

REPORT

ON

The Polish-Ukrainian Conflict

IN

EASTERN GALICIA

By

The Rev. James Barr, M.P.

and

Mr. Rhys J. Davies, M.P.

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON, S.W.1

SEPTEMBER 1931

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STATEMENT

By

Mr. Rhys J. Davies, M. P.

HISTORICAL.

We visited Eastern Galicia in Poland entirely on our own account, completely disinterested and with the sole object of finding out how much truth there lay in the reports which have been issued from time to time lately alleging harsh treatment of the population of this area by the Polish authorities. We reached Lemberg, the Capital of one of the provinces affected, on Wednesday, August 5th, 1931, and spent several days following in making inquiries on the spot. We visited in addition to Lemberg, several Polish towns and villages in the countryside. Mr. Davies called at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the British Consulate General at Warsaw on his way there and Mr. Barr on his return home.

In order to understand the situation it is well to note at the commencement that there are several millions of Ukrainians in the provinces covered by Eastern Galicia and a number scattered all over Poland outside these provinces. There are also about forty millions, members of this race, within Soviet Ukraine. It is estimated that their total number in Russia, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Poland is about forty-seven millions. We are concerned, here, however, only with the several millions resident in Eastern Galicia under Polish rule. Another point of interest which should be noted in passing is, that the Ukrainians in Poland are stated to be the largest minority now under alien rule in any country in Europe.

At the end of the Great War the fate of these souls in Eastern Galicia was settled by the Associated Powers when they were included under Polish rule, but with a guarantee of local autonomy. This guarantee, however, has never been implemented, and that failure we think is the cause of all the trouble. It will be known, of course, that the vast majority of these Ukrainians resident in Eastern Galicia lived under Austrian rule for about 150 years up to the end of the Great War. It is stated on good authority that they enjoyed much greater cultural and

political freedom during that long period than has been their lot under Polish rule.

GATHERING INFORMATION

Before proceeding on our journey the Polish Ambassador in London was good enough to make our path easy by introductions to the Polish Foreign Ministry at Warsaw and to the new Governor of the Provinces of Lemberg. We were also given introductions to leading Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia by the Ukrainian Information Bureau in London. We must here pay tribute to all those who helped us in our inquiries more, especially to the leaders of the Poles and Ukrainians on the spot.

In order to gain a better understanding of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Eastern Galicia we were introduced to men and women of all shades of political and religious views and talked to others who were as detached as may be possible from the political life of either party. Among those with whom one or other of us spoke were:—

- The Polish Ambassador in London.
- The Ukrainian Information Bureau in London.
- The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw.
- The British Consul General at Warsaw.
- British Vice-Consulate Lemberg.
- Representatives of the Polish Socialist Party and Trade Unions at Warsaw and Lemberg.
- The Ex-Governor of the Province of Lemberg.
- The Archbishop and Bishops of the Greek Catholic Church at Lemberg.
- Ukrainian Nationalist, Socialist and Co-operative representatives.
- Newspaper Representatives.
- Group collected by the Ex-Governor of Lemberg.
- Representatives of the Ukrainian Women's Alliance.
- Parish priests and working men who could speak English in the countryside.
- Professors, bankers, lawyers, teachers and business men.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN EASTERN GALICIA.

It would be well to state here what we think has always been the official attitude of the Polish authorities towards the problem of local government in Eastern Galicia. In „The Polish Handbook” for 1925, the following statement is made:—

"A Statute foresees the establishment of self-government in the countries of Lwow (Lemberg), Stanislaw, and Tarnopol (the three chief towns); each of these is to have a Sejm (Parliament) composed of two chambers elected by the Polish and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) populations of each country respectively. Each of these chambers is to decide on matters of national culture, education, etc., whereas matters of general importance are to be dealt with by the two chambers acting conjointly. This Statute has so far NOT been executed."

That is the promise. The position as outlined in 1925, however, still remains, and that is the central fact in the situation.

Having been so definitely promised autonomy the Ukrainians have naturally been restless without it. Their vigorous nationalism and resentment ran riot early in 1930 to such an extent that arson was committed on a fairly extensive scale, aimed, we think, against some of the large landowners of Polish origin and descent living in Eastern Galicia. The facts of this sabotage are undisputed. The Polish Government, naturally, took note of the burning of hayricks and cottages and swooped down on the guilty and innocent Ukrainian peasants alike without much mercy, acting, of course, through the police and military organisations.

The stories told by Poles of the outrages against their property and those told by Ukrainian peasants of Polish atrocities against Ukrainian peasants may or may not be exaggerated. The facts remain that arson on one side and strong retaliatory measures taken by the Polish Government on the other are common ground among all who have given any study to this question, and they are not, we understand, disputed by either of the two parties to the conflict. So far as we are concerned we do not attempt to justify either the arson committed by the Ukrainians, or the pacification of the Ukrainians as carried out by the Poles.

