

The Ukrainian Question

A Peace Problem

INTRODUCTION

From day to day within the last few years the preservation of peace, which is threatened with rupture, is becoming more acute.

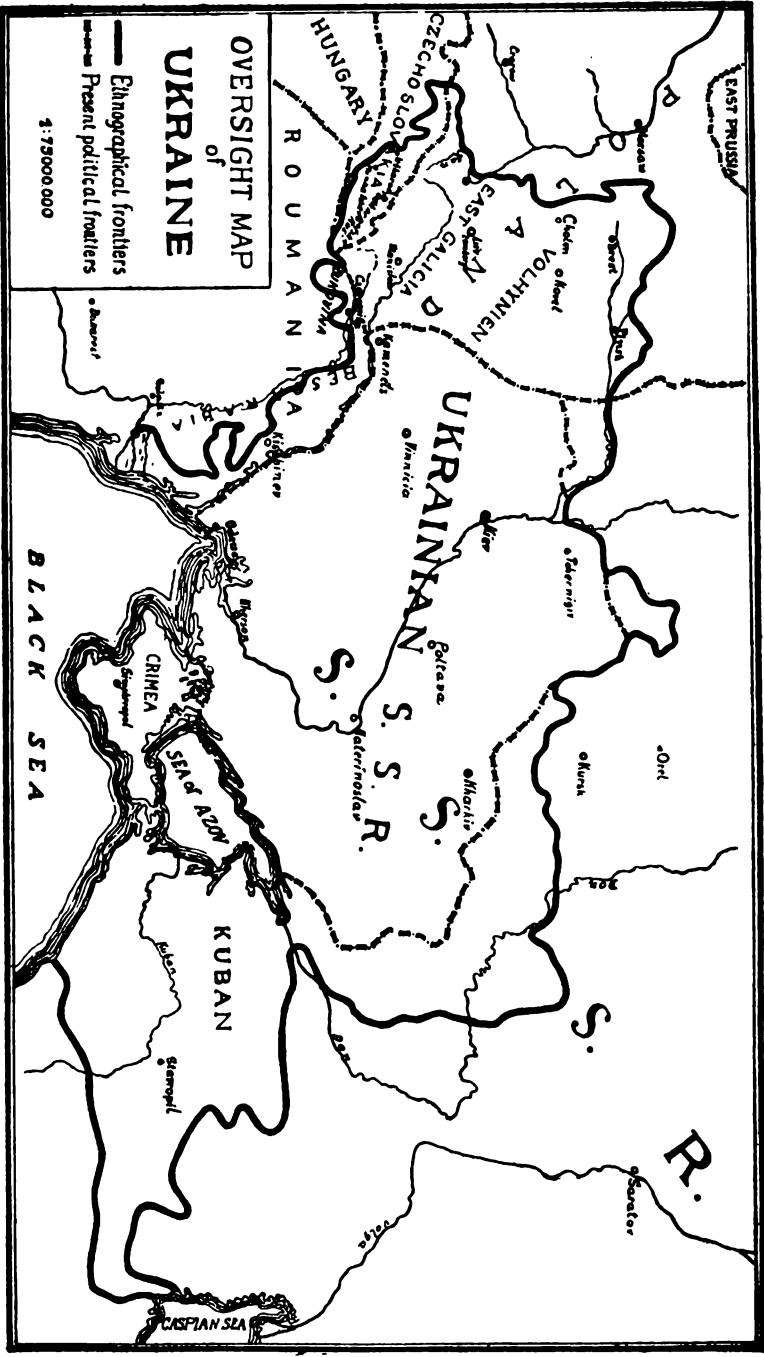
In connection with this there are various political combinations relevant to the solving of the Ukrainian Problem, but they all have the same defect: They do not take into consideration the course of events which are taking place within the Ukrainian Nation itself and in every one of her provinces which have been allotted to four different states.

