

MEMORIAL

TO

The Congress of the United States

By the League of American Citizens
of Ukrainian Extraction

CONCERNING

The West Ukrainian Republic

Lawful Government of Galicia and
Bukovina: Its Just Sovereignty and
the Present Suffering of Its People

WITH DOCUMENTS

MEMORIAL

TO

The Congress of the United States

On the Case of the West Ukrainian Republic, Comprising the
Ukrainian Countries of Galicia and Bukovina.

The question concerning the political status of the so-called East Galicia and Northern Bukovina, territories which until the dissolution of the Austrian Empire belonged to Austria, has not been decided to this day. East Galicia is under a temporary Polish military occupation. The Polish regime in this unfortunate land is characterized by barbarous atrocities and national and religious persecutions practised upon the Ukrainian and Jewish populations of this country. In comparison with these Polish outrages against the people of East Galicia, the persecutions in the Balkans and in Armenia are mild. Northern Bukovina, also peopled by Ukrainians, is under a temporary Roumanian military occupation. Roumania is endeavoring to Roumanianize this Ukrainian Territory. The Roumanian Premier, General Averescu, however, officially declared that Roumania is ready at any moment, just as soon as the case of East Galicia is finally settled, to evacuate Northern Bukovina.

The facts pertaining to the frightful and lawless Polish temporary regime in East Galicia will be presented in a separate memorandum. Here will be presented only the international political status of the East Galician question.

1. *The Organization of East Galicia and Northern Bukovina
Into a Separate State—The West Ukrainian or
Galician Republic*

When Austria collapsed in October, 1918, the people of East Galicia and Northern Bukovina, seventy-five per cent. of whom are Ukrainians, established their own State in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples. This State they called the West Ukrainian Republic (or Galician Republic) in order to distinguish it from the Ukrainian People's Republic, which was established in 1917, on the Ukrainian territories of former Russia. The establishment of the West Ukrainian (Galician) Republic was effected in a way analogous to that in which the Czecho-Slovak State was established, namely: All the Ukrainian members of the Austrian Parliament, of the Austrian House of Lords, and of the Diets of Galicia and Bukovina; in other words, all the lawful representatives of the population of East Galicia and Northern Bukovina, to the number of about one hundred, elected by the people at a general election convened in Lemberg, the capital of the country, on October 16, 1917, and constituted themselves the Ukrainian National Assembly. This Assembly then proclaimed all the Ukrainian territories of former Austria-Hungary an independent national State—the West Ukrainian Republic. On November 1, 1918, the Ukrainian National Assembly assumed power in all the Ukrainian territories of former Austria. This assumption of power by the Ukrainian National Assembly was effected through an almost bloodless revolution, in which all the former Austrian bureaucrats were removed from authority. All the Ukrainian regiments which had served in the Austrian Army submitted to the authority of the Ukrainian National Assembly and formed the nucleus of the Ukrainian-Galician Army. The Ukrainian National Assembly formed a cabinet of ministers called the State Secretariat, and in a short time had the full administration of the country in its hands. It is evident that this administration functioned normally

and successfully from the fact that during the period of the Ukrainian national rule in East Galicia, there was not one instance of a pogrom, uprising, or political disturbance; on the contrary, the period of Ukrainian rule was a period of law, peace and order. This normal and efficient functioning of the Ukrainian Government in East Galicia was confirmed by the commission sent by the American Peace Delegation in the spring of 1919 to investigate and report conditions in East Galicia.

II. Polish Invasion of East Galicia

If this Galician State existed peacefully, it would be the best defense of the Carpathian gates to Central Europe and would offer an impregnable obstacle to a westward advance of the Bolsheviki. Unfortunately, the new Polish State, blinded by militarism and imperialism, launched a predatory campaign against the non-Polish territories to the East, and already in November, 1918, invaded East Galicia.

