WESTERN UKRAINE

UNDER-

POLISH YOKE

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"PACIFICATION"

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PREFACE

Aroused through reports of almost unbelievable atrocities inflicted upon Ukrainians in the province of Eastern Galicia by Polish soldiery and police in the fall of 1930, the civilized world has, in recent months, taken cognizance of the Ukrainian-Polish "problem".

It has taken years for Ukrainians to impress the world with the justice of its cause because in the past, the facts in the case have been too easy of suppression. Now, however, the magnitude of the offenses committed in the Ukrainian province of Eastern Galicia, has broken the barriers of Polish propaganda, and the press of the world has vividly recounted scores of incidents and detailed descriptions of Polish brutalities.

Finally, as the result of widespread public opinion, the matter has been brought to the attention of the Council of the League of Nations, which has appointed a special Committee of Three to investigate Ukrainian charges. The report of this special committee will be before the calendar of the League at its meeting in May, 1931.

But while the public consciousness was being aroused to concern over the true state of affairs in the Ukrainian province of Eastern Galicia, the Polish government and pro-governmental agencies have not been inactive. They have made every effort to counteract the condemnation of the civilized world, levied upon them through their indiscriminate use of force against the defenseless Ukrainian population.

Polish ministers and deputies in Parliament at War-

saw. Polish envoys in foreign countries, the pro-government press and other institutions at home and abroad, have made, and are still making, a supreme effort to present the Polish side of the controversy in its most favorable aspect. Often, in their frantic efforts, they have resorted to statements which have been misleading and not based upon the true state of affairs. The tactics, however, probably result from a vain effort to put up a defense against an overwhelming array of facts showing them guilty of the offenses charged.

To correct any erroneous impressions that may have been given through Polish statements and data. THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW is publishing this booklet to supply the English-reading public with the "evidence in the case", taking into careful consideration the misstatements promulgated in Polish propaganda.

The authors, in the subsequent pages, are attempting to present the facts as dispassionately as possible, getting their evidence from what they believe to be the most reliable sources. Wherever possible, Polish authors, statements, and newspapers, have been used as sources of information.

Of course, there is no pretence, on the part of the authors, that they are impartial. Such a state of mind is virtually impossible after reading the mass of news articles, letters, statements, telegrams, and other documents describing what apparently will go down in history as the most revolting page in the Twentieth century. They have, however, endeavored to present the Ukrainian side of the case as truthfully as possible, with strict adherence to facts,

SAMUEL A. WALLACE YAROSLAW CHYZ

Where Poland Is Punishing a Discontented People



Shaded portion of map indicates that part of the old Province of Galicia where troops are administering chastiser and indiscriminately

This map is reprinted from "The New York Herald Tribune" of October 16, 1930. It was published there with an article by John Elliot, who was the first American correspondent to call attention to Polish atrocities in Western Ukraine.

PART I

GENERAL DATA ABOUT WESTERN UKRAINE

Western Ukraine is that part of Ukraine now under the rule of the Polish Republic. It is composed of the former Austrian province of Galicia, and the provinces of Kholm, Polessie, Pidlashe, and Wolhynia, of the former Russian Empire.

Eastern Galicia, with an area of 21,351 square miles. has a population of about 5.500,000, over 4,000,000 of whom are Ukrainians. Of the remainder, about 1,000,000 are Poles, 400,000 are Jews, and the balance divided among various other nationalities living among the Ukrainian population.

For administrative purposes, Eastern Galicia is divided into three provinces with their respective capitols Lwiw (Lwow, Lemberg), in Peremyshl (Przemysl), Ternopil (Tarnopol) and, into which a part of Western Galicia is included.

The Kholm. Polessie, Pidlashe, and Wolhynia territories have an area of 31,303 square miles, and a population of approximately 3,450,000, of whom 2,650,000 are Ukrainians, and the remainder Poles, Jews, Russians, Czechs, and others. The territories are divided into two provinces—Wolhynia with its capitol in Luck, and Polessie, with its capitol in Pinsk. Another part of Ukrainian territory (Kholm) belongs to the province of Lublin.

The above data on population is an estimate based upon pre-war statistics, with thought and consideration to normal population increases and war losses. Official Po-

lish figures, based upon the census of 1921, are discounted, even by the Poles themselves. These figures gave the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia in 1921, as 325,000 less than in 1910, despite a general increase in population in this province. At the same time, the census of 1921 showed an unusual increase in the number of Poles in the province, the figures showing that they comprised 46 per cent of the inhabitants. Later, several Polish authorities disproved this contention, and only recently the monthly magazine "Poland", published in New York, stated that the Poles in Eastern Galicia constituted only a one-third minority in the three provinces of Eastern Galicia, (Poland, April, 1931, Page 202).

Even this estimate of "one-third" is exaggerated, as revealed by statistical research of Ukrainians published in the Ukrainian Almanac, "Proswita", for the year 1930, in which the above figures are given.

Total area of Western Ukraine is 52,654 square miles—out of 153,340 square miles in the entire Polish state. The population is 6,700,000 Ukrainians out of 30,000,000 inhabitants.

HISTORICAL DATA

Western Ukraine, especially its now most populous part, Eastern Galicia, was a Ukrainian territory in earliest historical times and became the nucleus of the independent South-Ukrainian (Galician-Wolodymirian) state that existed there from the Twelfth to Fourteenth centuries.

Subsequently, as the result of inter-marriages between Galician princes and Polish, Lithuanian, and Hungarian royal families. Eastern Galicia fell under the rule of Polish kings and remained under their domination until 1772, when it became a part of Austria. During all this period, and even under later Austrian rule, the population was

principally Ukrainian, the only Poles in the province being the ruling nobles who obtained large grants of land and enslaved the peasants into serfdom, and their retainers.

In 1918, after the collapse of Austria. Ukrainians established an independent state, which became federated with the Ukrainian Republic—a republic proclaimed out of the ruins of the Russian Empire. Poland declared war on her Ukrainian neighbor, and with an army led by General Joseph Haller equipped by Allies, overwhelmed their adversary.

In this campaign, Poland enlisted the aid of the Allies, by asking that troops be equipped for her for use in a war against the Bolsheviks. That these troops were not intended by the Allies, to be used in a war against Ukrainians, is clearly evident from the writings of Stanislav Grabski, prominent Polish leader and former Minister of Education, who describes the agreement as to the use of the troops as follows:

"Paderewski had to agree to the demand of Lloyd George that the divisions of General Haller, that were then returning through Germany to Poland, would not be used in a war against Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. He sent the respective telegram not to the Department of Foreign Affairs but to me, as the head of the Foreign Relations Committee. And I could take the full responsibility for not obeying the wishes of the English premier."

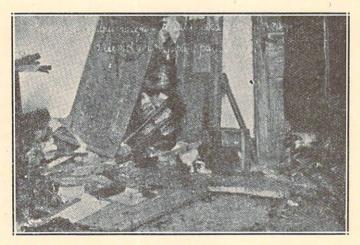
(From "Lwowski Kurjer Poranny," 1930)

Already in control and forceful occupation of Eastern Galicia, Poland obtained the approval for her possession on March 14, 1923, by a decision of the Council of Ambassadors under the conditions that: "as concerns Eastern Galicia the ethnographical conditions make a regime of autonomy necessary" and that ". . . special guar-

antees in favor of racial, linguistic, or religious minorities" as stipulated in Treaty of June 28, 1919, should be observed.