We publish this pamphlet with the intention of giving, on the one hand, a general outline of the present condition of the Ukrainian Nation, and of showing that, in spite of all the inconsiderate policies of foreign states and their failure to keep to the relevant International Agreements, the Ukrainian Nation is imperturbably striving for her political Selfindependence and the union of all her provinces in one State; and on the other hand to convince everyone that unless the Ukrainian question is settled, there is absolutely no possibility of a permanent Peace in Europe.

PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT OF THE
EXECUTIVE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

Geneva, August 1928





Legal Declaration of the Ukrainian Club

given in the plenary meeting of the Polish Sejm
on 29th March 1928.

During the deliberations of the Budget in the Polish Sejm the President of the Ukrainian Club Dr. D. Lewitskyj made in the name of the Ukrainian Club the following declaration.

"The discussion of the provisory state of the Budget requires a clearing up of the general political situation. Profiting from to-day's opportunity, I declare:

As representatives of that part of the great Ukrainian Nation living within the frontiers of the Polish Republic we declare on our entry into the Polish Legislative Assembly from this platform to be known to all the world:

To the strength of more than 6 millions, Ukrainian people in Poland are living in a dense mass as a visible and undoubted majority in East Galicia with the Lemken district, in Cholmland, Pidlasia, Polisia and Volhynia and are settled in the South-Eastern and Eastern part of the Polish State in a big compact territory of about 200 000 qkm. In the Eastern these districts border directly on the pure Ukrainian territory on the Dnieper, in the South and in the South-Eastern on the districts of the Carpathian-Ukraina, Bukowina and Bessarabia and form together an inseparable totality.

For centuries the Ukrainian people have been living in these districts. In the historical past these districts formed part of the State of Kiew, formed the independent Galicia-Wolodomirish State and later on they formed part of the All-Ukrainian State founded by the Hetman Bohdan Chmelbitskyj. Even under foreign government (Lithuanian, Polish, Austrian and Russian) they never lost their national particularity and never gave up their efforts to obtain their political independence. And continuing our historical traditions, based on the prevailing Ukrainian character of all these districts, the Ukrainian people, in execution of every nations holy right to self-determination, here in all their ethnographical districts in recent times realized their ideal of political independence:

a) in the fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Central Council held in Kiew on 22nd January 1918, a Ukrainian Democratic Republic was proclaimed in the Ukrainian districts of the former Russian State;

b) By Law of the Ukrainian National Council in Lemberg of 19th October 1918, a Ukrainian State in the Ukrainian districts of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (East-Galicia, Bukowina and Carpatho-Ukraina) was established and finally;

c) on 22nd January 1919, was proclaimed in Kiew the Union of both these Ukrainian State districts to form a united independent and sovereign Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

In the defence of this State against the attacks by Russia, Poland and Roumania in 1918—1920, the Ukrainian people shed a sea of blood and sacri-

fixed headombs of their best heroes, who perished in the fights or died as martyrs in the prisoners camps.

In remembrance of this heroic period of our latest historical past we bend our heads in the deepest awe and reverence before the shadows of our national heroes and faithful to their holy legacy, we declare solemnly that an independent United Ukrainian National State including all Ukrainian districts shall be our highest, most holy and imperturbable ideal.

Therefore we hold all International Acts by which the districts, already Ukrainian for centuries — Eastern-Galicia and the Lemken district, Cholmland, Volhynia, Pidlasia and Polisia — were assigned to Poland, viz: The Riga Peace Treaty of 18th March 1921, and the decision of the Ambassadors Conference of Paris 14th March 1923 de jure not valid, as they represent a violation of the Ukrainian People's right to self-determination.

Entering into the Polish Legislative Assembly we will also here aspire to the realization of the Ukrainian Nation's highest right.

Entering particularly into our standpoint with respect to the present temporary Budget-arrangement we declare that on the basis of our general position we will vote against the Budget-Bill in hand.

The International Importance of the Ukrainian Problem

by Dmytro Palijiw,

Ukrainian Deputy in the Polish Sejm, and Chief Editor of the „Nowyj Tschas“.