The allegations of harsh treatment made in this connection were recently summed up as follows by Mr. Cecil L. Malone, M. P., one of our own colleagues, who visited the area some little time ago:—

"During the month of October and up to the Elections of November 15th, 1930, the Polish Government had organised a systematic attack by means of police and soldiery, armed in some cases with machine-guns, on several hund-

red villages; that these villages were surrounded, the villagers being dragged from their homes, stripped and most brutally beaten, sometimes to death; that heavy tribute was levied; that hundreds if not thousands were imprisoned; Ukrainian schools were closed down, Ukrainian reading-rooms, libraries and co-operative stores destroyed and other brutalities committed."

That is the charge levelled against the Polish Government.

The attitude of the Polish authorities towards these allegations may we presume, be fairly stated in a quotation from an article written by Mr. Stanislas Los, in "The Slavonic Review" dated June 1931, as follows: —

"The truth is that in several districts of the counties of Lwow and Tarnopol the so-called Ukrainian Military Organisation committed a series of criminal acts, chiefly arson; appeals on the Polish side to those Ukrainian leaders who consider themselves to be the representatives of the Ukrainian people, appeals invoking public opinion to exert its influence to stop criminal sabotage, proved of no avail. It became imperative as the first duty of the Government to restore the security of public life and property even by mechanical means, and of necessity this was done in a rather drastic manner, though with respect for human life. The effect was instantaneous and the campaign of sabotage ceased."

That, we believe, is the reply of the Polish Government to the charge made by Mr. Malone.

The foregoing summarised will give the uninitiated the three cardinal facts upon which our report must proceed:—

1. The Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were promised autonomy and this promise has never been implemented;
2. Some Ukrainians obviously incensed with the non-fulfillment of the promise of autonomy committed arson on a considerable scale in 1930; and
3. The Polish government declares that the stern retaliatory measures taken by the police and military in what they call the pacification of the Ukraine were fully justified by facts.

RECENT HISTORY.

The history of these two peoples provides one of the most complex chapters in human affairs. The Ukrainians, as stated, numbering about 47 millions, are now scattered over at least four European countries. The several millions Ukrainians thrust under Polish rule have, of course, created an uneasy task for the

Polish people who only emerged themselves from centuries of tyranny at the end of the Great War.

The Poles have a language of their own and they are predominantly Roman Catholic in religion. The Ukrainians have also a language of their own and cling to it with the utmost tenacity. Their Church is Greek Catholic, and whilst they owe allegiance to the Vatican the differences in ritual and practises between Roman and Greek Catholic in Poland are sufficient in themselves to divide them on several fundamental issues of life.

Whilst all this is true we do not propose here to enter into any historical question! We shall confine ourselves to the more germane issues which have followed the end of the war between the Ukrainians and the Poles in 1919 or thereabouts. It was then that the 6½ millions of Ukrainians now complaining came under Polish rule. As stated they are separated from the main stream of their race in Soviet Russia and surrounding countries. Neither shall we concern ourselves with the charges, whether they be founded on fact or otherwise, that the Germans and Russians have been instigating the Ukrainians to create trouble and have financed them to make things awkward for the Pilsudski regime in Poland. For instance, to follow the allegation of the Ukrainians that French employers in the Ukraine are disposed to distinguish unfairly against employing Ukrainian workmen would be, in our opinion, equally fruitless. We shall rather seek to suggest the way out of the present impasse than dwell unduly on the past whether remote or otherwise. The Polish Government cannot be happy at the present state of affairs, and it is certain that both the Poles and Ukrainians resident in Eastern Galicia know that peace among them must be restored sooner or later. It is that peace with honour to both sides we hope to help secure if at all possible.

A PETITION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The next stage in the history of the Ukrainians under Polish rule since the War between them ended in November 1919 was reached when they recently petitioned the League of Nations for redress. That petition came before the authorities at Geneva for the first time in May 1931, and the Ukrainians were full of hope that a decision would soon be reached by the Committee of Three appointed by the League to consider their grievances. Up to the present, however, no such decision has been given.

The Ukrainians having been disappointed in May are now very impatient and are on tiptoe of expectation that their case may come up for final treatment at the League Assembly in September 1931.

Since it was lodged it has been suggested that the Polish Government by devious means has tried to induce the Ukrainians to withdraw their petition as a pre-requisite to a conference between the two parties on the spot, but we failed to secure definite confirmation of this suggestion. It appears, therefore, that the petition is still in being and that it remains to be dealt with by a Committee of Three. We earnestly express the hope that a decision will be forthcoming this September so as to ease the present unfortunate position which prevails in the area under review.

It is held in some quarters that the League of Nations is not vested with sufficient powers to do much more than hear the parties to such a dispute and that all it can do afterwards is to make recommendations for a settlement after a hearing. That is to say, it has no power to ENFORCE its decisions. This is not, so it is argued, a quarrel between two sovereign powers; it is a dispute between two peoples living under one government.

We are not competent to offer any opinion on this intricate point. But even if that be the case we feel hopeful that both the Polish Government and the Ukrainians under its rule would gladly accept the findings of such an impartial and important tribunal. Nay, we think that the two parties to this dispute ought to accept such findings and implement them without delay so as to relieve themselves of what must be to both an intolerable situation.

