were taken against people who openly demonstrated their faith. At present it appears that the celebration of mass is not prohibited but that young people are discouraged and at times simply not allowed to attend the services.

The attack upon the Church is so designed as to cripple it as a working organization and to end its influence upon the youth. To begin with, the authorities made certain that the higher dignitaries of the Church should not be in a position to keep in touch with their diocese, thereby isolating individual parishes. Next they directed their attention to the problem of youth and religion. In this connection we learn that the schools are being staffed with teachers from the Soviet Union because local teachers do not profess Bolshevik and godless views.

Lately it was also reported that religious publishing houses, notably that of the Basilian Order in

Zhovkva, have been taken over by the authorities and some of them are being used for publishing anti-religious literature.

Political Persecution

In the usual Bolshevik manner the population of Western Ukraine is divided into three classes. Firstly, the élite, consisting of known political leaders and active workers who are declared enemies of bolshevism and especially of Muscovite domination over Ukraine, secondly, the rural and urban masses whose political views are no secret to those who have an intimate knowledge of the country, and thirdly, the known members of the Communist Party in Western Ukraine (CPbZU), in which the Jews accounted for over 80 per cent of the membership. The last-named group provided the working material for the Bolsheviks. Its members were detailed to organize joyous receptions for the Red Army as well as mass meetings exhorting the Soviet Government to sovietize Western Ukraine. From this group also came most of the candidates for so-called deputies whose duty it was to vote Western Ukraine into the Union, expropriate the land, etc.

The majority of the population belongs, of course, to the second class. This class is to be given special treatment, consisting mainly of threats and propaganda which, it is figured, will facilitate the introduction of the rigours of the Soviet system without too much opposition. Time and isolation, coupled with the loss of hope, are the most efficient allies of the Bolsheviks in their dealings with the masses. It is too early to say what success they had up till now, but there are numerous indications, among them the uprising in the oilfields of Drohobych and Boryslav reported early in December, that Western Ukraine will be a difficult problem for Moscow.

People who fall in the first class were from the outset branded as "enemies of the people," and are being dealt with accordingly. This grim business of hunting down enemies of the people has been facilitated because, as we have learned recently, the Polish authorities left behind practically all the police documents relating to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Although this is a secret organization, those of its members who had dealings with the Polish police and even non-members whom the Polish police suspected of membership, are doomed men.

Leaders and active members of the several legal Ukrainian political parties in Western Ukraine, notably of the Ukrainian National Democratic Organization (UNDO) which had almost half a million registered members and in the last election obtained more than a million votes, are in the same position.

The following are some of the leaders of UNDO who are definitely known to have been arrested by the GPU: The general secretary of UNDO, V. Tselevich, M. P.; the Catholic leader, V. E. Kuzmovich, M. P.; Senator Ostap Lutsky, Stepan Bilak, M. P.; D. Velykanovich, M. P.; Senator Malysky; former Member of Parliament, H. Tershakovets, former Member of Parliament, V. Boliuh; the editor of *Dilo*, Dr. I. Nimchuk; former president of UNDO, Dr. Levitsky; and the 80 years old doyen among Ukrainian political leaders, Dr. Kost Levytsky, who is reported to have died in a Soviet prison. Victims among the less known people are legion. Lata, in November, in the district of Berezhany, the Bolsheviks executed 60 Ukrainian professional men and secondary school students, the sole reason, as far as we know, being that they were Ukrainian patriots. On October 13 there were unverified reports that the Bolsheviks shot 17 Ukrainian leaders. On October 9 a Swiss paper reported that numerous Ukrainians connected with political parties, priests and officials of private Ukrainian institutions, were arrested in Western Ukraine.

Russification

Russification is apparently part and parcel of so-called sovietization. Russian, which the Bolsheviks

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describe as the language of the leaders of the world proletariat, is made a compulsory subject in the schools; in Peremyshl the Bolsheviks are reported to have opened a secondary school with Russian as the language of instruction. Although there are no Russian autochthons in Western Ukraine, the Russian language is used in broadcasts from L'viv on an equal footing with Ukrainian and Polish. Fortunately for the population communist propaganda is broadcast almost wholly in Russian.