Even the whole world is gradually coming to the conviction that the actual political situation of Europe is a fluctuating and untenable one and that the Peace Treaties require revising. But even if the question of the hopelessness of the situation in Western- and Central-Europe, which is the consequence of the Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon Peace Treaties, gives rise to certain reserves, there is, however, nobody who is not convinced of the instability of the situation in Eastern-Europe. But the way of treating the problem of the stability in Eastern- and Western-Europe is, in the public opinion, quite a different one. When speaking of the possibility of changes in Western-Europe (that is to say in the countries west of the Sowjet-Union), one first of all thinks of certain modifications of the frontiers. Two directions are visible in this struggle of the political thought: revision or stabilisation. The question of changes in the Sowjet-Union is, however, connected with the problem of the fall of the Sowjet Government itself. The problem of the reconstruction of Eastern-Europe on the other hand is based only on the necessity of changing a form of government. It must, however, be emphasized that in general the public opinion of the world thinks but very superficially of the problems of Eastern-Europe.

The most important reasons for this are the following:

1. The habit of the Western Great Powers to have dealings with only one uniform, big Russia, whose internal situation has always been a secret to foreigners.

2. The influence of 3 million Russian political emigrants who, for 10 years, have been dispersed all over the world, are trying, to convince everybody that in the moment of the fall of the Bolshevik government form in Moscow, a pacification of Eastern-Europe will take place and normal friendly relations with the rest of the world will begin.

The interpretation of the anti-bolshevik Russian politicians has, before all, the tendency to show that the greatest hinderance to the establishment of useful relations with the Russia of to-day is to be found in the dualism of her actual government: in the Sowjet Government and in the Komintern. If the government of the Russian State were to be freed of its narrow connexion with the management of the Communistic Internationale, then the principal reasons of the actual real war during peace between the world and Russia would be removed. All problems concerning the stabilisation of the situation in Eastern-Europe are therefore to be traced back to the problem of the future Russia, but only of a Russia as a uniform State-organism with the frontiers of the Counsellors-Union of to-day, but with a changed internal government-form, different from the actual one.

But in reality the problem of Eastern-Europe does not depend on a change of the rulers, nor on the change of the internal government form, but exclusively on a radical change of the Eastern-European political geography. The reconstruction of the situation in Eastern-Europe, and at the same time, a recovering of the situation on the whole can only be accomplished by definitively putting an end to the cutting up of the old Russian State which began in 1917. The existence of a centralistic, huge, Continental State, which is neither geographically, ethnically, nor economically, internally bound, is no longer justified to-day. At the moment of the national enlightening of the individual nations of the Russian State, hand in hand with the tendency by economical self-defence to protect themselves against economical exploitation, the Russian giant lost the base and justification of its existence. The first great tremor in 1918 caused the breaking away of Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Lettland, which delonged to Russia at that time. Only on account of particularly unfortunate circumstances, was that country Ukraina, which had, amongst all those forming the Russian State, the best prospects with regard to an independant political life, and which amongst all the others was fighting most energetically for its independence, and up to the present moment is still fighting from day to day with greater energy, again pressed into the frontiers of a Russia made smaller but nevertheless still strong enough. Through the Peae Treaty of Riga on 18th March 1921, the former Russia received new frontiers, inside of which about 400 000 qkm of Ukrainian ethnographical territory with a population of about 30 million of Ukrainians are to be found. On the basis of the Sowjetist Constitution of 6th July 1923, the former Russian Empire was transformed in a Federal State of Socialist Councillor Republics, the Ukraina forming one of the federal parts, that is to say: the Ukrainian Socialist Sowjet Republic. Under the pressure of the Ukrainian national movement the Moscow Communists, who in political, military, and economical respects are the masters, were compelled to grant a policy of very far reaching satisfaction to the national

and cultural tendencies of the Ukrainians. The emancipation activities of the Ukrainians in politics and economies are increasing from day to day so that the relations between the Ukraina and Russia are becoming more and more critical; slowly but surely they will lead irresistibly to a complete rupture.