The Ukrainian population of the country, supported by the Jews, defended their freedom heroically for eight months, and lost the struggle only because they were being attacked at the same time by the Russian Bolsheviki on the East and because they were cut off from all supplies, not only of ammunition, but also of the most necessary medicaments. The Polish Army forced the Galician Army beyond the River Zbruch; that is, into the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic (former South Russia). This happened in July, 1919. Here, in Greater Ukraine, the Galician Army was attacked by the Russian Bolsheviki on one side and by Deniken's Army on another side. It fought heroically for several months and then was shattered, not so much by the Bolsheviki and Denikin as by an epidemic of spotted typhus and by the total lack of food supplies and medicaments. The horrible conditions of sanitation in which this heroic army perished have been very vividly reported by Colonel

Davison, of the American Red Cross. Remnants of this Galician Army exist to this day, interned in Czecho-Slovakia. A very large number of men from this army are also in Polish war prisoners' camps.

The Government of the West Ukrainian Republic, established by the Ukrainian National Assembly and remaining under the leadership of the President of the Ukrainian National Assembly, Dr. Eugene Petrushevich, followed its army across the Zbruch and later, when this army dissolved, moved to Western Europe, where it remains in exile to this very day. This Government is recognized to this day by the people of East Galicia as the only body which lawfully represents the country. The best proof of this is the fact that among the population of East Galicia (both the Ukrainian and Jewish population), there is not even one political group which would enter into negotiations with Poland on the subject of a union of East Galicia with Poland. Poland maintains her foothold in East Galicia only by virtue of executions, hangings, and the arrest and internment of over a quarter of a million energetic individuals, who are being tortured to death in internment camps and prisons. In spite of these frightful repressions, popular uprisings occur every three or four months. The Polish military authorities answer these uprisings by burning entire villages, by wholesale executions, and by the brutal torture of prisoners. This barbarous method of suppression only provokes the people to further rebellion.

III. Prussian Methods Used by Polish Invaders in East Galicia

Encouraged by its previous success and taking advantage of the inability of the Allied and Associated Powers to take up immediately the matter of East Galicia, Poland now decided again to place an accomplished fact before the great powers of forcibly changing the composition of the population of East Galicia. In accordance with this policy—

- (1) Thousands of Ukrainians, among them the seventy-two-year-

old State Secretary of the East Galician Republic, several elderly Ukrainian priests, women and even children were executed without investigation or trial, many being tortured to death.

(2) Nearly 250,000 men and women and children were kept in most unsanitary prisons. More than 80,000 of them died. Some were released crippled for life, while others are still incarcerated.

(3) About 200,000 Ukrainians, in order to escape death or imprisonment, had been forced to flee to neighboring countries, where most of them suffer greatly because of unemployment.

(4) Hundreds of villages have been burned down by the Polish Army and their inhabitants robbed of all their belongings.

(5) Practically no sanitary aid is given to the Ukrainian population, and as a consequence many thousands have died of typhus and other diseases.

(6) So far 120,000 Polish colonists have been brought into East Galicia by the Polish Colonization Commission and given every aid to acquire land, while local Ukrainians or those returning from America are not allowed to buy any land in East Galicia.

(7) Ukrainians connected with the railroad, mail or other government service have been discharged and their places given to Poles imported from Poland.

(8) About thirty-three per cent. of Ukrainian public schools have been closed and about as many Polandized, and 2,000 Ukrainian students have been driven out of the country by being denied entrance into the university.

(9) Many Ukrainian churches have been desecrated; all theological seminaries closed and their buildings turned into military barracks. The Ukrainian Metropolitan and two bishops and other church dignitaries have been insulted and imprisoned. Starving Ukrainians are given aid only on condition that they turn Polish Catholic.

(10) The Ukrainian language has been replaced by the Polish in all public institutions.

(11) The Ukrainian societies, educational and athletic, social clubs, even some economic corporations, have been closed and their buildings requisitioned by the Polish Army.

(12) Self-government of Ukrainian communities has been destroyed by appointing Polish commissars with autocratic powers in place of elected officers.

(13) Contrary to international usage, citizens of some districts of East Galicia have been impressed into the Polish Army.

(14) A number of Ukrainian independent newspapers have been suppressed; others ruined by frequent confiscations and heavy fines.