The Red Muscovite methods of denationalization are not as barefaced as were Polish and Tsarist methods, but they are infinitely more insidious. The non-Russian peoples are repeatedly told that Bolshevik Russians are determined enemies of imperialism and national oppression and that the centralizing measure which are increasing in scope and number are not what they appear to be—steps to secure Russian hegemony over the non-Russian people of the Union—but are intended solely to hasten the advent of pure communism and the complete disappearance of national differences. In this way self-denationalization is forced as a matter of honor involving the subject's proletarian status. This method has been exploited for the last twenty years; it is now being used in Western Ukraine. We know it as a matter of historical fact that those who do not succumb are branded as bourgeois nationalists and counter-revolutionaries. In Ukraine such nationalist enemies have been an ever-increasing source of difficulties for the Red regime. Strangely enough, we never hear of Russian nationalists and chauvinists. It is considered honorable to glorify the national heroes of Russian history; it is sacrilegious to express oneself favorably about the great men in Ukrainian history. Apparently in the eyes of the Kremlin only non-Russians can offend by nationalism. In this connection the following extract from *Bodrost*, of October 1, a Russian paper published in Paris, is illuminating. *Bodrost* wrote:

"People are quite justified when they say that Bolshevik policy is ultra-imperialistic and follows closely Pan-Slavism and other old Russian Great-Power tactics. This cannot be explained simply by attributing it to the personnel of the present ruling group, for its own evolution is the result of an evolutionary process embracing the whole nation; and in this respect there can be no doubt that Muscovite masses are now passing through a paroxysm of patriotism and national pride, if you wish, even chauvinism born of a long period of national humiliation.

"The soldiers who are occupying Galicia and the northern slopes of the Carpathians have nothing psychologically in common with those Red units which broke into Galicia in 1920. You can imagine what passes through the minds of commanders and soldiers, reared upon the traditions of Alexander Nevsky, Peter, Suvorov and Borodin, who are now in a country covered with the graves of Muscovite heroes who fell in 1914, 1915, and 1916. It is impossible that the heads of Muscovites who are now rising up in the Carpathians should not be reeling! Ostensibly contradictory motives are being woven into one: 'the Great Muscovite people, first among peers'—this nationalistic and imperial formula shall now re-echo beyond the confines of the Soviet Union."

The above quotation speaks for itself; nothing need be added.

(Ukrainian National Information Service, London)

POLAND DESIRES COOPERATION WITH UKRAINIANS

(Concluded)

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ONLY a few months ago the Polish statesmen and representatives abroad maintained that there is no such thing as a Ukrainian nation and that the "so-called" Ukrainian problem has been "projected into the European picture by Nazi Germany." Then suddenly the Poles realized that they had been entrapped by Germany. And the Polish leaders, reluctantly though, began to stretch their hands to the "brothers" Ukrainians, asking their support in face of the Western aggressor. And though the Ukrainian soldiers did die on the Polish-German front, that opportunistic and much belated Polish gesture did not help to save Poland, weakened by the oppressive policy of her government.

Today the Poles want us to believe that they speak seriously of freedom and independence of Ukraine, White Russia and other subjugated nations, want us to join hands with them for the benefit of a "common" cause, that of defeating our common enemies, Germany and Soviet Russia.

Are Polish And Ukrainian Aims Identical?

Let us consider this fact. First of all, is that "joining hands" essential to the Poles in their struggle for independence? Do the Poles really need it, and do the Ukrainians need it? After all, taking it from the realistic point of view, the principal enemy of Poland is Germany, since it occupies virtually all of the ethnographic Polish territory. Only a part of the Western Ukrainian territory is in Germany hands (Lemkivschyna). The principal enemy of Ukraine is Soviet Russia which occupies almost all of the Ukrainian lands, with the exception of Carpatho-Ukraine (under Hungary), parts of Bukovina and Bessarabia (under Rumania) and the above mentioned territory under Germany. It is safe to say that, really, no Polish ethnographic territory is under Soviet occupation. Now, much as we fear German victory in the present war, as it would ultimately amount to resumption in the future of her drive to the east, the primary objective of which would inevitably be Ukraine, we must remember that, in the final analysis, the Polish and the Ukrainian immediate practical aims are not entirely identical. Therefore, there is no profound justification for the creation of any common Polish-Ukrainian front and no use for the Poles to appeal to the sentiment of the Slavic "brothers," unless they want us, and other Slavs, to help them in their own liberation. Poland cannot do much in the way of helping us, or others, as she cannot do much for herself.