The Ukrainian problem as an internal Russian affair is, however, not at an end yet, for more than 8 million of Ukrainians are still living in other states, viz: in Poland (Eastern-Galicia, Wolhynia, Cholm etc.), Roumania (Bukowina and Bessarabia) and in Tchecoslovakia (Karpatho-Ukraina). The Ukrainian districts in the said States form an ethnographical and geographical unity with the Ukrainian districts which at present are in the Federal State of the S.S.S.R., and of course they want to be united to their motherland.

As a matter of course the settlement of the Ukrainian problem signifies at the same time the separation of these districts from the States mentioned and their Union with the Eastern-Ukrainian districts, thus forming an independent Ukrainian State.

As far as the Ukrainian districts in Poland are concerned, they form almost half of the present Polish State (170 000 sqm) and the Ukrainian population of 6 million souls represents 25% of the population of the whole of Poland. In the whole Ukrainian nation there does not exist a single group that would accept the Polish government over the Western-Ukrainian districts, and therefore the Ukrainian problem can neither be a question of internal policy for Poland nor for the other states which now hold Ukrainian districts. Settling the Ukrainian problem means that the political maps of the Soviet-Union, of Poland, of Roumania and of Slovakia are to be altered.

Any State, which at present were to adopt a policy, e. g. in favour of a post-bolshevik, newly United Russia, would lead such a policy in opposition to the existing real situation. Anyone who were to consider Eastern-Europe as a united Russian State and make his plans accordingly, would repeat the pre-war mistakes of Germany who believed in the strength of a united Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. There are even to-day in England, Germany, France, the United States of North-America, Tchecoslovakia and in Jugoslavia etc. many believers in a big United Russia, who cannot imagine such a Russia without Kiew, Charkow and Odessa. The overwhelming power of the fact of the extraordinary national-political, cultural and economical development of the Ukrainian nation of 40 million subjects will, however, surely compel them to revise out of date sympathies and to alter the present political map of Europe. One can see without any consideration for all the means of the adversary, the visible, growth of all national energies of the Ukrainian nation in her struggle for the right of self-determination. The execution of this right in the form of a Ukrainian State from the Carpathian Mountains to the Black Sea and to the Caspian Sea will be a mighty factor in the establishment of equilibrium in Eastern-Europe and at the same time the erection of a bridge between two continents.

The efforts for the independence in the Sowjet-Ukraina

by Dr. Zenon Kuziela,
Professor at the Czernowitz University b. serv.

The hard and main Centre of the Ukraina lies for centuries at the Dnjepr river. Here the old Ukrainian State was founded during the 9th Century, here after the successful rising of the Bohdan Chmelnyskyj the great Cosak State (1648—1764) originated, from here the renaissance of the Ukrainian literature commenced in the pure vernacular tongue (1798), here the greatest Ukrainian poet and founder of the new Ukrainian Ideology Taras Schewtschenko laboured under difficulties (1814—1861), here the Ukrainian people fought for their autonomy in the spring of 1917 and crowned the end of this year with the complete independence. In this territory reaching from the Polish political in the North till Jasiolda and Prypjati, Kursk and Woronisch, in the East-close to the Wolga and the Caspian sea and in the South till the Black Sea and Caucasian promontory and embracing 9/10 of the Ukrainian total population already before the war, still about 30 million Ukrainians live at the present time after the cruel occupation of Bessarabia and the loss of the districts of Volhynia, Cholmer, Polisia and Podlasia to Poland at the Peace of Riga. The life and work of these people is of deciding importance for the future further development of the Ukraina and deserves therefore a special consideration.