(15) The rights of assembly and of free speech are denied to Ukrainians in East Galicia.

IV. Whole Population of East Galicia for Independence

Even a part of the Polish minority in the country (the Poles do not constitute more than fifteen per cent. of the total population); that is, the productive class of Poles, desire to live in peaceful co-operation with the majority; in other words, the productive class of Poles in East Galicia favor the independence of the country. For instance, the Polish representative from Lemberg, Ernest Breiter, undoubtedly the most popular man among the Poles of East Galicia, is an active member of the Government of East Galicia, now in exile. The Jews of East Galicia are, in this matter, in perfect accord with the remainder of the population. They recognize the government set up by the East Galician National Assembly, headed by Dr. Eugene Petrushevich, now in exile, as the only lawful government of East Galicia. Only the Polish bureaucracy is materially interested in the continuation of Polish occupation of East Galicia.

V. The Case of East Galicia From the Viewpoint of International Law

The present international status of the case of East Galicia is as follows: *East Galicia is regarded in international law as a*

distinct individual whose political status has not yet been determined and the right of whose disposal belongs to those powers of the Entente who signed the Peace Treaty of Saint Germain. In this Treaty, Austria gives up East Galicia and Northern Bukovina to the Allies. Poland received by the Treaty only the so-called West Galicia as far as the River San, which territory is, with slight exceptions, indisputably Polish. The Supreme Council, by its decision of December 8, 1919, defined the so-called Curzon-Polk line as the extreme Eastern boundary of Poland. This boundary line excludes all of East Galicia, together with Lemberg, the capital of the country. Nearly all the territory of the West Ukrainian Republic, therefore, lies to the east of the extreme Eastern boundary of Poland as defined by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference.

The following facts prove conclusively that, from the viewpoint of international law, East Galicia is an entirely separate country:

1. *On June 10, 1920, at Sevres, a Treaty was concluded by Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, and East Galicia, defining boundaries between Czecho-Slovakia and the other signatories. East Galicia appears in this Treaty as a distinct contracting party; that is, as a distinct political entity in the face of international law.* Since the Government of East Galicia had not been formally recognized, the Allies themselves signed the Treaty for East Galicia.

2. *On July 10, 1920, at Spa, a protocol was drawn up between the Allies and Poland, in which Poland states explicitly that East Galicia is the property of the Allies and promised to evacuate East Galicia on demand of the Allies.* The Polish representatives signing this protocol were Premier Grabski and Delegate Paderewski.

3. *Bonar Law announced before the British Parliament, on July 14, 1920, that a conference would be convoked in London for the settlement of East European questions. He said clearly that delegates from East Galicia were to be invited to this conference. The conference did not take place because the Russian Bolsheviki Government refused to take part in it.*

4. *Secretary of State Colby, in his note of August 10, 1920, to the Italian Ambassador, and in his statements of October 21, 1920, to the press, stated emphatically that Poland must be an ethnographic State, and that she must accept the Curzon-Polk line as her extreme Eastern boundary. He also declared that the Government of the United States advised Poland to withdraw her forces from all territory lying to the east of the Curzon-Polk line. On this occasion, Mr. Colby made mention of East Galicia; he expressed his regret over the fact that Poland, led by imperialism, occupied Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, in the same arbitrary and lawless manner in which she previously had occupied East Galicia.*

5. *The Council of the League of Nations, at its session of February 23, 1921, in Paris, considered the notes of the West Ukrainian Government to the Council of the League of Nations, demanding the removal of the Polish military occupation of East Galicia, and demanding that the people of East Galicia be permitted to exercise their right to self-determination. On the motion of Mr. Huimans, based upon the report of the Secretary General of the League of Nations, the Council of the League of Nations unanimously adopted an important resolution, which in part is as follows:*

(a) *The terms of the Peace Treaty concerning the rights of national minorities in Poland cannot be applied to Galicia because Galicia lies outside the boundaries of Poland. (Italics ours.)*

(b) *The terms concerning the execution of mandates and the control of the League of Nations over the mandatories cannot be applied to Galicia because Poland was not given a mandate for the administration of this country.*

(c) *The regulations of the Hague Convention cannot be applied to this case because at the time of this Convention, Poland did not exist as a State.*

(d) *Poland is merely the de facto military occupant of Galicia; the sovereign of this country is the Entente (Article 91, Treaty of Saint Germain). Therefore, the Council of the League of Nations resolves to refer the demands presented to it by the West Ukrainian*

Government with reference to the legal status of Galicia and the conditions in this country, to the Council of Ambassadors.