Are Poles Sincere About Ukraine's Independence?

Secondly, can it be true, that the Poles really have at heart the cause of independence of a united Ukraine? Unfortunately, we cannot believe that. It is impossible for a nation's character to change overnight. The famous Polish slogan, "Za naszą i waszą wolność," meaning, "for our and your freedom," which re-echoed especially during the current century whenever Poles needed the Ukrainians, and its painful consequences, are too fresh in our memory. And today our suspicion of Polish insincerity is heightened by the fact that a few weeks ago the Premier of the exiled Polish Government, General Sikorski, stated on his visit to London, that he believes that Poland will be restored "as she was before," which means with the inclusion of Western Ukraine. This statement of General Sikorski explains thoroughly why the Poles desire a common Polish-Ukrainian front.

It is not the Polish proposal of a common front with the Ukrainians, but the motives behind it that are important in this case. How, then can one explain the nature of the Polish gesture? We must

be blunt in answering this question:

The Poles do not really desire a common front with Ukrainians, neither do they have Ukraine's independence at heart. On the contrary, they fear Ukraine's independence. They need collaboration with Ukrainians for the same reason that they need to have a Ukrainian "representative" in their exiled "parliament" in Amjers, that they try forcefully to enlist the Ukrainian immigrants in France for the service in the Polish army now being organized in exile, namely—in order to prove their claims to the Western Ukrainian territory on the grounds of a fixed "cooperation" of the Ukrainians with the Polish Government. Furthermore, the Poles realize that the Ukrainian issue is growing daily in importance and that the inevitability of emergence of a united and independent Ukrainian state is given much serious consideration by all the governments desirous of lasting peace and new and better European order. Psychologically, the Poles cannot tolerate such a possibility. Anyhow, they cannot tolerate the possibility of unification of all the Ukrainian lands, including the western parts which previously belonged to them. In order to sidetrack that problem the Poles seek means by which they would be able to usurp the representation of the Ukrainian claims before the Allied Powers, the expectant victors of this war, an attempt which, if carried out successfully, would destroy the independent aspects of the Ukrainian issue, would ultimately lead Poland to regaining Western Ukraine at the end of the war, perhaps even to obtaining more of the Ukrainian lands, and finally would put her in a position of domination over Ukraine after the expected break-up of Soviet Russia. And to provide the means of attaining that, the Poles today make this gesture to the Ukrainians.

Not for independence of Ukraine, but on the contrary, for the defeat of the idea of Ukrainian State is such a Polish-Ukrainian front calculated by the Poles.

Probability of Pressure by Allies

There is also a great probability that the Polish Government was told by its present guardians—Great Britain and France—that if Poland is to exist as an independent country after the defeat of Germany and be able to perform a service of some value to the cause of European peace and stability, she cannot be left alone out there in the east between the same two enemies which have just destroyed her. Because in that case her position would be endangered and her ability of helping in the maintenance of European order would be insignificant as it was before the war. She probably was told that she must adjoin some other powerful countries, especially Ukraine, if the driving force of those two insatiable powers, Germany and Russia, was to be broken and their "drang-s" checked.

And so the Poles set upon an idea of a common front, of a workable federation of states, from the Baltic to Mediterranean and the Black Seas, reserving for Poland a key position in that federation so that the entire set-up would be under Poland's leadership. This is rather a bold intention on the part of the Poles, a nation which was reduced by the force of aggressors to the humiliating level of subjugation, such as that of Ukrainians, for instance; whose present possibilities of contributing toward the change of the situation are not exceeding, if at all equalling those of other subjugated nations, and directed to the latter,—that is we must say a little beyond means and capacity of the Polish nation.

If some new order is to be arranged in Eastern Europe—and we believe it has to be—then, it is not the question of Poland's wish to be in the key position, it is the

question of which country has natural attributes to occupy that pivotal point.

Proportion Between Poland and Ukraine

We shall draw a parallel between Poland and Ukraine, this time not for the purpose of forcing attention to Ukraine but as a means of contradicting the logic of Polish conception.—Poland, a nation of about 17 or 18 millions, her ethnographic territory smaller than that of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia put together, her natural resources rather negligible, and hence, her economic possibilities very limited. Her geographic position unenviable. Today the Polish nation is subjugated and itself can do little about it.