A COMPLICATED ISSUE.

The situation is complicated by the fact that to grant autonomy in Eastern Galicia on a democratic basis would in the very nature of the case place the Poles living in that area in a minority. The Poles residing there are, therefore, nervous lest in settling one minority problem another may be created in so doing.

Be that as it may, we are informed that similar difficulties have been surmounted in Czechoslovakia, and that in fact a Ukrainian University is actually flourishing in Prague, the capital of that country. We cannot believe that the Polish people are less capable of understanding minorities than the Czechoslovaks.

After all, it does not of necessity destroy the larger loyalty of any people to the country of their adoption to allow them to speak and teach their own language, to develop their own cultural, civil, and religious institutions and manage their own local affairs. Even in our own country the Welsh language is being taught in the elementary schools in Wales whether the parents are English or Welsh. The choice of the parents and the decision of the local authority in this connection is paramount, and it seems to work well.

We may be permitted to point out that we have interested ourselves in this question, not only as Internationalists, Socialists and Pacifists, but because we have about 400,000 Ukrainians as fellow British subjects resident in Canada. We are proud to know that the Canadian Government has never placed any obstacle in the way of developing their own language and institutions. In fact, they enjoy greater freedom in Canada — a foreign land to them — than their kith and kin seem to get on their own native soil of Eastern Galicia. The Ukrainians in Canada are, by the way, the third largest nation in that Dominion.

POLISH SILESIA VERSUS POLISH GALICIA.

There is the further point to be remembered that the Polish Government itself permits cultural freedom to the German population in Polish Silesia on lines which it prohibits in Eastern Galicia. This anomaly is incomprehensible to the outsider except it is claimed that the Germans in Poland have a „big brother in Germany” who might come to their aid from just over the border, whilst the Ukrainians in Poland are not so happily placed. What is right in Silesia cannot be wrong in Galicia. There is, of course, the agrarian problem in Silesia, but that does not disturb our argument about cultural and political rights.

Those are the main facts in this most complicated issue, so far as we have been able to understand them. We shall now pass on to a consideration of other aspects of the case, and we shall conceive it our duty to try and lift the argument above propaganda for either party. We believe that in the end nothing but the truth can make men free.

THE PRESENT INTOLERABLE POSITION.

The following incidents prove the tension still prevailing in that part of the world. It is generally understood that a pass-

port is necessary only on entry into any country. No person in our own country, for instance, ever thinks of a passport until and unless he decides to travel abroad. The strained relationships between the Ukrainians and the Polish Government, however, make all the difference in Eastern Galicia.

On Thursday, 6th August 1931, Mr. Rhys Davies, accompanied by a party of Ukrainians, left Lemberg on a day's motor tour of the countryside. The first call was made at the town of Rohatyn, in the province of Stanislaw, approximately 60 miles by road from Lemberg. Rohatyn, by the way, possesses several historic remains, including two churches dating from the 16th and 17th centuries. The former is built of wood and adorned with many old paintings. The second claims a brotherhood with a continual existence since its establishment in the 16th century as a cultural and educational institution. The population of this town numbers about 12,000. It was almost completely ruined during the war between the Poles and the Ukrainians in 1919 and is only slowly recovering.

There is a privately owned Ukrainian secondary school in the town erected by the voluntary efforts of the peasants before the war. There were 400 children taught in that school for some years, but it was closed by the authorities during the pacification of the autumn, 1930.

In 1931 the Greek Catholic Archbishop established a Catholic College in the school building, which he maintained he was entitled to do according to a Treaty of 1925 between Poland and the Vatican. Notwithstanding this fact the Polish police closed the school again in June 1931, sealing its doors and leaving the children without the possibility of further education within its walls.

We were told that all the school documents have been confiscated. There were present in the unsealed part of this school during the visit the Reverend P. Kudryk, the priest of the town, the principal of the college and members of the teaching staff, now unemployed.

We visited the shops and stores of the District Union of Co-operative Societies, which unites 140 village co-operatives and the library, reading room, theatre and building of the educational association "Prosvita", the headquarters of which are in Lemberg.

A village, where a co-operative society's reading room exists, and some peasants' homes were visited, as well as the house

of the local priest at Wasiuczyn, which was „pacified” by the Polish soldiers last Autumn.

At the latter village a dairy producing co-operative society is established which exports to England. A large house has recently been erected in this village by the peasants’ own hands in which the co-operative society, a theatre and library find accommodation. Peasants’ houses were visited and enquiries made as to the standard of life, rents, wages, etc. One peasant here spoke a few words in English. A boy was shot in this village during the „pacification.”

In the nearby village „Cherche” there is a large building owned by the co-operative society. The doors of the library and reading room in this building were sealed by the police in May 1931 and the seals still remain intact. Mineral springs were discovered here recently and are now exploited by a co-operative society composed of local peasants.