When one takes into consideration the fact that the same nations are represented in the Council of Ambassadors as in the Council of the League of Nations (England, France, Italy, Japan and Belgium), one can feel almost certain that the Council of Ambassadors will not disagree with the Council of the League of Nations with regard to the East Galician question.

6. The Government of East Galicia; that is, the Government established by the West Ukrainian National Assembly has its representatives in Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary, and not formally recognized, but acting representatives in Paris, London, Berlin and Rome. The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference several times officially received the delegation of the West Ukrainian Republic, recognizing, thereby, the right of this Government to speak in the name of East Galicia. The Governments of all European countries acknowledge the official character of the envoys and missions of the West Ukrainian Republic, and honor and vise the diplomatic passports issued by the West Ukrainian Government.

There are many additional facts and events in international politics which prove that, *in the opinion of the determining political bodies of all nations, East Galicia is a non-Polish country* and a country which should not and will not belong to Poland. Thus there are: 1, the notes between Earl Curzon and Tchicherin, the Russian Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs; 2, the repeated declarations of Lloyd George in the British Parliament and by the British Foreign Office; 3, the declarations of the Bolshevik delegation at Riga, and similar declarations of the anti-Bolshevik Russian representatives in Paris (Sazonoff, Milyukoff and Kerensky); 4, the declarations of the Governments of Czecho-Slovakia (Benesh) and Roumania (Averescu) in their Parliaments, etc.

From the preceding, it follows that the case of East Galicia has already been decided negatively; that is, that *East Galicia does not*

belong to Poland. The only decision in a positive direction is *that East Galicia is a distinct entity in the face of international law,* and that sovereignty over East Galicia belongs only to those Powers of the Entente who signed the Treaty of Saint Germain—among these signatories is the United States.

The point at issue now is the final positive settlement of the East Galician question, which is a very urgent and important matter not only for the people of East Galicia, but also for the pacification of Eastern Europe. The United States should bring about the settlement of this question, if for no other reason than because they have for three years given their silent consent to the atrocities and outrages perpetrated there by the Polish forces of occupation. The Polish crimes in East Galicia are a disgrace to the civilization of the Twentieth Century and should not be permitted to continue.

VI. How the East Galician Question Should Be Settled

The only rational settlement of the East Galician question would be to recognize this country (along with Northern Bukovina) as an independent State, under international control, if necessary. East Galicia has all the requisites of an independent State. From the Eleventh to the middle of the Fourteenth Century she had existed as an independent state. She has a territory of twenty-five thousand square miles, and area equal to that of Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg combined, and a population of over six million; that is, more than the population of many long-existing states of Europe. She has abundant natural resources, which will assure her an independent economic life; namely, petroleum, ozocerite, salt, kainite, coal, immense forests, wheat, sugar beet, cattle, etc. She has a very industrious and nationally conscious population, a fact well known in America; for the East Galician Ukrainian are the best workers in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, in the Carnegie steel mills, in Cleveland, etc. She has her Government (in exile), which was elected and is

acknowledged by the people of the country. She also has the remnants of her army in friendly internment in Czecho-Slovakia.

There are no obstacles of any kind to the immediate recognition of East Galicia. The removal of the Polish forces of occupation and the return of the remnants of the Galician Army are not fundamental questions; they are matters of a merely technical nature and can be settled later. Not one soldier would be required to compel Poland to carry out the decision of the United States. For this purpose, financial and economic pressure will be sufficient because Poland, through her predatory and militaristic policies has brought herself blindly to the very verge of bankruptcy (to date Poland has placed into circulation about one hundred billion marks, not including credits in America and France).