Ukraine is a nation of about 50 millions, her ethnographic territory larger than that of any other country in Europe, with the exception of Soviet Russia, and perhaps, Germany (within her present boundaries, with conquered territories). Her geographic position is most favorable, and her natural resources enormous. Her economic possibilities are unlimited. The Ukrainian nation, of course, also is subjugated.

Take Poland away from Germany or Russia, and there is practically no change in the balance: Russia and Germany can still remain great and dangerous powers. But take Ukraine away from Russia and the latter, for strategic and economic reasons, must cease to be an empire and must break up. And Germany at the same time is checked forever in her expansion and devoid of a convenience of concluding an alliance with Russia at any suitable time.

Poland's Conquests Within Past Twenty Years

It is hard to understand what makes Poland believe that she should or could be the fundamental and leading element in any new set-up in Eastern Europe. As we said before, she already did occupy that position many times in her history, but, neither she nor the rest of Europe benefitted by that. Instead of working for the security of those East-European countries which, as herself, were in constant danger emanating from the east as well as the west, she took every opportunity to acquire more territories from her neighbors, ever since her restitution after the World War. First she forcefully occupied the Western Ukrainian Republic, then she jumped at the Lithuania's Wilno district, and, finally, she took the advantage of Czechoslovakia's plight caused by Germany's aggression and annexed the Teschen region. So far we have the record of what Poland could do for the cause of any collective security and this record forecasts a gloomy future for any East-European block under Polish leadership, if such a possibility is conceivable at all.

In the meanwhile other factors in the east of Europe are emerging, which, due to their natural strategic and political significance, will inevitably assume the leader role in the process of taming the powers of aggressive moods and rallying the subjugated nations for a struggle for their liberation.

Is Poland Ready to Renounce Western Ukraine?

So, as for any common Polish-Ukrainian front, such is undesirable and unnecessary as in the end it would most certainly bring detrimental results to the Ukrainians. Why should we risk so much for something that Poland cannot possibly give us? But even if we should assume theoretically the possibility of mutual Polish-Ukrainian comradeship we should have first to hear from the present Polish Government the following plain and definite declaration, which would at least testify to the sincerity of the Polish appeals, namely: that Poland once and for all renounces whatever claims she might pretended to have to the Western-Ukrainian lands, those that recently passed to Soviet Russia, and those that are now under German Occupation.

It is up to Poland to prove that

YOUTH and THE U.N.A.

Forging Ahead

The U.N.A., through its extensive membership campaign, had 452 branches at the close of 1937. Its total membership exceeded 35,000 and its assets amounted to about six million dollars. As the U.N.A. will continue its campaign throughout 1940, there is every reason to believe that these figures will be considerably higher at the end of the year.

Many of the new branches organized in 1939 consist entirely of young persons. With more than fifty of these youth branches already in existence, one can look forward to a large youth representation at the U.N.A. Convention to be held early in 1941. For the benefit of uninformed members, we would like to repeat that, for a branch to elect a delegate to this important convention, that branch must have twenty-five or more adult members by December 31st, 1940. As no exceptions can be made to this By-Law, all small branches are urged to organize the required number of members without delay. We will stress this from time to time during the year, inasmuch as it is the hope of all concerned to see every youth branch represented by a delegate at the convention.

As in previous years, the U.N.A. will give dividends to all members who have been in the fraternal order two years or more. About 30,000 adult and juvenile members can look forward to receiving dividends this year. As many other companies dealing in insurance do not pay dividends until after three years, it can be seen that the U.N.A. has an advantage in this respect. Its members enjoy many other privileges and advantage, all of which were discussed in previous columns.

As it is apparent that the U.N.A. is forging ahead, with every indication that it will grow to be a still greater and more influential factor here in America, non-members are urged to join now so that they can enjoy the additional benefits that are to come in the future. The U.N.A. is getting bigger and more powerful every year, and this fact alone should carry much weight.

N. J. UNIVERSITY CLUB ACTIVITIES

The Ukrainian University Club of New Jersey, which meets regularly in Newark, has held two lectures and intends to continue this program.

War Plays by David Lilien, M. A. inaugurated the new program. Mr. Lilien, who wrote a thesis on this subject, discussed, contrasted and compared many war plays dating from the Greek to the present day playwrights.

Mr. William Kusiw, American Ukrainian business man and economist, discussed our economic system with a view toward remedies to be applied in a "So What" talk.