An incident occurred at Rohatyn worth recording. At 2 o’clock in the afternoon the party were held up by detectives and a policeman and asked to produce papers of identification. The hotel manager at Lemberg had asked Mr. Davies for his passport and papers in order that they may be shown to the police in the capital of the province. He was, therefore, unable to produce any papers of identification, and it was some time before the three government representatives could be convinced that the car should be allowed to proceed. After other members of the party had produced their passports and persuaded the three officers of the district that there was a Member of the British Parliament in the party they were allowed to continue their journey.

As stated it is not usual in any country for its citizens to be asked to produce passports when travelling in their own land. But that is apparently the custom at present in Eastern Galicia. It is not the practice either to ask an alien visitor, as in this case, to produce papers of identification once he has entered a foreign country.

This incident indicates the strong feeling which must exist between the two parties to the conflict and shows the absurdity of continuing to conduct the affairs of the people on present lines.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

Although the economic situation in Eastern Galicia may have little relation to the political disturbances which have

taken place, the abject conditions of life of the Ukrainian peasants ought to be described.

The vast majority living in the countryside own their own plots running from one to ten acres. The standard of each family is measured, naturally, in proportion to the amount of land held and the number of persons in each family. There is a very small proportion of the population who may be described as big landowners, are comfortably placed and employ servants from among the landless. We were told that most of these were Poles.

The landless man is almost a beggar, and when he finds work his wages income is pitiful in the extreme. We found some men endeavouring to maintain families of wife and three or four children, working ten hours per day for only one zloty ($5\frac{1}{2}$ d). This may be an extreme case, though we were informed that in the heart of the countryside two zlotys per day may be regarded as the maximum wage. The obvious result is that the food they eat can seldom include meat, coffee, or even eggs and butter which are plentiful, but which they must sell if they are to buy anything at all to eat or to wear. In one village we visited, some of the children had only one piece of clothing to cover their nakedness, whilst a large number of the population went bare-footed.

The practice prevails of granting the labourer the thirteenth bushel of corn as payment for his services. Even the Church of old got its tithe. Although the purchasing power of money must always be borne in mind, we do not put the case too strongly when we say that we never thought it would be our lot to find white people in any part of the world compelled to exist under such conditions of poverty.

The small peasant proprietor is, of course, better off than the labourer, but the following facts, in relation to his standard of life, will speak for themselves. He gets about sixpence for twenty eggs, eightpence per pound for butter, one-penny-farthing for a quart of milk, two shillings and sixpence for 200 lbs. potatoes, and ten shillings for 200 lbs. wheat. A good cow is sold at four guineas and an excellent horse can be bought for the same price.

It was stated that the population in the countryside is still increasing, that emigration to Canada and the U. S. A. is practically stopped, and that in order to "Polonise" the area devious means are employed to sell all parcels of available land to

Polish buyers in preference to Ukrainians. The resulting economic pressure and political animus may, therefore, be easily conjectured. Whatever form political institutions may take in Eastern Galicia the acute agrarian problem which exists must be faced unless the peasants are to be condemned to live in penury.

CONCLUSION.

It is not for us to do more than record the facts as we found them, but we hope and pray that the Polish Government and the League of Nations may soon be induced to remove the obvious grievances which are bearing down on the Ukrainians resident in that part of Europe referred to in this document.



STATEMENT

By The

Rev. James Barr, M. P.

THE LAND.

The Ukrainians are for the most part engaged in agriculture.

The largest landowners are Poles; the peasants are Ukrainians. The Poles are the old landed aristocracy. Hence when there is agrarian conflict, or when landed injustice is suffered, the Ukrainian is apt to say—„There again, it is the Pole.”

There is a Polish law that all large landed properties should be broken up; and during the Polish Soviet War, in 1919 or thereby and again in 1925, a Land Reform Bill was published to this end. But these land reforms have not been realised. An advanced Polish Socialist told me that the Bill of 1919 had been operative to the extent of 10 to 15% for the Polish peasants but not for the Ukrainians. It had not been operated either by the present or by the previous government and now, as was pointed out to me in other quarters, there were great difficulties because owing to the present financial straitness credit was not available, and without credit new peasant holdings could not be created.

More than that, seven or eight years ago, under Professor Grabski, the Polish National Democrats, and in opposition to the present government, were wont to send Polish peasants to settle in Ukraine territory with the view of making such artificial colonisation as to have in future a Polish majority in Galicia. But the Polish Socialist, already referred to, after paying tribute to the advancement of the Ukrainian people, especially in the arts, during the last twenty or thirty years, said to me that it was Utopian nonsense to think that they could be obliged to assimilate another nation, or blot out their national inheritance.

Co-operative Societies.

I visited the Revd. Andrew Pelenskyj, priest of the Greek Catholic Church in the village of Lysiatyazi, in the district of Stryj. He is said to have been the first to introduce the Co-

operative Movement among the Ukrainians, and he is still President of the very large Co-operative Union in his district. Now every village has its Co-operative Society, and these are united in large Wholesale Unions. Thus in this district of Stryj, 184 Co-operative Societies are so united, and in 1930 the turnover of this Wholesale Union was half a million pounds sterling. They export eggs to Britain, and are intending to start a Bacon Factory for export. There are 43 such Wholesale Societies in their country; and these Wholesale Societies are in turn united in a Central Co-operative Union in Lvov. The Union at Stryj runs schools for bookkeeping and agricultural classes, and has courses giving a six-months' training in „How to run a Co-operative Society". There are Dairy Co-operative Societies, working on the modern methods, buying their milk not by quantity but by the butter fat it contains, grading their products, and exporting the highest standard of butter.