Poland acceded to these guarantees just as it agreed to the Treaty on Minorities, which states, in Article Eight:

"Polish nationals, who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other nationals."



Interior of the Ukrainian Cooperative Store in Kadlubiska, county Brody, after "pacification".

Both these international obligations have been consistently violated by the Polish government, since the first day of occupation.

The other Ukrainian provinces came under the Polish rule as the result of the Polish-Soviet war (1919-1920) and the concluding treaty signed in Riga in March, 1921. This treaty was confirmed by the Allies in the decision of the Council of Ambassadors in March, 1923.

PART II

CAUSES OF UNREST

CULTURAL OPPRESSION

The first objective of the Polish Republic after gaining possession of Western Ukraine was to erase all outward indications and symbols of its Ukrainian character. Bi-lingual (Ukrainian and Polish) inscriptions on government offices and bureaus were abolished and in their stead purely Polish designations were inscribed. The inscriptions on railroad stations, tickets, waiting halls, and even on private shops were changed to Polish, and in many cities, Ukrainian merchants were forced to display, in addition to Ukrainian signs, Polish ones of at least the same size and material. Peasants too were (and still are, in fact) forced to have their names and addresses on their carts and wagons inscribed in Polish.

Simultaneously with this effort to eradicate these outward signs of Ukrainians, came an attack upon Ukrainian schools. The teaching of the Polish language became obligatory in all public schools. To give a true picture of the result of this Polonization, let us quote from the petition of 61 British Members of Parliament presented by them to the League of Nations in behalf of the Ukrainian minority in Poland:

In 1920 there were 3,662 Ukrainian schools in the Western Ukraine. On December 1st, 1925, according to official statistics of the Minister of Education, there were 1,055 Ukrainian State Schools

and 19 private schools. This means that between 1920 and 1925

the Ukrainians lost 2,667 Ukrainian Schools.

The total elementary schools in the Ukraine on December 1st, 1925 was 28,336; of this 22,996 (84%) were purely Polish; 2,257 (8.3%) were bi-lingual and 2,083 (7.6%) had other languages. In 1927-28 there existed only 771 Ukrainian schools. Out of 1,000 Ukrainian children 71 children attend Ukrainian schools, and 929 attend Polish or bi-lingual schools.

All the schools, especially the secondary schools and 14 Ukrainian chairs in the University of Lwow were the realization of a long struggle between the Polish-Austrian administrations of the province and Ukrainians who were striving to afford proper and adequate educational facilities for their youth.

These facilities, inadequate as they were, however, were far superior to those afforded under the present Polish regime which solemnly promised, in international treaties, full educational opportunities for racial minorities.

How different the promises from the present existing conditions. In none of the twelve Polish state universities is there a single Ukrainian chair. There is not one Ukrainian teacher's college, only four Ukrainian high schools, and 721 primary schools, five of which are in Wolhynia and Polessie (figures for 1930). When considering this situation, it must be remembered that Ukrainians constitute twenty-one to twenty-two per cent of the population of Poland, making their relation to the rest of the population as one to five.

In the educational field however, the ratio is not even close to that proportion, a table of educational institutions appearing as follows: with the ratio, in the case of primary schools one to thirty-five:

Class		Polish	Ukrainian
Universities and colleges -	-	12	0
Secondary schools		775	4
Primary schools	-	26,700	721
(About 1,900 are classed	as bi-lin	gualPolishU	Jkrainian)

Further analyzing the educational situation, it is an established fact that in the bi-lingual schools, a majority of subjects, and of course the most important ones, have to be taught in Polish. In fact, most all subjects are taught in Polish because a majority of the teachers are not familiar with the Ukrainian language. Teachers of Ukrainian nationality are, for the most part, employed in purely Polish schools in Western Poland. The result of this policy is that seventy-two per cent of Ukrainian children in villages and ninety-three per cent of those in cities have to attend Polish schools, accounting for an increasing illiteracy among the Ukrainian youth.

Ukrainian private schools are forcibly suppressed by Polish authorities. A cardinal example of this suppression was the persecution visited by Poles on the private university which was organized in 1920-23 by Ukrainian professors and students. In spite of arrests and raids, the university survived for more than two years, having an enrollment of over 1,200 and entertaining 52 lecturers, who labored under the most difficult of conditions.

Lectures were held in secret places, with a sentry posted outside to warn of the approach of Polish police. The persecution continued until the university was forced to suspend, with the arrest of most of its professors, who spent several months in jail, with the rector, Dr. W. Shchurat.

Bringing the educational picture up to the present time, last fall one state and two private Ukrainian high schools were closed by the government allegedly because some pupils participated in acts of anti-Polish sabotage. Three students of the state high school in Tarnopol (closed under the ministerial ordinance of September 27, 1930), and three of the private high school in Rohatyn

(closed under an ordinance of September 24, 1930), were arrested as suspects of this sabotage. The first three were tried and freed, after they had proven that they had been tortured by the police in an effort to make them confess to the crime of arson. The last three were freed without trial, when all suspicions against them were found to be without foundation.

Despite the fact that the students were acquitted of the charges against them, the high schools of Tarnopol and Rohatyn, along with one in Drohobycz (closed by ministerial ordinance of October 27, 1930) have not reopened and their student bodies, numbering some 1,200, and the teaching staffs are idle. There was no recourse against the government orders closing the schools, and the boards governing them were not given an opportunity to answer the charges against them.

ECONOMIC OPPRESSION

A vast majority of the property in Poland is in the possession of large landowners, who are, for the most part, Polish nobles. For many years, prior to 1920, feeling against the large landed estates was increasing, causing the Polish diet, in December of that year, to pass a law facilitating the sale of these properties to landless peasants and small farmers. The law also included provisions for the sale of some of the state and church property.

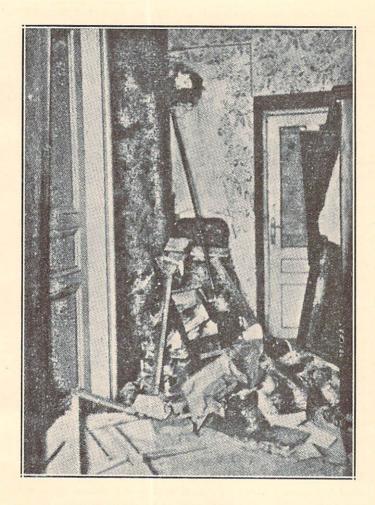
Credits were established for the buyers, and special funds created to enable them to start farming on the lands obtained under the operation of the law of 1920, which also included the provision that all sales had to have the approval of the government. In the natural course of events, the law would have been just and equitable, but

its operation was distorted so that it provided a means for the government's Polonizing the Ukrainian provinces, as illustrated by the following figures:

In the ten years from 1920 to 1929, in five Polish provinces with a Ukrainian population majority, 1,483,207 acres of farm lands, previously belonging to the state, churches, and large landowners, were sold to the local and "imported" small farmers. Of this acreage, 391,253 acres were given to 15,369 Polish families, who were settled in compact colonies among the Ukrainian population. Of the remaining 1,091,954 acres, 769,257 acres were sold to 109,035 Ukrainian peasant families living in the vicinity of the distributed land, while the balance became the property of 52,596 Polish families formerly living in those areas, the small remainder (22,335 acres) going to Jewish, German, and Czech peasants residing in Western Ukraine.