The Ukrainian Eastern National district, about as large as Germany, was an independent state in the years 1917—1920 which maintained its position in the struggle against the Russian chaos and united almost all Ukrainian parts of the Ukrainian ethnographical territory. The Ukrainian Central Rada which already in November 1917 proclaimed the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic in a loose connection with Russia, convinced itself during the short time of the Kerensky Government and the first period of Government of the new Bolshevistic State that not a single Russian Government thought to comply with the justified Ukrainian demands and granted all former autonomic concessions only by force under the difficult conditions of inner and exterior policy and especially under the pressure of the justified Ukrainian Nationalism that was growing more and more and taking hold of all classes of the population. It decided therefore in view of the approaching Bolshevism to save its country from chaos and anarchy and proclaimed at the 22nd January 1918 at the 4th Universal the complete independence of the Ukraina which was acknowledged as independent state first by the Central Powers and afterwards also by some other states. It decided also to finish the war with the Central Powers and concluded the Peace of Brest with them at the 9th of February.

The Ukrainian state which continued afterwards as Hetmanat and since November 1918 as Democratic Republic could not maintain itself and perished in the general social unrest in East-Europe after severe battles

with Bolshevistic Russians and troops of the Withe Guard, with Poles and Allied Powers.

The Ukrainian district was occupied by the Bolsheviks having proclaimed already in the year 1918 an independent Ukrainian Communistic State in Charkow and established their own Communistic Government in Charkow. They could maintain their position in spite of the efforts of the last Ukrainian Republican Government, that had taken its refuge in foreign countries and in spite of the sturdy resistance of the Ukrainian peasantry and the numerous risings. They concluded a treaty of alliance with the Russian Socialiste Sowjet-Republic on the 28th of December 1919, maintaining still the appearance of the former independence and admitting even their own Ukrainian agencies in foreign countries (in Berlin, Vienna, Prague etc.) providing, however, the union of some very important democratic commissaries. The Sowjet-Ukraina came into military and economical dependence on Moscow which grew still closer in the year 1922 on application of the Communistic Party. The Government of the Ukraina at the Sowjet-Congress of all Republics accepted a new Treaty of Alliance at the 30th of December 1922 and elected the first Central Executive Committee (Z.I.K.) of the allied parties. In the summer 1923 the Executive Committee of the allied parties met in a session and adopted on the 6th of July 1923 the fundamental law of the new union of the Socialistic Sowjet-Republics (S.S.S.R.) which was acknowledged by the second Sowjet-Congress of the Union on the 31st of January 1924.

The Sowjet-Ukraina became from that time a special Sowjestistic Allied State with special frontiers, its own government and own administration. It had, however, to report the most important agendas of the common government on which it was adequately represented in all instances, but especially matters of exterior policy and war, the trade at home and abroad, traffic, post and telegraph and to admit also common democratic commissaries of labour, finances, workmen's and peasants inspections and the highest economical council, which really have to execute the directions of the Central Government, and have the right to annul the decisions of the Republican Commissaries of the same name resp. to suspend the execution of these decisions. In all other matters the Sowjet-Ukraina is independent of the Central Offices and has in this domain its own commissaries of agriculture, public health, justice or interior matters, educational system and social welfare.

The Sowjet-Ukraina was, however, at the beginning, at the time of the so-called war-communism only outwardly Ukrainian, because the ruling Communistic Party of the Ukraina only with small exceptions consisted of Russians and Jews sympathising with Russia who were hostile to the Ukrainian national and economical tendencies and even the Ukrainian language. The Sowjet Government met therefore a sharp and permanent resistance of the Ukrainian intellectuals and the deciding Ukrainian peasantry in the Ukraina which represents there more than 85% of the total population was handicapped in their work on every step and even still more boycotted and opposed. There was permanent unrest in the

Ukraina in spite of all inconsiderate punishments by the Bolshevistic Governments. In order to alter this dangerous condition the Russian Sowjet Government and the Komintern decided under the influence of Lenin to suspend the former Anti-Ukrainian and anti-peasant course of the communistic policy and to comply with the Ukrainian national territorial wishes in order to gain for themselves through the so-called Ukrainising of the Ukrainian to the State-language of the Ukraina and removal of the Russian pressure, the influential Ukrainian intellectuals and the Ukrainian crowds of peasants and at the same time to work at the foreign policy in a sense friendly to the Sowjets on the Ukrainians in Poland and Roumania.