There are scheduled talks by a historian, psychologist, and professor of English in the near future. These dates will be announced shortly. Everyone is welcome to attend them. There is no charge.

On February 3, 1940, the Ukrainian University Club of New Jersey will hold its first semi-formal dance, Evening of Romance, at the Hotel Riviera in Newark, New Jersey. This is the first such affair sponsored by any single organization although Newark has been noted for its conventions and rallies.

In addition to the dance, instructions in "Romancing" may be obtained by contacting the Romancing Committee headed by Miss Evelyn "Juliet" Kalakura, and Mr. Walter "Roméo" Michaelson. All youth are invited to meet the college crowd in a collegiate atmosphere.

GEORGE PROWE, President.

she is sincere and as for the future Polish-Ukrainian cooperation, the Ukrainians will see what they will do about that when they wield their own power in their own independent state.

(Ukrainian Bureau, Washington)

COUNSEL TO OUR YOUTH

ONE half of the North American continent is at war. The Ukrainian youth living in the Northern half have already displayed their loyalty in agreeing with Sir Neville Chamberlain that "Life without liberty is not worth living." Today many Ukrainian boys from Western Canada are overseas with the first Canadian division in England. Throughout Canada various Ukrainian organizations have pledged their support to the country that has been good to them. Ukrainian professionals, likewise, stand prepared to take arms and offer their services as required, be it in the dental, medical or engineering division.

Such then are the recent developments amidst Ukrainians in Canada and for such reasons have we recently decided that a Toronto Convention of the Ukrainian Youth's League of North America for 1940 would not be advisable.

Those Ukrainians who for years have taken an active interest in the league feel that the Canadian Ukrainian youth could not, at present, reciprocate justly to the warm welcome and genuine hospitality of our Ukrainian friends in the United States. Nevertheless we shall continue to work hand in hand across our friendly border and jointly realize that we are one big family with mutual understanding and sympathies and always—the same Ukrainian Cause.

Now, more than ever before, should Ukrainian youth be prepared to make publicly known the injustice done to 45 million Ukrainians in their native land Ukraine. Now, more than ever should we be prepared to challenge any unfair settlements when the entire European continent is being recrystallized into a new Europe with a New Ukraine.

These should be real issues for the Ukrainian youth of North America. Those of us who came from Ukrainian parentage should not be backward to let other people know that our racial origin is Ukrainian. There are still some who are so backward. This, from a standpoint of sociology, is merely a reflection of their character which certainly could not be of a genuine nature if it's racial origin is kept under cover.

We should always try to learn more not only of the Ukrainian language, but of any language for that matter. It is all educational and cultural in broadening our horizon and inflaming our intellect. Many instances could be given of learned men who stressed the importance of knowing several languages. Men like Walter Scott, Thomas Carlyle and Coleridge studied, for example, German, and admitted that a great deal of their enlightenment was derived through such a medium.

Whenever you go or whatever country you visit you will find that racial characteristics are to a race what individuality is to an individual. They may be good or they may be bad but there is one thing about them—they can always be improved upon. Nations, like individuals, die, but the cultural acquirements of any nation go on from one generation to another. Each year we read of certain contributions for Ukrainian culture that shall live and thereby increase our resources. One also notices that the contributors are not necessarily old or retired men. In fact most of them are still young, which is quite in accordance with Goethe's philosophy "That we must be young to do great things."

But perhaps some will say "Oh, at a later date, next year." To this there is but one answer—that postponing is bad—the thing is to start on time—start today.

The days of our youth are swiftly fleeing away. It was John Ruskin who said "I wonder why old people do not say more to young people about the value of youth."

Down through the centuries poets and philosophers continued to stress the opportunities em-

bracing youth as revealed in this Arabian poem.

"Time is our slave and Fortune's. We need not years for fruition. Here in our hands behold a key which unlocks the world. Each new day is a life. For us there is no to-morrow. Love no yesterday knows nor we, but today is ours."

Infinitely more important than riches or fame or abilities for our Ukrainian youth, is a character of integrity, virtue and faithfulness. Character is indispensable to true success. Both character and personality are enriched by education which does not necessarily have to be a college or university education.

While at medical college we were taught that morals cannot be legislated into people, but ideals can be educated into them. Psychology teaches us that every man is the architect of his own character. If he yields to evil inclinations and contracts bad habits, he becomes depraved and vicious. If on the other hand he controls his will power and forms good habits he fashions for himself an upright, strong and virtuous character.