Recapitulating these figures it will be seen that Ukrainian peasants, who comprise ninety per cent of the farm population of Western Ukraine, were allowed to buy 769,257 acres of land, or 51.8 per cent of the total allotted. The Polish minority then living in Western Ukraine about eight and one-half per cent of the population—received 300,456 acres, or 20.3 per cent of the total, while 15,269 Polish immigrant families moved into that section received 391,253 acres, or 26.4 per cent of the total.

The effort of the Polish government to colonize Western Ukraine with Poles is readily understood from a study of these figures. It must be borne in mind, too, that the Polish settlers also received substantial subsidies from the government to facilitate their colonization. These subsidies took various forms. Polish war veterans, for



One room of the Offices of the Ukrainian Farmers' Union "Silskyj Hospodar" in Lwow, after visit of Polish police.

instance, were given the land for practically nothing, and in addition received credits to enable them to establish their farms. A statement of these subsidies prepared at that time showed that the Polish government distributed 48.664,000 zlotys*—33,126,000 zlotys as subsidies and 15,005,000 zlotys as loans to the settlers.

Contrasting the lenity and help shown to settlers of Polish extraction. is the method in which the Polish government dealt with the Ukrainian farmers, who had to pay for their land, in most cases, in cash, and who received few, if any, credits from the government. There are on record many cases of where credits were given to Ukrainian farmers but revoked when they refused to vote in elections, for the pro-government candidates.

In the face of these figures on the distribution of land by the Polish government, it is ridiculous to even consider the statement of the "Polish Library of Facts"**) that in 1928 and 1929, 13,000 acres of land, previously belonging to churches in Ukrainian villages were sold to Ukrainian farmers.

Economic oppression, however, was not only displayed in the matter of distributing lands. Several years ago, Ukrainian peasants started an anti-alcoholic movement and 405 Ukrainian and 63 Polish villages voted ordinances forbidding the sale of intoxicants. Inasmuch as the alcohol monoply of the Polish government accounts for approximately one-fourth of the government budget of 2,857,312,000 zlotys, this action meant a decrease in revenue for the government. As a consequence, the Polish parliament, in March 1931, passed a law declaring these ordinances void, making it more difficult to pass other

^{*1} zloty—about 11 cents. **The Polish Library of Facts, Vol. II. New York, 1931.

ordinances of that nature, and, most astounding of all, increasing the number of permits to be issued for the sale of liquor. In other words, Poland is attempting to increase the sale of alcoholic beverages and is, in fact, virtually forcing upon some temperate Ukrainian villages, use of the Polish government's liquor products.

These two instances of economic oppression are sufficient to show the economic policy of Poland toward Ukrainians. There are, however, numerous other examples of this policy, such as discrimination in the imposition of taxes, persecution of Ukrainian economic societies, refusal of credits to Ukrainian Cooperative Associations (a statement to the contrary in the "Polish Library of Facts" notwithstanding), that space limitations in this pamphlet do not allow of amplification.

POLITICAL OPPRESSION

To Begin With:

All five governors (wojewoda) of the provinces with a Ukrainian population majority, in addition to all seventy odd county prefects (starosta) in these provinces and about ninety per cent of their staffs are Poles.

* * * * *

Strangely, in Ukrainian Eastern Galicia alone, antiquated election laws are in force, providing that village councils are to be elected by voters classified into four categories, according to social position and wealth, each classification electing the same number of village elders. Through this system, the Polish landowner, his wife, the Polish priest and a few teachers, have the same representation in village councils as hundreds of poorer peasants. An example of the injustice of this system is best illustrated by citing the conditions in the largest Ukrainian village—Zabie.

Out of 48 village elders, twelve are Poles, twelve are Jews, and 24 are Ukrainian. The voters were divided as follows: 103 Poles, 173 Jews, and 2.718 Ukrainians, of whom all voted for the Ukrainian candidates.

Through a system such as this it is possible that out of 78,110 village elders in Ukrainian villages, only 49,501 are Ukrainian. Even where the elders are in the majority their expressed will is of no avail because all ordinances and resolutions of village councils, under the law, have to be approved by county prefects and can be vetoed and voided by them. These officials are all Polish, being appointed by the government in Warsaw.

In other parts of Poland, however, ALL VOTERS HAVE AN EQUAL RIGHT AND VOTE.

PRESS

Freedom of the press is practically unknown in Western Ukraine. Articles of critisism on the activities of government officials are suppressed and censored newspapers appear, with white spaces where the offending article was "lifted," as illustrated in the picture on the opposite page. This reproduction shows two issues of the Ukrainian daily newspaper "Dilo", with blank spaces where the editors had planned to print speeches of Ukrainian Senator Horbaczewski and Congressman Zahaykewicz in the Polish parliament on "pacification". Out of the first sixty issues of that newspaper in 1931, twenty-one were thus censored.

FREE SPEECH

Semen Zuk, Alexander Wyslocki, Reverend Tatomir, J. Blashkevich, and others, all former Ukrainian deputies in Polish parliament, were recently sentenced to long prison terms for critisizing governmental activities in speeches.



Ukrainian daily "Dilo" of February and March 1931 censored by Polish authorities.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

The use of Ukrainian language in communications with Polish authorities is practically prohibited, despite international agreements to the contrary. All government ordinances are published in Polish only and it is only in rare instances that Ukrainian language is permitted in the

courts. The use of Polish language in the courts by Ukrainians is further forced by selecting juries of Poles who do not understand Ukrainian.

There are several instances of Ukrainian priests who have been fined and imprisoned for presenting the records of their parishioners to the authorities in Ukrainian. Despite the fact that the Polish Supreme court decreed, on an appeal, that it is not a crime to present parish records in a language other than Polish, (Decision, May 5, 1930, Number 686-29) Polish county prefects continue to impose these fines and prison terms in an arbitrary usurpation of power, viz: Ordinance of county prefect in Lisko, No. 1377, May 26, 1930; in Tlumacz, No. XLIX-32-1930; July 18, 1930; in Borszczow, No. 1396, August 8, 1930; in Czortkow, No. 4729-30, December 14, 1930, and No. 39 of February 2, 1931, and scores of others.

While the above facts may be amazing to the uninitiated, they are only a small part of the picture of Western Ukraine since it became a Polish province. Even some Polish writers have taken cognizance of the existing conditions, one of whom, A. Bochenski, recently stated in the newspaper "Czas," (Jan. 1931), published in Cracow;

"To understand why an average Ukrainian is an enemy of Poland, let us put ourselves for a moment in his place. Let us assume that Eastern Galicia is under Ukrainian rule and that the Poles there have the same rights as Ukrainians today. The land to the east of the river San has fifty per cent, if not more. Ukrainian inhabitants. Also let us assume that the county councils are not elected but appointed by the government and that practically all the Poles are eliminated. All higher governmental positions are held by Ukrainians. In governmental administrative agencies the use of the Polish language is prohibited. There are 700 Polish and 2,300 Ukrainian primary schools; three Polish and 36 Ukrainian normal schools, and the same situation in regard to the high schools. To learn in mother tongue one has to travel to Prague or Kharkov. On government buildings there are only Ukrainian inscriptions. Polish high school pupils are jailed for singing Polish national songs. The Poles are punished for

participating in memorial services for their soldiers fallen in the Polish-Ukrainian war.