This step of the Russian Central Government and Russian Communist party had really a more pacifying effect on the Ukrainian public opinion which now got the possibility to fight more openly for the Ukrainising of the whole Ukrainian political, cultural and economical life and the further development of their own independence. The Ukrainians profited at once from the opportunity offered and started at the end of the year 1923 an obstinate fight against the russificatory practice of the sowjestic officialdom existing up till now and understood in the course of a short time to do away with the Russian Government for the greatest part pointing to "Lenin's Legacy" and the "Interests of the World-Revolution" and to give the Ukrainian appearance to the Ukraina.

Under the pressure of this elementary movement against which all difficulties of the Russian chauvinists were powerless, also the "Communist party of the Ukraina", which had only a very small percentage of the Ukrainians (up to 15%), had to meet the Ukrainian People's feelings and to grant far reaching allowances, the more so as it got in the meantime a strong Ukrainian national wing through the Union by order of the Third Internationale with the "Ukrainian Communist Party" consisting only of Ukrainians with a national blend. This wing has come to great importance within the Communist Party and forced the Ukrainising of the new united party. Under this double pressure the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Ukraina has already at the year 1926 introduced the Ukrainian language as the only business language of the party conducted up till now in Russian, and in the year 1926/27 ukrainised a part of the Communist Party schools and most of the leading party papers (e. g. the Charkow paper "Communist" and the Kiew paper "Proletarska Prawda"). Through the resp. explanation of the working men strongly russified up till now the number of the Ukrainised Communists from these circles has greatly increased and amounted in the year 1927 already to more than 50%. The Communist party of the Ukraina was slowly also touched by the new movement which besides also gained a strong footing in the Ukrainian Sowjet Government and in the years 1926/27 produced a great Ukrainian-Russian tension which generally was considered to be a sign of the beginning detachment of the Ukraina from Russia.

The Russian Communist Party at the Sowjet Government succeeded after a longer period through an adequate cleansing of the party and the removal of the nationalistic tinted leaders of the party and the Govern-

ment of the Sowjet Ukraina especially the person of the active people's commissary for education, Schumski, to quench adequately the open activity of the national independence within both factors. They succeeded in pressing back the most zealous champions of this idea in the opposition outside the government. The party had, however, on one side to buy it through allowances on different departments, among others through granting of a special Ukrainian representation of three members in the Moscow Komintern, on the other side to split its own party in the Ukraina and to place the whole Communistic party of the West Ukraina against itself.

The Sowjet Ukraina is for years on the way of making herself more and more independent in matters of politics, culture and economy and has reached already such a degree of development from which she cannot be pushed aside by any foreign government. The Sowjet Ukrainian Government which received in the beginning only orders from Moscow had soon to reckon with the sentiment of the population and had to show more energy than was agreeable to the Moscow leaders, for the interests of the Ukrainian territory, the Ukrainian working intellectuals and the deciding factor of the masses of peasants supplying corn, which put far reaching national and economical demands on the Sowjet congresses and has a special anti-Russian tendency.

Under these circumstances the Ukrainian Sowjet government must therefore without denying its Communism emphasize at every opportunity that the Sowjet Ukraina is a special state which according to the constitution can leave any time the Union of the Sowjet-Republics and demands equal rights before the Ukraina and the removal of the centralistic pressure of the economical disadvantage and exploitation of the Ukraina in favour of other Sowjet-Republics especially Sowjet-Russia.