One of the representative Poles I met mentioned that the Ukrainian Co-operative Movement had been started and helped a few years ago by financial aid from the Polish Government. The reply of the Ukrainians is that these Societies have had no financial grant from the government; and that the only aid they received was some six years ago when they were given credits up to 8,000 pound sterling, for a period of two years but that since that time they had no credit given by any State bank; whereas the Polish Minister of Agriculture had himself stated that the Government paid fourteen million zlotys (or about 325,000 pound sterling), toward Polish Co-operative Societies which were in difficulties.

In addition to the Co-operative Societies there are private Associations to foster agricultural education. These Associations, as well as Co-operative Societies, give lectures on seeds and potatoes, on cattle and farming; and in both cases complaint is made that the police come to these lectures, and that in some cases they are forbidden on the ground that they are political. No doubt, the Co-operative Movement is reckoned as one of the rallying points of national sentiment in the Ukraine, and is regarded as such by the Government. I was told by the Ukrainians, that the Government would like to see Poles and Ukrainians mixed in the organization management of these Societies, and to have them more under Polish influence. On the other hand, an eminent Polish representative in Warsaw pointed to the fact that the Ukrainian Co-operative Societies had numer-

ically six times the strenght of the Polish Societies, as a proof that the Polish Government is not suppressing this movement.

One fact struck me as significant. The Co-operative Union of the district of Stryj had a Government Wholesale Concession for the sale of salt. That was taken away on the 1st July last, and given to a Polish Association of a military type, which supports the government. They have the fear that their tobacco monopoly will in like manner be taken from them and given to Poles. The Polish explanation of such actions is that there is a general tending to take back concessions from organisations like these and give them to organisations of invalid soldiers or other organisations which support the Government. A prominent Polish representative at Warsaw pointed out that the Poles also were asking that concessions should not be taken back, showing that it was not a question of Poles and Ukrainians. Another Polish representative at Lvov freely expressed the opinion that such concessions ought not to be given or continued to persons who were opposed to the Government; and that at best such a monopoly was a privilege that could be taken away in the same manner as it was given. But however it might be explained, I could not help thinking that the withdrawal of such a concession at the present time was fitted to accentuate rather than allay the prevailing bitterness of feeling.

Trade Unions.

The City Working Classes were for the most part organised by Poles, while the organisation of the rural areas was left to Ukrainians; and generally in Trade Union matters, the Ukrainians suffer from not being so well organised. The Urban Poles are a little afraid of the Ukrainians being reactionary, or not so far advanced; while the Ukrainian have the suspicion that even Polish Trade Unions are seeking to exclude Ukrainian workmen from the mining industry and from the oil fields which produce gasoline and petroleum. The Ukrainians claim that both sections should stand on the common ground of international Socialism, and that the Poles should recognise that the Ukrainian cannot renounce his nationality, and should be viewed and treated from a professional and not a national standpoint. On the other hand, many of the Polish Trade Unionists and Socialists that I saw concede all the main contentions of the Ukrainians, including the claim for the fullest territorial autonomy for Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, only dissociating

themselves from any attempts at military organisation or deeds of arson and violence on the part of the Ukrainians.

I was pleased to notice that in some of the Galician territory through which I passed the Polish and Ukrainian Trade Unions are housed together. They share a common membership and have common meetings, although for certain objects they meet apart. The Trade Union Home I visited was erected and maintained by a voluntary levy of one per cent. of their wages made on all workmen, Polish and Ukrainian. The Fascist Organisation known as Strzelec, which has the countenance of the Government, desired to get hold of these Workmen's Homes. A Plebiscite was taken and only 20 per cent. of the workmen voted for Fascist possession and control, while 80 per cent. voted to keep things as they were. Polish representatives, declared that this result showed that the Strzelec Organisation was not so powerful as some thought. The Ukrainians assert that this Fascist Organisation gets very substantial financial help from the Government.

I questioned some of the workmen at the Trade Union Home I visited. One man, a smith by trade, had a wage of 5.40 zlotys, or 2/6 of our money, for an eight hour day, or 12/6 for a five day week. He had been in that branch eight years and he dare not complain.

Another man, a qualified workman, long out of work, had at first 8/ — a week as unemployment benefit for himself and his wife. This continued for 17 weeks; at the end of 17 weeks, all unemployment benefit ceases. He now lives on odd jobs, and sometimes gets occasional work in the parafin department of an oil refinery.

Employment.

The Ukrainians represented to me that their workmen were at a disadvantage in asking for employment. They were sometimes asked to produce their birth certificates, which showed at once that they were Greek Catholics and not Poles. They further maintain that the Government displaces Ukrainian by Polish workmen; that before the War there was an equal proportion of Polish and Ukrainians in all Government works, but that now there is a very small number of Ukrainians in Government employ; that 7,000 Ukrainian Railwaymen have lost their work, and that Poles have been put in their place.