"What would Poles do in such a situation? Would they burn Ukrainian hay-stacks? Surely not. But they would not announce to the world that they are devoted to the Ukraine and would wait for a favorable moment to free themselves from such a 'pleasant' rule."

The above article, which gives a fairly accurate picture of the Ukrainian state of mind, though erring in some of the facts, was reprinted in several Polish newspapers, among them "Chwila", in Lwow, and "Kurjer Wilenski", in Wilna.

UKRAINIAN DEFENSE

What were the Ukrainians doing while this campaign of oppression was being waged against them? Did they quietly acquiesce? No, instead they turned their efforts to the organization of village reading clubs, cooperative societies, volunteer fire brigades, and other associations. If some of these were disbanded by the Polish government, new ones sprung up in their places. The whole of Western Ukraine became a battle-ground of wits and perseverance: on the one side the Polish government trying to thwart Ukrainian organizations by legal and illegal means, trying to place insurmountable obstacles in the way of their obtaining education, and attempting to reduce them to an economically unsound state; and on the other side, Ukrainian peasantry and intelligentsia endeavoring by all legal means to evade the oppressing hand that was trying to strangle their efforts.

Ukrainians seemed to be winning in this grim struggle. Despite severe and relentless persecution, they managed to organize a comparatively large number of reading clubs, a strong union of cooperative societies, and many other associations. They showed themselves well-disciplined politicially, and in elections presented a stubborn resistance to the Poles. This resistance, of course, was usually overcome by fraud, terrorism, vote-stealing, and other extra-legal Polish schemes.

Sensing the increase in unity and strength of the Ukrainians, Poland sprang into action. Throwing "civilization" to the winds, they launched the now infamous and bloody "pacification" campaign on Western Ukraine in the fall of 1930.

PART III

"SABOTAGE"

Polish statesmen, press and organizations claim that the "pacification" of Eastern Galicia was necessary because of many acts of sabotage committed there by Ukrainians against Polish life and property. Polish newspapers and propaganda reiterate the account of sabotage given in the Polish parliament by one of the Polish ministers to the effect that in July, August, September, and October, of 1930, Ukrainian revolutionaries made 191 attempts to destroy Polish state and private property by bombs and fire.

It cannot be denied that some members of a Ukrainian military organization, composed mostly of young, enthusiastic students, attempted last year to commit a few acts of sabotage such as cutting telephone wires (telephone and telegraph are a state monopoly in Poland) robbing a postal coach, and possibly also setting fire to the property of some Polish general or minister.

These acts, however, were very few in number, and even the governor of Lwow province, Mr. Nakoniecznikow Kluczkowski declared that only one-half of all the fires on Polish properties in Galicia could be attributed to Ukrainians. This statement alone decreases the attempts laid to the door of Ukrainians to ninety-six.

But Mr. Nakoniecznikow was undoubtedly biased even in making this assertion, for if unprejudiced he would have attributed the fires in Eastern Galicia to the "same wave of incendiarism" that was at that time sweeping all of Poland from the Baltic sea to the Carpathian mountains. As it was, however, in the face of his statement, within a few days he was sending Polish police and soldiers on a pacification tour, to flog Ukrainian men, women and children.

To return to the fires, however, Polish newspapers, at the time were filled with accounts of these conflagrations, one of them, from the Polish pro-governmental organ "Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny" printing, on September 26, 1930, an article which read:

"The government is not without guilt that the number of fires is increasing. . . . There were cases where ruined buildings worth a few hundred zlotys were insured for much larger amounts . . . and now in the time of economical depression many people with not very high ethical standards started to burn their properties. The governmental insurance board must pay them the high amounts of insurance."

It may be added for explanation that in Poland buildings have to be insured in governmental agencies. In other portions of the above article, there is criticism of the practice of insuring properties for high amounts for the purpose of collecting high premiums for the government treasury.

Another item, from the same newspaper, a few days

later, on October 4, 1930, was more specific on the question of fires, stating:

"The epidemic of fires in Pomorze has recently reached tremendous dimensions. New fires were reported from Nowy Dwor, Komorno, Mysliniow, Gosciszyn, Zernice, Rytpiana, Leszno, Filipow, Krotoszyn, Ludwikow, and from several other localities. Homes and barns were the primary objects of flames.

"It is interesting to note that most of the fires were caused by the proprietors themselves with the hope of collecting big insurance."

Similar expressions were seen in newspapers in all parts of Poland, with other accounts of specific instances of arson on the part of Polish landowners who sought to collect big insurance. For instance, this account, from the "Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny" concerning the purely Polish province of Pomorze:

"Farmers Kemer, in Myslatkow, Zablocki, in Ryszew, Wesolowski and Yushchak in Krusza Poludowa and Piechowiak, in Miedzychow, Pilat, in Lyzewki, and Sobierajewicz in Kokosza, were arrested for committing the crime of arson."

In Ukrainian provinces, only one landowner, A. Zawadzki, was arrested, but released "for lack of evidence". At the same time hundreds of Ukrainian reading clubs and cooperatives were destroyed, most of them in villages where there was no fire and not even a suspicion of arson. All this in the face of many such incidents as the following which is related in the book "Polish Atrocities in West Ukraine," by V. J. Kushnir, Ph.D., with preface by Cecil Malone, M.P., Vienna, 1931:

In the village, Wierzbow, the farm buildings of the estate burnt down in the night of August 31st. At the police investigation a farmer, Pankiw, stated that on first noticing the fire he had run to the proprietor to awaken him, but had met him in the vestibule calmly contemplating the flames that were destroying his property. In Krzywe the village police caught the steward of the estate in the moment of laying fire under a corn stack in the company of a confidential servant disguised in the garb of a peasant. In Bialoboznica, County Czortkow, the proprietor of the estate was having the corn-

stack taken apart for threshing when it was seen that it was inwardly eaten out by mice, and was hurriedly stacked up again. In a few days this went up in flames. While the punitive expedition was ravaging in the country, it occurred in Myciow, County Sokal, that, as the first, those persons were arrested who had run, on the occasion of the outbreak of a fire, to save the corn on the estate. In Suchowce, County Zbaraz, on the 24th of September, the sturdy Hrycyna, who had saved property of the estate from fire, was beaten so fearfully that he succumbed on the following day to the injuries inflicted.



Barn in Tyszkowce, county Horodenka, ruined by the "pacifying"
Polish police.

Conclusion:

Brutal "pacification" was invoked not to punish or prevent "sabotage", but to wreck Ukrainian organizations, to break the spirit of Ukrainian people, and to terrorize them before the approaching elections.

"PACIFICATION"

By Way of Explanation

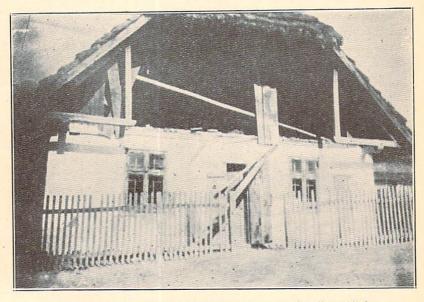
In the limited space of a pamphlet of this nature, it is impossible to go into a detailed description of the workings of "pacification", as it was carried out by Polish soldiers and police in Western Ukraine, during the months of September, October, and November of last year. The effort here will be limited to a general outline of the process using for this purpose chiefly, excerpts of reports on the subject.