The settlement of the East Galician question and the confinement of Poland to her natural ethnographic boundaries will be a good thing also for the consolidation and recovery of Poland, who otherwise will be compelled to maintain a very large army indefinitely and will have to keep herself always in readiness to suppress uprisings or to wage war. There can be no peace in Eastern Europe without the settlement of the East Galician question.

* * * * *

WHEREFORE THE UNDERSIGNED PRAY:

I. That the Congress of the United States will inquire into the presence, purpose and conduct of Poland's might, in the territory of the West Ukrainian or Galician Republic, particularly into the grievous cruelties, atrocities and repressions by the Polish military forces and civil agents, committed against the natural sovereignty and just independence of that Commonwealth, and against the lives and liberties and the ancient national culture of its inhabitants.

II. And will, therefore, take such action as may appear to be meet and within the province of your August Bodies to terminate the horror of alien tyranny in our home land, and relieve her intolerable distress.

**The Signers are individual Americans of Ukrainian
Extraction to the number of Twelve Thousand**

BROUGHT TOGETHER BY

THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN CITIZENS OF UKRANIAN
EXTRACTION

Headquarters at Philadelphia

ANDREW SZOSTAK,

Secretary.

T. J. HRYCEY,

President.

Subjoined are the signatures of the officers of various subsidiary and affiliated branches and societies and churches, whose aggregate membership thus co-operating in corporate capacity presents an additional approval of FIFTY THOUSAND other Americans of Ukrainian extraction. The Grand Total of Petitioners is Sixty Two Thousand. It is worthy of special mention that this great company includes thousands of soldiers who were with the American colors in the late war.

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF THE UNITED STATES

Headed by the Administrator

RT. REV. PETER PONIATISHYN,

Residence: Newark, N. J.

Representing more than 110 churches throughout the United States
and more than 100 priests

UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX DIOCESE OF THE UNITED STATES

Headed by the Administrator

RT. REV. DR. NICHOLAS KOPATCHUK,

Residence: Newark, N. J.

Representing more than 60 churches throughout the United States
and more than 50 priests

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Head Office: Jersey City, N. J.

14,000 members

JOHN KASHTANIUK,

Secretary.

SIMON YADLOWSKY,

President.

PROVIDENCE ASS'N OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS OF AMERICA

Head Office: Philadelphia, Pa.

9,000 members

DMYTRO SHTOGRYN,

Secretary.

REV. JOHN ORTYNSKY,

President.

UKRAINIAN WORKMEN'S ASSOCIATION "ROBITNYCZYJ SOJUZ"

Head Office: Scranton, Pa.

11,000 members

NICHOLAS LEMCZYNSKY,

Secretary.

GEORGE KRAYKIWSKY,

President.

UKRAINIAN ASSOCIATION "ZHODA BRACTW"

Head Office: Olyphant, Pa.

6,000 members

JOHN HUNDYCH,

Secretary.

GEORGE CHYLAK,

President.

UKRAINIAN NAT'L SOCIETY "NARODNA POMICZ"

Head office: McKee's Rocks, Pa.

4,000 members

MICHAEL SHABATURA,

Secretary.

DMYTRO PORADA,

President.

UKRAINIAN "SICH" GYMNASIUM OF THE UNITED STATES

Head Office: Chicago, Ill.

LUKAS STACHURSKY,

Secretary.

MICHAEL KOCIUK,

President.

Document I

UKRAINIANS IN AMERICA

REPRINT by Permission of an Article in The
Literary Digest for November, 1919: one
of An Excellent Series on Education in
Americanism.

UKRAINIANS IN AMERICA

A large element of the population among European countries that entered on a new era of existence through the dissolutions of the World War is Ukraine, and of its nationals more than one million, approximately, are inhabitants of the United States. Most of them have come from East Galicia, the part of Ukraine formerly subject to the late Austro-Hungarian Empire. Only about fifteen per cent. of the total number of Ukrainians in this country are from Western Russian Ukraine. The principal distinction between the two kinds of Ukrainians lies in religious affiliation and educational advancement. The Ukrainians of East Galicia are Greek Catholics; those from the Russian Ukraine are members of the Russian Orthodox Church. The latter, under the Czarist regime, were held in thrall to the Russian language, ideas and education. They were practically all of the peasant class. The Austrian Government was more liberal, with the result that East Galicia became the seat of Ukrainian culture.