They further maintain that when, owing to the depression, staffs have to be reduced, Ukrainian workmen are the first to go. Ukrainian employers are so few that they need scarcely be taken into consideration. Ukrainian workmen employed by industries under Government control during Austrian times are not there now. Thus in the city of Drohobycz which I visited, in the Petroleum Refinery called Polmin, there are 600 workmen employed of whom only 10 are Ukrainian, and even these have to be careful to avoid their own organisations and parties. Very much the same conditions of affairs obtain in the French Oil Companies, so I was told, controlled as these commonly are by Polish Boards of Management. On the other hand, the Ukrainians informed me that equal and fair treatment was accorded in the Petroleum Refinery Company called Gallicia in the same city, where there were employed 160 Ukrainians, 150 Poles and 140 Jews. One reason of this equality, I was told, was that this company employs local workmen, whereas the companies formerly mentioned bring their workmen to the city from the western parts of Poland. The Polish answer to these allegations is that certainly all industrialists do not carry the question of nationality into employment. They point out that especially in the petroleum business the Poles are better qualified workmen, that this has long been the case, and that the percentage of Ukrainian workers in the petroleum business has always been very small. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, reply that the best proof that Ukrainian workmen are just as well qualified as Polish is that Ukrainians who have lost their jobs at home in many cases find work and prove themselves effective workmen in this line of industry in Persia, Africa and Roumania.

It has been already reported that Unemployment Benefit runs only for a period of 17 weeks. On what corresponds to our Court of Referees there are two Employers' Representatives and three Workmen's Representatives; but the Ukrainians maintain that members of the Fascist Organisation called Strzelec, already referred to, are being increasingly appointed to serve such Courts. This organisation, which exists for physical training, is part of the Polish Socialist Organisation which left the ranks of the Polish Socialists. This Organisation directs its operations against Poles as well as Ukrainians, but it is maintained in a lesser degree against Poles. They tend, I was told, to make life hard for Ukrainian workmen, accusing them of being communists or enemies of the State.

Elections.

The Ukrainians maintain that the General Election of last year was carried out under a reign of terrorism and that it gave no real reflex of public opinion. They say that in some cases there was the suppression, and in others the falsification of voting lists, that men were asked to show their voting cards and that they made dead men vote. They point to the fact that without any change in numbers or in opinion the Ukrainians have only 16 members in the present Parliament against 40 in the last. In the Stryj Division, where I was visiting, they had in the former Parliament four Ukrainians and two Poles; in this Parliament two Ukrainians and four Poles; of the Government Party.

I do not find among the Poles any attempt to justify what had been done further than that some said they had somehow to get a strong Government. One to whom I put it said: „It is a difficult question to solve in a few words.”

Schools.

An Act passed in 1924 by the National Democratic Party, then in power, established a new type of mixed schools under which teaching was to be in both languages where the population was mixed. The Act was not favourably received by the Ukrainians who saw in it the beginning of the Polonisation of the Ukrainian Schools.

Three types of schools were established by this law—purely Polish, purely Ukrainian, and Mixed. A Plebiscite was introduced to determine the type of schools for the various districts. It was taken by the Police and a Polish Socialist said to me that it was a very great terror. I was much struck by the confession of one of the eminent Polish Representatives I consulted in Lvov. He said: „It is true that the plebiscites may be not quite honest; and there are places where there is a Polish school where there should be a Dual School”.

The Ukrainians maintain that there has been a serious diminution in the number of purely Ukrainian schools, that there are only 700 now instead of 3,000 under Austria, and three secondary schools in place of 5. I was told that Ukrainian teachers had been transferred to western parts of Poland, and in their place were brought Poles who teach the Polish language and do not speak Ukrainian at all. It was alleged that this was done on a considerable scale. I was told that in the village of Lysiatyczi, which I visited, there were 300 Ukrainian and six Polish

children, and that now of four teachers two were Polish, and even the two Ukrainians had to give instruction in Polish. The reply of Polish representatives to this latter allegation was that these teachers must have some special subject involving their use of the Polish tongue.

It has to be recognised that there is a sensitiveness among Ukrainians to all that is proposed in these matters. A leading Polish Trade Unionist explained to me that he had himself proposed a large number of new schools for the whole of Galicia, east and west, including parts purely Ukrainian. A Ukrainian Deputation refused this, saying it was a trick for larger Polonisation. He said they had a supersensibility in all questions with which Poles were dealing, and were apt to see some trick even in any simple and well-meant proposal.

On the other hand, I count it significant that, on the testimony of the eminent Polish representatives I interviewed, the Nationalist Press of Poland and some Polish Nationalist Parties are constantly asserting that there is a tendency to treat the Ukrainians too generously in this matter of schools, that the Ukrainian language is too much encouraged, and that this is becoming a danger to the Polish position.