Women's League Secretary's Report

One of the most comprehensive of the many reports on "pacification", has been prepared by Miss Mary Sheepshanks, secretary of the Women's International League, with headquarters in Geneva, who personally investigated the situation in Eastern Galicia, and described it, in her report, as follows:

"In each case the general plan followed was similar and showed clearly that it was ordered by headquarters. In some cases the attack on the village was made by cavalry, in others by police squads; the time chosen was generally night; the village was surrounded, machine guns set up. Some soldiers were detailed to levy contributions in live stock, grain and sometimes cash from each household. Others forced the villagers to wreck their reading room, library and cooperative store, and for these operations were not allowed tools but had to use their hands which were often torn and bleeding, in fact used to the bone, they were then made to sign a declaration that they had carried out the demolition on their own free will.

"A third detachment rounded up the leading men of the village, especially the keeper of the cooperative store, the custodian of the reading room and others including the schoolmaster and the priest. These men were then driven into a barn, stripped, held down and beaten with the thick sticks used for threshing. The beating was



Ukrainian reading hall in Gaje, county Lwow, after "search" by Ulans (Polish cavalry).

continued until the men lost consciousness; they then had cold water poured over them and the beating was resumed. Very often 200 or 300 blows were inflicted, so that the flesh was horribly torn, and in the case of the man we saw the wounds were still unhealed and raw after two months.

"A woman from one of the villages told us how she

had seen the beatings carried out, and how one young man was being pressed to acknowledge that he had arms hidden, at last in frantic pain, said, in order to stop the flogging that he had a gun hidden in his roof. The soldiers then went to look for it, and not finding it (it had never existed), beat him to death.

"This woman also told us how she saw a man dragged after a beating, along the roads tied to the motor car of the officers. Women of the villages were forced by the soldiers to dress in their festal clothes to provide wine and wait on the troops and then accompany them to the next village. Meanwhile the beaten men, bleeding and fainting, were thrown into a cellar where they were left for 24 hours without attention to their wounds and even without a drink of water.

"In some cases, women, children and very old men were flogged. We saw a boy of 13 whose leg was broken by the soldiers, and the bone was so injured and inflamed that it will not heal. We also saw a man of 63 who has now been ill for ten weeks as the result of his beating.

"One terrible feature of the whole procedure was the refusal of medical treatment to the victims. Doctors were forbidden to go out of the town to the villages, and peasants attempting to come into the towns for treatment were turned back by the police. In many cases the wounds have gangrened, and either death or life-long injury has resulted.

"As is inevitable when a helpless peasantry is handed over to the armed soldiers and police to do as they like, numerous excesses of all kinds have occurred.

"A priest, Mandziy, after receiving 200 blows on the back, and having water thrown over him, was then turned over and the police stamped on his chest, and beat



A Ukrainian farmer boy after castigation by Poles. (Name not given.)

him on the belly and legs; in his agony he begged to be shot. The police were at the time cooking their meal nearby, and they took the boiling food and threw it over his wounds."

Letter of a Polish Soldier

To further give a picture of the conditions and the methods of "pacification", the following letter from a Ukrainian, drafted for service with the Polish army and sent on the "pacificatory" tours, is presented:

"I have read newspapers from America to the effect the police tortured the people in Eastern Galicia and I can confirm that it is the truth. But those accounts have not told a small part of the things that actually happened. There was the description of what the Police did but there was nothing about the later activities of the soldiery.

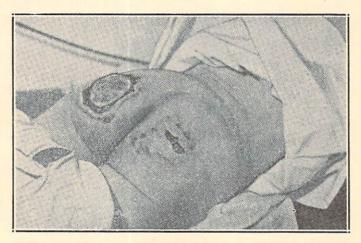
"I myself was with the 14th Uhlan regiment in this punitive expedition. We rode for 24 days from village to village, slaughtering pigs, taking 100 to 200 centners of oats, 100 kilograms of butter and thousands of eggs from every village. We took sugar, coffee, and whatever we liked from the cooperative stores.

"In reference to the floggings I can't describe to you how horrible it was. Every village we approached was surrounded by police patrols so that no one would escape. Everybody who tried to escape was shot at to be killed. I saw with my own eyes a corporal shoot a peasant. The peasant did not move a step further, but fell dead on the spot. He left his widow and two children.

"The arrested people were taken into a cellar. Then a bench was prepared—four soldiers holding the victims while six (three at a time) administered the beatings.

Many fainted from the beatings, only to be revived when water was poured upon them. Then the beatings would continue. When they had been beaten so severely that the flesh began to crack they would be thrown into another cellar. In the morning they took them to a pump, poured water on them and hollered 'fire'.

"Then they beat them again, harnessed them to wagons and thus rode through the towns. There were



Farmer G. Artymow of Borynicze, county Bobrka, after flogging.

many other things just as horrible. Two were beaten so brutally that they died immediately."

STATISTICS

Polish censorship and general conditions in the "pacified" areas have made it practically impossible to compile any accurate and complete statistics on the extent and scope of the Polish barbarism. It is beyond human power

to tabulate the names and all those who were flogged, the data on all the buildings pillaged, and information on the irreparable damage done to Ukrainian life and property in Eastern Galicia last fall. Checking every reliable source, however, THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW has compiled as complete a summary as possible and presents in the following pages, not as complete, but as the background for a general picture, the extent of "pacification".

SOURCES

Ukrainian Newspapers

Dilo—Lwow, Hromadskyj Holos—Lwow, Nowyj Czas—Lwow, Ukrainian Correspondence—Prague, Information Bulletin—Prague, Svoboda—Jersey City, N. J., Narodna Wola—Scranton, Pa., Ukrainska Hromada, Detroit, Mich.

Polish Newspapers

Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny—Cracow, Czas—Cracow, Kurjer Poranny—Lwow, Chwila—Lwow, Nowy Swiat—New York.

Miscellaneous Newspapers and Periodicals

Polish Library of Facts, Manchester Guardian, New York Herald, Tribune, Chicago Daily News, Christian Science Monitor.

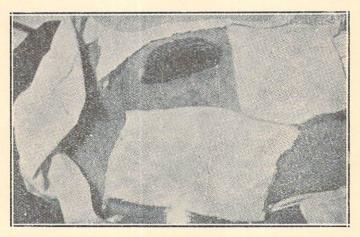
In addition to the facts gleaned from the above mentioned newspapers, additional information was obtained from the many private letters received in this country from victims of Polish brutality. The interpellation of the Ukrainian deputies in the Polish Sejm to the Polish government also was used in the compilation of these statistics, as was the book of J. V. Kushmir, "Polish Atrocities in the West Ukraine" previously referred to.

From a perusal of the various sources studied for this report, it is obvious that much more property was destroyed and many more persons mistreated than actually were reported. For instance, from some villages, the re-

ports state that the "whole male population was beaten" but inasmuch as no names and numbers have been reported, no account of them is made in this summary. The same situation applies to property in many instances.