Where They Are Settled—The largest porportion of our Ukrainian population is settled in the Eastern and Middle Western sections of the country. They are most thickly congregated in Pennsylvania, New York, the Lower New England States, in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Missouri. As farmers they are fairly numerous in North Dakota and Minnesota. There are small agricultural colonies of Ukrainians in California and in Oregon, some colonies employed in the lumber industry. In the Eastern and Middle Western States the Ukrainians are employed in steel mills, coal and iron mines. They are mostly factory workers in the New England States. It is to be noted, moreover, that in the greater towns and cities many Ukrainians are carpenters cabinet-makers and furriers. Also, in the big cities not a few workers in hotels and restaurants. Some also are shopkeepers and tradesmen. They

have co-operative stores in Connecticut and in Pennsylvania. There are more Ukrainians in the Keystone State than in any other. In one town an Ukrainian Bank, established a year ago, holds to-day \$1,000,000 in deposits. In another, Northampton, there is a population of 12,000, of which seventy per cent. is Ukrainian. They work in cement mill. Among cities, New York is credited with the two largest Ukrainian colonies, one of which is settled on the East Side, from Second to Sixth Streets, and the other, also on the East Side, but in the vicinity of Seventy-second Street. In the latter neighborhood there is also a colony of Czecho-Slovaks. Ukrainians are to be met in considerable number also in Williamsburg and the Bronx, in Greater New York and in Jersey City and Newark, New Jersey. There is a notable Ukrainian population in Scranton and in Harrisburg, Pa., while in Pittsburg and its environs the Ukrainian population is estimated at 80,000.

Tidal Flow of Immigration—About twenty years ago the Ukrainians began to come to this country in great numbers, which increased until they were landing here at the estimated rate of 100,000 per year. The outbreak of war in 1914 resulted in the stoppage of their immigration. The great majority of the Ukrainian immigrants were men, ranging from early manhood to the forties. Ukrainian women immigrants usually entered domestic service or became workers in hotels and textile mills. Because of the great number of Ukrainian men here their opportunity of marriage was at hand and they quickly settled down to the career of home-making as the mothers of American homes. Their children receive their education in our public schools and it happens more often than not, especially in larger centres, that these children of Ukrainian descent grow up with only a fractional knowledge of the Ukrainian tongue. The Ukrainians maintain private schools in some sections where the language and literature of Ukraine are taught in night classes. These born American citizens naturally abide in this country. In the American forces during the war there were 30,000 men of Ukrainian descent. As an extremely thrifty and prosperous

race, in whatever calling, the Ukrainians were among the heaviest buyers of Liberty Bonds in the class of foreign nationals. Also, the Ukrainians are the only foreign nation which insisted that the purchaser of bonds must make a cash payment at the time of purchase.

Social Organization of Ukrainians—Among notable organizations of Ukrainians are their gymnastic societies, called "Sich," of which there are 300 branches in the United States. Then there are many benevolent societies, of which the foremost is the Ukrainian National Association with headquarters of another in Jersey City; it has 500 branches. In Philadelphia is the headquarters of another benevolent society which has 200 branches. Religiously considered, in the United States the great mass of the Ukrainians are Greek Catholics, and have more than 100 churches here. Some Ukrainians have become Protestants in this country and are mainly affiliated with the Presbyterian denomination. They have seven churches variously distributed. There are about a dozen Ukrainian newspapers, which are mostly of tri-weekly issue. Their chief social and educational medium is the Ukrainian National Committee, whose purpose is to instruct the Ukrainians in the ideals, institutions and history of the United States, while it also keeps them informed about the conditions and progress of the lands of their forebears. This organization, founded on Armistice Day, is a patriotic outgrowth of the Liberty Loan Campaigns, and it has 180 local chapters, which represent more than 1,000 local societies.