In the cultivation of character the strong man reserves the right to think for himself for he knows that even to think wrongly is better than not to think at all.

We can recall the artist who, when asked what he mixes his paints with, replied "With Brains, sir." And so brains are the alpha and omega of the man who wants to reach great heights, be it in arts or in sciences.

Perhaps some of our able Ukrainian youth have been handicapped through an unfortunate physical disability, but remain eager and anxious to contribute towards our cultural or social heritage and at the same time strengthen our national consciousness. To them we convey a message of sincere felicitation and good health along with this little poem entitled "Conquest":

"Milton, the blind, who looked on Paradise
Beethoven, deaf, who heard vast symphonies
Byron, the lame, who climbed towards Alpine skies.
Who pleads a handicap remembering these."

In such cases it is the loftiness of soul that enables one to rise superior to life's tragedies and disappointments. Witness, for instance, Beethoven the deaf composer of those matchless symphonies in his lodgings in Vienna, weeping over the portrait of a woman whom he loved too dearly to marry, for he did not want to afflict her with his deafness, and so broke the engagement, although it almost broke his heart at the same time. But Beethoven's loftiness of soul gave him the victory. His sorrows added to the world's rapture for his music "coming from a weeping heart had melodies in it which were more divine than human."

Similarly our own Taras Shevchenko whose life was dominated by an ideal to free Ukraine from its bondage, revealed great courage in his perseverance (though often in tears) because of his loftiness of character, to free his people.

Before long all Ukrainian organizations will assemble at Congress to further strengthen our stand and express our determination to liberate Ukraine. Here too, our youth organizations will be represented and carry the banner for the rest of us. Whatever be the outcome, we must always strive to do our best and remember what Cicero had to say "Long life is denied us, therefore let us do something to show that we have lived".

A. T. WACHNA, M. D.
Windsor, Canada.

NEWARK, N. J.

EVENING of ROMANCE sponsored by Ukrainian University Club of New Jersey. Music by Freddie Richman and his Hi-Hatters at the Hotel Riviera, Newark, N. J., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1940. Semi-formal Dance. Subscription \$1.00 per person. 5-

HISTORIC JANUARY 22, 1919

(Concluded)

THE Ukrainian union of January 22, 1919 was a heroic act. Both component parts of Ukraine had then but recently declared their independence, and were still in the throes of a desperate struggle to preserve that independence against the combined attacks of the Bolsheviks, the Poles, and the tsarist Russians ("Whites"). In this great crisis the Ukrainians made the supreme gesture of their conviction in the sanctity of their cause by uniting themselves into one free and independent Ukrainian state, embracing Eastern (Dnieper) Ukraine and Western Ukraine (including Carpatho-Ukraine).

The morning of that memorable day in Kiev dawned bright and clear with just a tinge of frost in the air. The ancient capitol of Ukraine betook on a holiday air as masses of people, leaving behind the few daily tasks that were possible in those turbulent days, wended their way from all corners of the city to the St. Sophia Square. The square, scene of many famous historic events since the early Middle Ages, seemed like a billowing sea of Ukrainian blue and yellow banners. Just where the St. Volodimir Avenue enters it, a large triumphal arch had been erected and decorated with the national colors and coats-of-arms of the various sections of Ukraine. Set up in a conspicuous place among them all was the Galician lion on a field of blue.

Near the center of the square, high above the sea of banners, stood the statue of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the famous Hetman of Cossack Ukraine who had freed all his native land of foreign rule, only to nullify this great deed by signing the disastrous Treaty of Pereyaslav with Russia. The figure of the Hetman, mounted on a rearing horse and pointing with his "bulawa" to the north, seemed to take on added significance on this day. Where formerly his pointing to the north had been interpreted by some, especially the Russians, to mean that yonder, to the north, in Moscow, lay the future of Ukraine; on this day, however, to the thousands of Ukrainians milling about the square, Bohdan Khmelnytsky appeared to be exhorting the whole Ukrainian nation: "Away with these Russian invaders! Drive them back to where they belong—Moscow!"