I found many of the Poles ready to recognise the full claim of the Ukrainians in the matter of schools and language. An eminent Pole whom I interviewed in Warsaw, himself a friend of the present Government, said he was a strong advocate of giving the Ukrainians the possibility of satisfying all their cultural needs. An advanced Polish Socialist whom I met in Warsaw went further. He said it was all nonsense to teach little children from six to seven years of age two languages, that it could only cripple them, and that the only language should be the mother tongue. He considered that the Act of 1924, as it was administered, made for Polonisation and assimilation. The whole Ukrainian nation opposed this Bill and he thought they were right. The solution, he held, could only be in the setting down of separate schools as in Switzerland. The expenses were not really larger; it was not a financial question. They had eight nations in all grouped in Poland, and the only salvation — he maintained — for all nationalities was to give them all the right to open their schools and to speak their own language; and not only in private houses but also in public buildings, to open high schools and universities, and in this as in other matters to give territorial autonomy.

Mr. Davies has referred to the closing and sealing up of a Ukrainian Secondary School. I saw a similar case in the City of Drohobycz with about 60,000 inhabitants. The school was a private school attended by about 400 boys and girls. It had existed for 11 years and was closed in the autumn of 1930, in the course of the pacification, on the grounds that boys belonging to the Boy Scout Organisation had been concealing fire-arms. Thirty boys of the school were arrested on this charge and kept in prison for six weeks but no charge could be brought against them and so they were released. In the similar case of the Tarnopol school 40 boys were charged with high treason. The verdict was "not guilty", but the boys were kept in prison for four months before the trial. The Polish representatives held that while guilt had not been brought home in any case, that was because the leading of evidence was a very difficult matter, and because the judges were trying the case many months later and were therefore cautious in pronouncing a verdict. But most of them, they said, still had the suspicion that the Boy Scouts Organisation had taken a supporting part in the sabotage acts.

At Drohobycz, a new school has been opened by the Greek-Catholic Archbishop in place of that closed. But they are not hopeful that it will remain open because the school opened in similar circumstances at Rohatyn was closed by the Government and all doors sealed with a stamp on them. The Ukrainians maintain that schools managed by the Greek Catholic clergy may be opened without a Government Concession according to a Treaty of 1925 between the Polish Government and the Vatican. On the other hand, prominent Polish Representatives whom I saw maintain that the Treaty of 1925 relates only to colleges for the training of Theological Students and does not cover the case of secondary schools.

In regard to arson and other acts of violence, these are widely condemned even by those who have the fullest sympathy with the full Ukrainian claims. The advanced Polish Socialist whom I met in Warsaw said he was absolutely against all this terror, which was the work not of a Socialist Organisation but of a Nationalist Organisation, which was reactionary and not progressive.

In like manner, a leading Polish Trade Unionist at our interview in Lvov said: "About 80 per cent. of the Polish people agree that a whole nation should not be held responsible and

punished for deeds of arson performed by single individuals; but 100 per cent. of the Polish population are against methods of fighting within a democratic country performed by some groups of Ukrainians united in a military organisation the seat of which is supposed to be Berlin."

I was informed by the Ukrainians that as a result of the suspicions resting on the Boy Scouts, that organisation, which had existed since 1911, was now altogether forbidden, whereas similar organisations in Poland were not only tolerated but subsidised by the Government. Poles whom I consulted both in Lvov and Warsaw said they were not aware of any official order prohibiting the Scout Organisation in the Ukraine; and some of them asserted that there were still Boy Scouts in the Ukraine and that the movement was encouraged everywhere. The Ukrainians, however, are emphatic that the Organisation is forbidden and Boy Scouts seen in their uniform are fined.

It is said that Sports Clubs of various kinds are banned, or at least forbidden to give lectures. In such cases, as in the already referred to of a ban being placed on the lectures of Co-operative and Agricultural Societies, it was pointed out that such prohibitions are not confined to the Ukraine. A prominent Trade Union leader, already referred to, gave an instance in the western part of Galicia where a group of peasants, exclusively Polish, gathered for agricultural purposes, were forbidden on the suspicion of political action. But the Ukrainians point out that such instances among the Poles are rare, and not systematic as with them; and a Polish Socialist said to me that these more isolated instances were on the ground of political opposition to the Government, but the Ukrainian cases were more on national grounds.

Voluntary Fire Brigades are also put down for the most part. I was informed that there were 2,000 of these in Austrian times and now there were only about 300. The Ukrainians justify them on the ground that there are no Council Fire Brigades, and that the roofs are of straw. On the other hand, they are ruled out as not complying with the constitution. I met a young clergyman who was sentenced to seven days imprisonment for organising a voluntary Fire Brigade. He escaped imprisonment by paying a fine. They say it is politics. They say: "You train them to march and you are going to organise an army out of the Fire Brigade." The Polish Representatives said that these Fire Brigades had been put down on account of the suspicion that these organisations promoted acts of arson

last year, thus presenting, we might say, the spectacle of Fire Brigades that were raising fires instead of putting them out. They admitted that proof could not be given, but suspicion existed. The putting down of these Fire Brigades was part of the pacification.