THE PACIFIED TOWNS AND VILLAGES BY COUNTIES*

County BOBRKA: Bobrka, Borynicze, Chlebowice, Chodorow, Dobrowlany, Dorohowice, Duliby, Dziewiet-



A "pacified" patient in Ukrainian Hospital in Lwow, name not given.

niki, Dzwinogrod, Horodyszcze Krolewskie, Hranki, Hrusiatycze, Hryniow, Jatwiegi, Kocurow, Kolohury, Laszki Dolne, Laszki Gorne, Leszcyna, Lany, Lopuszna,

*The names of the localities are given as they appear on English language maps, which are derived from Austrian and Polish originals. For this reason they sound and spell differently than in Ukrainian. This is done so that American readers will be enabled to verify the locations on maps familiar to them. The names in italics indicate communities where only arrests and searches were reported.

Molodzincze, Molotow, Olchowiec, Ostrow Czarny, Otyniowice, Piatniczany, Podhorodyszcze, Podjarkow, Podmonasterz, Podsosnow, Ruda, Rzepechow, Romanow, Sarnki, Siedliska, Sokolowka, Strzalki, Suchrow, Wasiuczyn, Wodniki, Wolczatycze, Wolowe, Zagoreczko, Zabokruki.

County BOHORODCZANY: Bohorodczany, Lachowce, Rosolna, Starunia.

County BORSZCZOW: Bilcze Zlote, Iwanie Puste, Mielnica, Michalkow.

County BRODY: Brody, Chmielno, Czernica, Kadlubiska, Nekwasza.

County BRZEZANY: Adamowka, Brzezany, Byszkow, Ceniawa, Glinna, Hyniowice, Koniuchy, Kozowa, Kozowka, Krzywe, Kuropatniki, Lapczyn, Lesniki, Narajow, Plaucza Mala, Plaucza Wielka, Raj, Saranczuki, Sloboda Zlota, Teofipolka, Urman, Wierzbow, Wybudow.

County BUCZACZ: Bielawince, Bobulince, Buczacz. Dobropol, Koscielniki, Osowce, Potok Zloty, Pilawce, Petlikowce, Przewloka, Pyszowce, Skomorochy, Trybuchowce, Zielona.

County CZORTKOW: Bazar, Biala, Czortkow, Dzuryn, Kalinowszczyzna, Polowce, Szmankowce.

County DOBROMIL: Komarowice, Posada Nowo-wiejska.

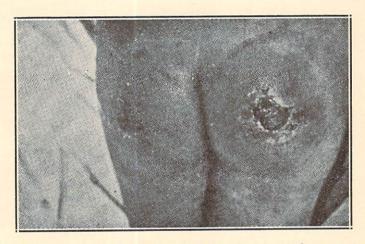
County DOLINA: Cerkowna, Dolina, Rakow, Stankowce, Troscianiec.

County DROHOBYCZ: Boryslaw, Delawa, Drohobycz, Radymice, Podbuz, Truskawiec, Tustanowice.

County GRODEK JAGIELLONSKI: Bartatow, Dobrzany, Kernica, Lubien Wielki, Malkowice, Mszana, Stawczany, Tuczapy, Zankowice, Zawadowice. County HORODENKA: Czernelica, Horodenka, Horodenka-Kotykowka, Horodenka-Folw, Kut, Isakow, Kolanki, Korniow, Niezwiska, Okno, Petrow, Siekierczyn, Siemionowka, Serafince, Strilcze, Tyszkowce, Toporowce, Targowica, Wierzbowce, Zywaczow.

County HUSIATYN: Howilow, Husiatyn, Kopy-czynce.

County JAWOROW: Buniow, Chotyniec, Czaplaki,



Village burgess M. Harasym of Moloszkowice, county Jaworow (a college graduate) after flogging by Polish cavalrymen of the 14th Regiment of Uhlans.

Czernilawa, Czerczyk, Czolin, Drohomysl, Jaworow, Jazow, Kobylnica, Mlynki, Moloszkowice, Morance, Nahaczow, Nakoneczne, Olszanica, Porudenko, Porudno, Przylbice, Rogozno, Swidnica, Tuczapy, Wola Gnojnicka.

County KALUSZ: Kalusz, Myslow, Nowica, Uhrynow Stary.

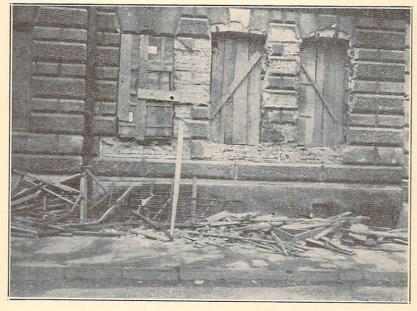
County KAMIONKA STRUMILOWA: Jasienica Ruska, Konstantynowka, Stryhanka, Zabuze.

County KOLOMEA: Kolomea, Stopczatow.

County KOSOW: Kobaki, Kosmacz, Kosow, Rybno

Szeszory, Zabie.

County LUCK: Luck.



Central Warehouse of Ukrainian Cooperative Stores in Lwow bombed by Poles.

County LWOW: Barszczowice, Brodki, Chrysnice, Czerepin, Czyzykow, Dmytrowice, Gaje, Gluchowice, Hermanow, Holosko, Horbacze, Horodyslawice, Humieniec, Jaryczow Nowy, Jaryczow Stary, Kozice, Kuhajow, Lewandowka, Lwow, Malechow, Malinowka,

Mielica, Miklaszow, Pikulowice, Podborce, Podberezce, Polanka, Porszna, Remenow, Rudno, Suchorzecze, Winniki, Zamarstynow, Zapytow, Zaszkow, Zboiska, Zniesienie, Zydatycze.

County MOSCISKA: Laszki Goscinne. County NADWORNA: Mikuliczyn, Nadworna, Worochta.



Wounds of farmer M. Matwiiszyn being treated in Ukrainian Hospital in Lwow by the nurse, O. Wojtowicz.

County PODHAJCE: Bohatkowce, Bokow, Hajworonka, Holhocze, Kotuzow, Lysa, Markowa, Mozelowka, Mareniowka, Muzylow, Nosow, Nowosiolka, Podhajce, Rosochowiec, Seredna, Siemikowce, Sokolow, Sokolniki, Szwejkow, Telacz, Uwsie, Wisniowczyk, Zarwanica, Zastawcze, Zawalow, Zawadowka, Zlotniki.

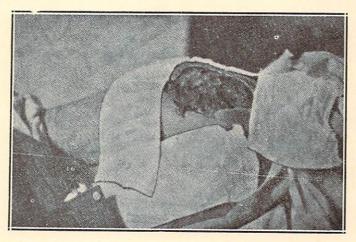
County PRZEMYSL: Aksmanice, Buskowice, Budowce, Drohojow, Grochowce, Iskan, Malkowce, Przemysl, Ruska Wies, Siedliska, Sierakowce, Tropczyn, Wal-

awa, Wilcza.

County PRZEMYSLANY: Dunajow, Peczenija, Poluchow Wielki, Przemyslany, Wierzbow.

County RADZIECHOW: Ordow, Radziechow, Suszno.

County RAWA RUSKA: Rawa Ruska, Werchrata. County ROHATYN: Babuchow, Bolszow, Bukaczowce, Byblo, Czahrow, Czercze, Czesniki, Danylcze,



Farmer P. Tanczyn of Rekliniec, county Zolkiew, with flesh torn as result of flogging by Poles.