Ukrainians In Canada—In Canada there are 500,000 Ukrainians who are prosperous farmers in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta. Whole sections in these provinces are so thoroughly Ukrainian that the Canadian Government has provided bi-lingual schools. The Ukrainians have more than 200 churches here and one priest in some cases conducts the services in several churches. There are about ten Ukrainian newspapers in Canada. In Winnipeg, Manitoba, there are about 40,000 Ukrainians who live mainly in one district that is regarded as a Ukrainian district. In the

large Eastern cities, as for instance Montreal and Toronto, there are a limited Ukrainian population. In the Canadian overseas forces there were 20,000 Ukrainians. A curious instance of intimacy between nations, which became such an everyday matter among the Allies, is found in the Canadian bi-lingual schools in Ukrainian districts. Here the Canadian boys and girls learn their lessons and the folk-songs of Ukraine, which are described as being of great variety and beauty.

N. B. Since the publication of the foregoing summaries time has brought some changes in the political-social organization of American citizens who cherish the consciousness of Ukrainian. To-day it is more correct to say that the most active association is the "League of American Citizens of Ukrainian Extraction."

It is not intended to supplant the Ukrainian National Committee, but to bring into the field fresh forces of Ukrainian sentiment, eager for more complete incorporation in American life, but hopeful in the effort to enlist the sympathy of the Great Republic with the needs of the just requirements of the struggling democracy of their original home.

Document No. II

The Integrity and Proper Designation of Galicia

Including Letter of Dwight M. Lowrey, Counsel
for the League of American Citizens of Ukranian
Extraction to Editor of Public Ledger, Philadel-
phia, Extract from Issue October 20th, 1921.

The Integrity and Proper Designation of Galicia

In deference to prevailing usage in the United States, the authors of the present Memorial have frequently employed the phrase East Galicia to designate the greater portion of the territory of the West Ukrainian Republic. The phrase is, however, somewhat misleading, since it may imply, to persons not accurately informed, the dismemberment of some community naturally a geographical and political whole; like the clash between the Northern and Southern States of our Union, and between a large portion of Ireland and the rest of the British Isles. In fact, what Americans are now frequently calling East Galicia is the true and only Galicia. The country rests on the northeastern face of the Carpathian Mountains, which range approximately from northwest to southeast and divide the region from Czecho-Slovakia and from Hungary. The north-flowing river San forms substantially its western boundary, although the true ethnic line runs somewhat west of that stream. Two noble streams with navigable waters run an easterly and southeasterly course across the land from headwaters in the mountains out through Greater Ukraine into the Black Sea: the Dneister in the center, and south of that the Pruth. The greater part of the Eastern boundary is made by the River Zbruch, which comes into the Dneister in long straight line from the northwest. North is Polish land; North and East is Russian Ukraine; Southeast is Bukovina, beyond which lies Roumania. The boundary between Poland and Galicia approved by the Supreme Council and known as the Curzon line, is slightly inside the line of Ukrainian population on the West.

In further correction of any misconception which may arise on the term East Galicia we subjoin

A LETTER

by

DWIGHT M. LOWREY, COUNSEL FOR THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN
CITIZENS OF UKRAINIAN EXTRACTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PUBLIC LEDGER:

Sir—In the *Public Ledger* of September 27 appeared a dispatch from Lemberg, capital of the political and territorial division, by the American Press commonly styled East Galicia, reporting an attempt by a resident lawyer to shoot the President of Poland, then visiting that city. Subjoined was an explanatory note in part as follows:

The province is populated largely by Ukrainians. The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, however, awarded it to Poland. There has been a strong Ukrainian agitation for separation in the district.

Philadelphia is the headquarters of an association of American citizens of Ukrainian extraction. Among them are many soldiers of the A. E. F.—not a few with honorable wounds. These persons, my clients, request me to beg you to accept a correction of a clearly inadvertent inaccuracy, which tends to confirm a popular misconception already and unfortunately somewhat widespread.