Reverting to the closing of the Secondary Schools, I asked the Polish Representatives why they could not be opened now when the country was quiet, and the only answer I received was: "It depends what the government will do about it." On this whole subject the Polish Socialist, to whom I have more than once referred, said: "It is all nonsense to close a school even if it were true that some boys were guilty of arson. The Communists are there too; but we do not hear that the Poles are closing a school because there are Communists. You cannot make a whole school and a whole people responsible for the acts of a few. And the result is, if you close the schools the boys begin to be more active and to become more radical."

The University.

Before the War the University in Lvov had seven or eight chairs or lectureships in the Ukrainian language. After the War the Professors and the students who were Ukrainians emigrated. The Professors did not wish to give their oath to the Polish Government, or recognise the Polish State, especially before the question of their destiny had been settled. The students did not come back to study till 1923, because being a student of a Polish University brought a certain odium with it, and they were apt to be boycotted by their fellow-countrymen. Now there are some 2,000 Ukrainian students in Poland, or 3,000 if technical schools, veterinary colleges and the like are included. Yet even in Cracow and Warsaw, where there are Ukrainian professors, or professors dealing with the Ukrainian language, their lectures are given in the Polish tongue. Hence Ukrainian students go to Czechoslovakia where a Ukrainian University has been established.

The eminent Polish Representative whom I interviewed both at Lvov and Warsaw said that a Ukrainian University must be established. There is a Polish law, passed about 1922, which declares that a Ukrainian University must be created. But the problem, say these Poles, is where and when and how. In 1924 they tried to set up a Commission for this purpose; but the Ukrainians, so it is alleged, would not co-operate with the

Polish Government and the political parties have forbidden the professors to proceed. The professors on their part, recognise that it has become a political question and they wait till agreement is reached as to the place and character of the University. The Ukrainians, on their part, say that there is no serious treatment of this question on the side of the Poles and their Government. There is the question of expense also in these days of distress. Yet a prominent Polish leader whom I interviewed in Warsaw — the Permanent Secretary of the Institute for Studying Questions of Nationalities — assured me that it was only a question of understanding between the Polish Government and the Ukrainians, and that in his view it would come and not in the far distant future. The prominent Left Wing Polish Socialist, whom I have quoted several times, said: "One of the chief points of the Poles fighting in the past was the right to have schools and a university in the Polish language. And now I say to myself, the Ukrainians are coming now and saying: "Why are you not giving us the same right?" and as a fighter for freedom for all nations, I must fight for them to have the same right to have a university in their own language and in the chief point of their population. The old Governments of Poland, especially the National Democrats, would not agree to Lvov. They said 'We will have it in any town except a Ukrainian town'. But it is all nonsense to put a Ukrainian university in Cracow away from the Ukrainians. We have been fighting to have a Polish university at Warsaw and it is right they should have theirs at Lvov. There could be two universities there, a Polish and Ukrainian; but why deny the right to have a Ukrainian university in Lvov?

General.

The problem of the Ukraine is one full of difficulty and delicacy. There is the official change of language, so that Polish is now employed in the Courts of Law, the Post Office and on the railways. The differences in religion are more acute and distinctive than at first appears; for while the Greek Catholics in Galicia acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, they differ from the Roman Catholic Church in that their church is national, their rite is Eastern and their clergy marry. On either side there are the difficulties of prejudice and suspicion, so intangible, so fluctuating and so difficult to remove.

I understand that if there has been delay in bringing these matters to an issue before the League of Nations and through

the Committee of Three, it has been owing to the desire and the hope that the Polish Government itself would provide itself a solution and a settlement. That would seem the most desirable way of all. One of the eminent Polish Representatives whom I interviewed, said: "The whole problem is to be solved not anywhere else, not even in Warsaw, but only here, between the two people themselves." Polish opinion, we were told, was very sensitive to movements which seemed to express themselves in lack of faith in the Polish Government and the Polish people.

Among many of these I interviewed on the Polish side, I found opinion favourable to a full settlement. Thus a prominent Polish leader declared at our interview that as a Pole he did not feel that the Ukrainians were an inferior people; that the type of man, whether Polish or Ukrainian, produced in Eastern Galicia, should not be extinguished but fostered; that Poland too had the spirit of nationalism, to defend for the Polish State set up 12 years ago; that Poland ought to be given an opportunity to stabilise the conditions of peace.

Yet, so far, it cannot be said that a very hopeful report of progress in this direction can be presented. Four local conferences, representative of the two sides, have indeed been held since 27th June last. These were held with the view, not so much of influencing the Government as of securing a better understanding in all quarters. There was an expectancy of the setting up of autonomous bodies, and there were rumours that in the next Session of Parliament a Bill would be introduced setting up local government for the whole of the population of Poland and making all territories on an equal plane; but I found doubts expressed among the Poles whom we interviewed as to whether this measure would be brought in and suspicion among the Ukrainians as to what it would contain, some of them holding that it might put more power in the hands of the Police, provide for nominated Polish members, and put local government under the power of the Polish administration, whom we were told by the Poles themselves were not too favourable to the conferences that had been held.

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