Demianow, Dytiatyn, Fraga, Hryhorow, Jawcze, Knihynicze, Korostowice, Koniuszki, Lipica Dolna, Lipica Gorna, Lopuszna, Lubczynce, Lubsza, Martynow Nowy, Martynow Stary, Melna, Podborze, Podgrodzie, Podmichajlowce, Podszumlance, Potok, Pukow, Psary, Rizdwiany, Rohatyn, Sarnki, Skomorochy Nowe, Skomorochy Stare, Swistelniki, Wasiuczyn, Wierzbilowce, Zagorz, Zaluze, Zolczow, Zurow.

County ROWNO: Aleksandrija, Basowyj Kut, Maj-kow, Nowy Dwor, Rowno, Swiatka.

County RUDKI: Chyszewice.

County SAMBOR: Prusy, Sambor, Tatary, Wo-jutycze.

County SKALAT: Grzymalow, Krzywe, Orze-

chowce, Supranowka, Stary Skalat, Teklowka.

County SKOLE: Kamionka, Korczyn, Kruszelnica, Skole-Gorka, Synowodzko Wyzne.

County SNIATYN: Karlow, Rudolfsdorf, Stecowa,

Wydynow.

County SOKAL: Byszow, Bobiatyn, Bojance, Cirynow, Chlopiatyn, Chorobrow, Hoholow, Horbkow, Horodlowice, Horodyszcze, Horochow, Jastrzebice, Kopytow, Komarow, Moszkow, Mycow, Ninowice, Niecnice, Parchacz, Pierwiatyn, Perespa, Piwowszczyzna, Poturzyca, Pozdzimierz, Sawczyn, Siebeczow, Siedlec Belzki, Sokal, Starogrod, Switazow, Szmytkow, Tartakow, Torki, Tudorkowice, Tyszyca, Uhrynow, Ulwowek, Werbiaz, Wojsławice, Wolewin, Wolica Komarowa, Zubkow, Zniatyn.

County STANISLAWOW: Ciezow, Delijow, Halicz, Hanusowce, Jamnica, Podbrzeze, Podgrodzie, Stanistawow, Tumir, Uhorniki, Wiktorow, Wisloboki, Zalu-

kiew.

County STARY SAMBOR: Stary Sambor.

County STRYJ: Czernica, Stynawa Nizna, Stryj.

County TARNOPOL: Borki Wielkie, Berezowica, Czartoryja, Czystylow, Czernilow Ruski. Chodaczkow Mały, Denisow, Dolzanka, Dyczkow, Domamorycz, Gaje Wielkie, Hlubiczek, Wielki, Kipiaczka, Krzywki, Kupczynce, Kurowce, Kutkowce, Kozlow, Ladyczyn, Luka Wielka, Mikulince, Myszkowice, Nastasow, Ostalce, Pet-

rykow, Pokropiwna, Proniatyn, Proszowa, Skomorochy, Smykowce, Suszczyn, Szlachcince, Tarnopol, Toustolug.

County TREMBOWLA: Darachow, Hleszczawa, Mogielnica, Ostrowczyk, Sady, Slobodka Strusowska, Trembowla.

County TYSMIENICA: Podpieczary, Tysmienica. County WLADYMIR WOLYNSKI: Mykulicy.

County ZALESZCZYKI: Dobrowlany.

County ZBARAZ: Bazarzynce, Czernichowce. Dobromirka, Dobrywody, Hnilice Wielkie, Hniliczki, Holoszynce, Huszczanka, Holotki, Kapuscince, Kujdance, Klimkowce. Koszlaki. Krasnosielce, Lisieczynce, Lozowka, Lubianki. Medyn. Nowe Siolo. Obodowka. Roznoszynce, Skoryki, Staromiejszczyzna. Suchowce, Szelpaki, Sieniawa, Szyly, Terpilowka, Toki, Zbaraz.

County ZBOROW: Bialoglowy, Bzowica, Cebrow. Danilowce, Harbuzow, Jarczowce, Jaroslawice, Jezierna, Kudobince, Lisowce, Machnowce, Manajow, Melno, Nuszcze, Perepelniki, Pobocz, Podhajczyki, Rozhadow, Torhow, Uciszkow, Zborow.

County ZLOCZOW: Olesko, Rozworiany, Sasow, Zloczow.

County ZOLKIEW: Batiatycze, Czeresznia, Dworce, Kulikow, Kupiczwola, Mosty Wielkie, Rekliniec, Strzemien, Wiazowa, Zolkiew.

County ZYDACZOW: Czernelica, Jajkowce, Lachowice Podrozne, Monasterzec, Protesy, Stare Siolo, Sulatycze, Włodimirce, Zurawno, Zydaczow.

This list, it is repeated, is extremely incomplete but shows conclusively that the Polish assertions, especially those in the "Polish Library of Facts" to the effect that "only 117 communities in six counties were pacified" and that in only "eight communities irregularities occured",

is far from the truth. It contradicts not only the statement of the "Polish Library of Facts" but also that of Z. Stronsky, leader of the Polish pro-governmental majority in parliament, that "450 villages in 16 counties were pacified".

It is evident from the above list that the attack on Ukrainian communities was made in 19 counties by



Ukrainian reading hall in Dolzanka, county Tarnopol, after "search" by Polish police.

soldiers and police, and in thirteen counties by police only. In addition to these counties, arrests and searches only were reported from sixteen other counties.

The damage done may be summed up in the following survey:

Summary by Counties of Known Killings, Injuries and Damages Inflicted Upon Ukrainians by Polish "Pacificators"

County		Communities			Prop	erty Des	Victims				
		"Paci- fica- tion"	Only Arrests Reported	Cooper. Stores	Reading Clubs	Cream- eries		Private Bldg.& Farms	Flogged or Beaten	Killed or died of Wounds	Ar- rested
1	Bobrka	44		5	4	1		30	432	6+1?	30
2	Bohorodczany	1	3	1	_	_	-	1	-		1
3	Borszczow		4					-		_	5
4	Brody	3	2	3			_	_	1	-	4
5	Brzezany	22	1	22	7	2	1	20	64	-	38
6	Buczacz	12	2	4	-	1	-	16	16	-	8
7	Czortkow	6	1	2	1	_	-	1	-	_	3
8	Dobromil	2 5	-		-	-	-			-	1
9	Dolina	5		1	-	-		2	2	_	
10	Drohobycz	-	7	1	_		_				72
11	Grodek Jag.	10		3	2	-		2	68	1	3
12	Horodenka	19		11	13		-	37	68		21
13	Husiatyn	2	1	1	1		_	6	204	13	2
14	Jaworow	22	1	7	1	1	_	1	384	1?	13
15	Kalusz	3	1	1	. 1		-	2			13
16	Kamionka St.	2	2		_			-	1		39
17	Kolomea		2			_	1		-		4
18	Kosow	2	4	3	-		1		1		4
19	Luck	20	1	15	19	3	5	51	151	2+1?	89
20	Lwow	38	-	15	19))	51	151	2-11:	09
21	Mosciska Nadworna	1	3	1	1			3 10		To the same of	3
22		2+	-	11	11	1	1	345	165	2+2?	20
23	Podhajce	2+	-	1 1	11	1	1	343	103	2 7 2:	20