East Galicia is not now a "province" under any Government. The term itself is a now antiquated geographical, not a political expression. On the collapse of the Austrian Empire, the little country, properly and historically known as Galicia, but for the moment accidentally and popularly called East Galicia, in conjunction with the adjoining district of Bukovina, established themselves in peaceful and unanimous action as an independent and sovereign state, with a democratic Constitution. The official title was and is the West Ukrainian Republic. It will be remembered that adjoining to the eastward lies Great Ukraine, made into Southern Russia comparatively late, through conquest by men of another racial stock in the east and center. The Galicians and Bukovinians are part of the Ukrainian family, but never were subjected to Russian domination.

The international status of the new state is part of the unfinished business of the Supreme Council. The territory of this diminutive but culturally self-sufficient Commonwealth is the topographical and historic gateway of the East into Middle Europe. The sound politics and continental significance of its present independence, under existing European conditions, are not to be measured by the cheap and empty formula of self-determination.

The current usage "East Galicia" rests on a not unnatural confusion. There was an administrative province of the Austrian Empire styled Galicia. The western portion was almost entirely Polish, including notably the ancient Duchy of Cracow. This region the Peace Conference restored to Poland, nobody objecting. The eastern portion is the true and historic Galicia. The Ukrainians there are 75 per cent., the Jews 12 per cent., and these latter, being long unvexed by pogroms, are loyal to the real heart of the country, as Jews are under like conditions everywhere else. The Poles are 12 per cent. and nondescript 1 per cent. Bukovina has a harmonious population, 78 per cent. Ukrainians and 16 per cent. Jew. The grand total of the combined community is 5,600,000.

This region was the kernel of the mediaeval kingdom of Calicia-Lodomeria, whose cycle ran through some 400 years. Upon conquest, 500 years ago, the Polish King assumed and ever retained the title of King of Galicia. Upon partition of Poland, 250 years ago, the Hapsburg assumed the two dignities, Duke of Cracow and King of Galicia, and preened himself on both to the end.

The Peace Conference postponed recognition of the Galician Republic, and refused Poland's demand for twenty-five years' protectorate. They, however, authorized Poland to occupy the country temporarily for military purposes to strengthen the southern extremity of the line against the Bolshevik advance. The Poles promptly drove the civil government into exile, and started in to Polonize the country with appalling savagery and ruthless extermination.

It must not be supposed that this odious victory was accom-

plished without resistance. On the contrary, the young Republic promptly assembled a military force of 150,000 men. The kernel of this host was the Ukrainian regiments of old Austrian conscription. No more gallant army ever went out to battle for "the ashes of his fathers and the altars of his gods." The Poles, swarming in from the North and West, drove them across the River Zbruch, upon the Bolshevik bayonets, coming up from the East in lust of blood and rapine. Wasted by famine and disease, the last horse and the last cartridge gone, they died almost to a man, with a face to each foe. A remnant cut off from the main body escaped across the mountains into Czecho-Slovakia, where they remain in hospitable internment; a waiting nucleus of reviving national strength.

Bukovina for the moment, by the complacency of the Supreme Council, is administered by Roumania; but the latter state makes no claim to permanent occupation, as do the truculent Poles in Galicia. The Roumanians in Bukovina constitute not more than 3 per cent. of the population.

The civil government, however, still lives in the hearts of the people. Its headquarters is in Vienna. It maintains a mission in Washington, not yet officially recognized by our Government. The chief of this mission is Dr. Longin Cehelsky. His credentials read: "Diplomatic Representative of Galicia." He is a man of patrician cultivation and democratic purpose; an orator in his own tongue and a vigorous writer in ours; an ardent patriot and an accomplished cosmopolitan.

While the Supreme Council procrastinates and the League of Nations debates, the dying Galicians make what front they can, not to separate themselves from those to whom they have not been joined, but to resist subjugation at the hands of an ancient oppressor, now treacherously turning an international commission into self-authenticated letters of marque.

DWIGHT M. LOWREY.

PHILADELPHIA, October 5, 1921.

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