All of the streets and avenues running into the St. Sophia Square were lined with rows of school children, many of them dressed in their native Ukrainian costumes. Fringing the square was a strong cordon of Ukrainian troops, holding back the huge masses of people which overflowed even unto the rooftops, trees, and walls, and letting in only those who were members of the many official representative bodies taking part in the ceremonies. The entire program

of events was under the personal direction of Nicholas Sadowsky, the leading Ukrainian theatrical figure of his time.

While the people were streaming in and taking positions of vantage, a High Mass was being celebrated in the St. Sophia Cathedral, built by that famous Ukrainian monarch Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054). Just before 12 noon the delegation of the Western Ukrainian Republic arrived in automobiles. Following them came the members of the Directory,—the governing body led by Volodimir Vinnichenko and Semen Petlura. Their arrival was met with rousing cheers and "slavas." Everything came to a standstill when a military band played the stirring strains of the Ukrainian national hymn. All of the many delegations then took their assigned places in front of the Cathedral. Among them were members of the Directory, members of the Western Ukrainian Republic delegation, foreign diplomatic representatives, members of the various congresses (conventions) being held during that time in Kiev, delegations of the various branches of the Ukrainian Army, while in the very forefront stood the high command of the famed Ukrainian Sichowi Striltsi, stationed in Kiev at that time.

Exactly at 12 o'clock noon, the official ceremonies of the Union of Western and Eastern Ukrainians began. Amidst a solemn hush a member of the Western Ukrainian delegation stepped forward before the arrayed front of the Directory and slowly read the formal resolution of the Ukrainian National Rada, governing body of Western Ukraine, to unite with Eastern Ukraine—the Ukrainian National Republic. The resolution emphasized the fact that it was based on the natural right of "self-determination" of all peoples. It was dated at Stanislaw, on January 17th of that year. At the completion of its reading the document was handed ceremoniously over to Vinnichenko, head of the Directory. A moment later it was re-read in the French language, for the benefit of the foreign diplomatic corps.

At the conclusion of this, one of the members of the Directory stepped forward and read the Universal (proclamation) of the Directory to the effect that the latter, in the name of the Ukrainian National Republic, accepted the offer of the Western Ukrainian Republic to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic, and that these two component parts of Ukraine, separated by unnatural political barriers for centuries, were from now on united in one mighty Ukrainian free and independent state.

"The centuries-old dream of the Ukrainian people has at last been realized," read the Universal of Union. "Henceforth there is only one United Independent Ukrainian National Republic."

ATTENTION! NEWARK, N. J.

GIRL MEETS BOY DANCE sponsored by The Ukrainian Center Girls on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1940 to be held at the Ukrainian Center, 180-186 William St., Newark, N. J. Music by Freddie Richman and His Hi-Hatters. Commencing 8:30 P. M. Admission 40¢. 28,40

NEW YORK CITY

L'amour, Toujours, L'amour! And so once more Cupid will wield his bow and arrow at the ST. VALENTINE'S DANCE given by the Ukrainian Civic Center, on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1940, at the International Institute, 341 E. 17th St., New York City, at 8:00 P. M. Admission .50¢. Johnny King and his Orchestra will put you in the mood! 22,-

PHILADELPHIA

Your attention, please... announcing the hit of the year: SECOND ANNUAL BALL sponsored by the Philly U.N.A. Youth Club at the Ukrainian Hall, 847-49 N. Franklin St., Phila., on FEBRUARY 3, 1940. Featuring Nick Boley & his Casa Del Rey Orchestra and Michael Cherkas' Ukrainian Orchestra. Continuous dancing from 8 till 12 for a mere 35¢ admission. 10,-

TWO LEADING SCORERS

The two leading scorers in the Philadelphia collegiate basketball district are Ukrainians—Mike Lazorchak and "Duke" Duzminski, Villanova's veteran court stars. In nine games played, Lazorchak scored 98 points while Duzminski netted 93 to lead the individual scoring parade as they have been doing all season and in the past two years.

AL YAREMKO.

NEW YORK CITY:

The Ukrainian Folk Dance Circle of New York City, under the leadership of Michael Herman will hold an OPEN HOUSE, WEDNESDAY Evening, FEBRUARY 7, 1940, at the International Institute, 341 E. 17th St., New York City, at 8:30 P. M. Admission .35¢. Folk dances of all countries including Ukrainian, will be taught, demonstrated and danced all evening. Refreshments. EVERYBODY WELCOME. P. S. We will have an OPEN HOUSE the first Wednesday of every month, so mark it down in your datebook now.