24	Przemysl	13	1	10	11	1				_	30
25	Przemyslany	3	2	3	2	_		10	7		19
26		2	ĩ	2	2			1	7	_	1
27			2			_					2
28	Rohatyn	43		38	15	2		128	99	1	26
29	Rowno		6	_					52		53
30	Rudki	1		1	1		_	60			5
31	Sambor		4	1	î						36
32			6	_				2			14
33		5		5	2			ī	3		3
34	Sniatyn	3	1	2	2		_	37	33	1?	_
35	Sokal	44		7	11	1	1	48	157		24
36	Stanislawow	10	3	5	5	4		10	21	1	11
37	Stary Sambor		1	_							6
38			3								4
39	Tarnopol	31	2	26	14	3	15	40	195	2?	111
40	Trembowla	2	5	1	1	1	1	11	13		1
41	Tysmienica		2		_						10
42			1		_		_		_	_	1
43	Zbaraz	26	4	13	8	2	4	198	262	3?	21
44	Zborow	21		8	5		1	6	12	1	18
45	Zloczow	2	2	2	2	_		4	_	_	5
46			1		_					1	
47	Zolkiew	8	2	1	2			0	124	1	11
48	Zydaczow	9	1	7	1	1 1 1000	1		1	_	9
	-	-				-	-				
	TOTAL	441	85	227	146	23	31	1070	2340	16+11?	790
	,	526									

To summarize, the damage done, as far as can be ascertained, is as follows:

526 villages subjected to Polish persecution; 441 "pacified" and 85 forced to submit to arrests and searches only.

In the "pacified" communities, 227 cooperative stores, 146 reading clubs, 23 creameries, 31 other institutions, and 1070 private buildings and farms pillaged or destroyed.

2.340 persons have been flogged; 27 persons lost their lives, though the details surrounding the deaths of 11 of these are incomplete.

The "pacification" was conducted by following troops: 6th Regiment of Ulans (Cavalry) in Stanislawow and Rohatyn Counties.

9th Regiment of Ulans in Brzczany, Buczacz, Podhajce, Tarnopol, and Trembowla Counties.

14th Regiment of Ulans in Bobrka, Jaworow, Grodek, Lwow, and Rudki Counties.

22nd Regiment of Ulans in Tarnopol, Zbaraz, and Zborow Counties.

6th Regiment of Mounted Rifles in Radziechow. Sokal and Zolkiew Counties.

10th Regiment of Artillery in Dobromil County.

THE DEAD

Polish authorities admit that three Ukrainians were killed during the "pacification". They name them as H. Pisecki, Julian Holowinsky, and Michael Bodnar, all shot down by Polish police, the latter two, according to official records, "while trying to escape".

For the information of the world, however, the following is the list, so far known, of those Ukrainians who were shot down, flogged to death, or who died as the result of beatings received at the hands of the degenerate Polish soldiers and police who acted under orders from Warsaw, besides the three victims mentioned above:

Michael Dmytruch, of Dobrzany, County Grodek, died as the result of flogging, in February, 1931.

Humphrey Dyczko, of Uwsie, County Podhajce, died February 12, because of wounds inflicted by flogging.

Zynoviy Furdey, shot to death by Ulans in Bokov, County Podhajce, on October 5, 1930.

Michael Horyn, of Ruda, County Bobrka, died February, 1931, as the result of flogging.

Michael Kicera, of Kucurow, County Bobrka, tortured by soldiers, died December 14, 1930, as the result of his injuries (broken leg, both arms and two ribs).

Michael Lytwynec, of Ciezow, County Stanislawow, died February 18, 1931, because of wounds received from the hands of Polish soldiers.

Michael Mowczan, of Wasiuczyn, County Rohatyn, shot down by soldiers, September 25, 1930.

Matwij Paranka, shot by Polish soldiers in the village of Czyzykow, County Lwow. Died October 17, 1930.

Michael Petruszka, of Mosty Wielkie, County Zolkiew, died of wounds and injuries, October 25, 1930.

Dmytro Pidhirny, shot and killed by Polish corporal Rodzwinski in Siedliska, County Bobrka.

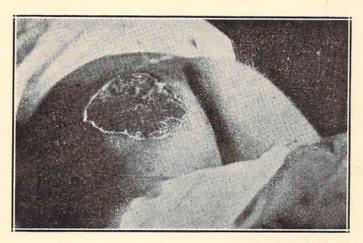
A. Snowydowych, flogged by police, died as result of the punishment, February, 1931, in Podhorodyszcze, County Bobrka.

Basil Trostianecky, of Manajow, County Zborow, shot by Poles, September 30, 1930.

Michael Tutko, of Gaje, County Lwow, beaten to death, October 18, 1930.

Reports were also received about the death, as the

result of flogging of Theodore Czajkowsky, of Dolzanka, County Tarnopol; K. Czytajlo, of Dzwinogrod, County Bobrka; Nicholas Stronsky, of Humieniec, County Lwow; Basil Hrycyna, of Suchowce, County Zbaraz; John Warenycia, of Denisow, County Tarnopol; Basil Szul, of Sieniawa; the village burgess of Stecowa, County Sniatyn; Stephen Pryszlak, of Seredna, County Podhajce; N. Zacharkow, of Wisniowczyk, County Podhajce; John Bomba,



Farmer K. Szpyra, of Padjarkow, county Lwow, showing wounds inflicted by flogging.

of Nowe Siolo, County Zbaraz; A. Szewczuk, of Koszlaki, County Zbaraz.

The aforementioned eleven cases are merely citations of reports received, as confirmation and details regarding these cases are lacking. Polish data naming only three cases of violent deaths during the pacification, is, to say the least, very incomplete. Still, it is the only data the Poles dare to publish.

INVESTIGATIONS

A number of Polish sources have made much of the fact that the "strictest investigation was made against officials, who exceeding their instructions, committed abuses". The statements, in view of the facts, are ridiculous, it being a matter of record that only one policeman has been disciplined in Poland's "sweeping investigation" of abuses. This particular policeman, who stole a watch, was dismissed, but he stands out alone as the result of the many inquiries launched. Not one person was arrested, or even interrogated, for the score of killings and the thousands of assaults.

Instead, the investigating committee of government officials who were sent to Lwow, visited the Ukrainian hospital there, where victims of Polish atrocities were receiving treatment, and instead of asking them how they received their wounds or who inflicted them, inquired into who took the pictures of their wounds and where they were at the moment.

Further evidence of the attempt to thwart investigations, is the arrest of the Ukrainian attorneys Alexander Oleynik. Wolodymyr Lysyj, Dmytro Ladyka, John Yakimchuk, and Lucas Oniferko, in Tarnopol, and J. Selezinka and his wife in Radziechow, who were jailed because they attempted to gather facts and figures on the "pacification" in their districts. Others, bent upon the investigation pretended by the Polish authorities, who likewise suffered arrest in their quest for the truth, were Negley Farson, American correspondent of the Chicago Daily

News, and Dr. W. F. Dey, of the Canadian Times, and others.

But it was not the purpose of Poland to allow the truth about "pacification" to be given to the outside world. Instead, apparently fearful of the condemnation of civilized nations, they did everything in their power to suppress the truth.

To summarize this bloody "pacification," the following quotation from an article in "The Manchester Guardian Weekly," of Friday, October 17, 1930, entitled, "The Tragedy of the Ukraine," is appropriate:

"The 'pacification' of Ukraine by means of these 'punitive expeditions' is probably the most destructive onslaught yet made on any of the national minorities and the worst violation of the minorities' treaty. Indeed, it is a whole civilization, and a very high one, that has been wrecked."





Part of the interior of the Central Warehouse of Ukrainian Cooperative Stores in Lwow, after Polish bombing.

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