The Sowjet-Ukrainian Government tries in the first place to alter the present Sowjet-Constitution in favour of the National Republics and, as is shown in the best manner in the yearly reports of the High Court of Justice, it prosecutes attentively all violations of the several rights of their own republics. In the fulfilment of the strong will of the Ukrainian population it fights for the extension of the rights of sovereignty of the Ukraina and can look back already on many important achievements, especially with regard to fixing of frontiers, the legislation (e. g. in the definition of crime and offences of individual national republics), the rights of budget and the process of budgeting, the administration of finances and the making up of economical plans. Together with the whole Ukrainian public it demands furthermore the final settlement of the state frontiers between the Ukraina and Russia, which still till now retains very considerable purely Ukrainian districts close to Kursk, Woronish, Rostow and at the Black Sea and has not carried out even the regulation of the Ukrainian Northfrontier, discussed already at the 9th All-Russians-Party-Congress, which was accepted by the Council of Nationalities at Moscow and fixed at the spot, which was to be enlarged by more than 35.000 sqkm and more than 2½ million people. The Ukraina could not be content with the assignment occurred two year ago of a strip at the frontier in the

North and urges the final settlement of this matter, whereby yet stronger voices are raised to join also the purely Ukrainian districts at the Black sea and Kuban to the Ukraina which peculiarly belong as well to the Russian Sowjet Republic, even also in the form of special autonomic republics within the Sowjet Ukraina.

In connection herewith repeatedly special steps from the Ukrainian Sowjet Government and the Ukrainian Council of Minorities were undertaken to satisfy the Ukrainian national and cultural needs of those 10 million Ukrainians still living outside the frontiers of the Sowjet-Ukraina. and not even being organized as special autonomic republics within the Russia Sowjet-Republic. Under this lasting pressure also the Russian Sowjet-Republic had finally to make up its mind, to come forward at the end of the last year with special instructions of Ukrainising for Ukrainian districts in Russia and to introduce the Ukrainian language in local offices, schools and party-organizations.

The Ukraina takes a special position with regard to foreign policy and stands often in opposition to the inclinations and steps of the official Russian policy friendly to Poland being criticized sharply very often by the Ukrainian deputies. The Ukrainian deputies at the Sowjet Congresses and at the government demand from the Sowjetistic foreign policy the attention not only of the Russian but also of the Ukrainian national interests through interventions of the Sowjet Union against the oppression of the Ukrainians in Poland and Roumania. In connection with it stand demands of greater consideration of Ukrainian powers in the political and economical representations in the foreign countries, to which now already in Central and South-East of Europe (Poland, Tchechoslovakia, Austria, Turkey) Ukrainian councils are given. Last year Ukrainian citizens were indeed appointed as commercial agents in Vienna and Angora and the management of the Lemberg Consulate was confided to a Ukrainian.

The Sowjet-Ukrainian inner policy stands for about 5 years under the sign of a special attention of the particular needs of the peasants in the Ukraina and was temporarily troubled in consequence of the difficulties with regard to the delivery of the corn in a sense hostile to the peasants. The resistance of the Ukrainian peasantry together with the corresponding attitude of the Ukrainian circles who where more reserved in their official utterings and pointed to the real want of corn in the South of Ukraina and demanded before all, delivery of good and cheap industrial goods for the Ukraina, have contributed in the first line to a recent mitigation of the sowjetistic peasant policy and to the decisive victory of the peasants in the whole Sowjet-Union. The Ukrainian delegates of the peasants being by far stronger represented in the Sowjet-Ukraina than in the other Sowjet-Republics demand permanently the support of the Ukrainian agriculture greatly neglected and the reduction of the taxes weighing in a higher degree upon the Ukrainians from the center. From this part the resistance partly successful against foreign especially Jewish colonisation in the Ukraina proceeds, and this resistance is so far crowned by success as the Ukrainian and Moscow Central Authorities blocked the Ukraina for further

distribution of ground to the colonists and prepared new districts for the surplus of the Ukrainian population with a yearly natural increase of more than 600.000 souls (in 1915 635.909 or 2,31%).

A great work of Ukrainising was brought about by the United forces of the Ukrainian public in educational matters which had reached already in the years of independence of the Ukraina a high degree of development. The Board schools of the Ukraina which all are conducted in communistic sense are almost completely ukrainised. In the year 1927 of 18.604 Board-schools were about 14.600 Ukrainian schools (78.4%), being visited by 1.587.000 children (72.35% of all school children) whilst the percentage of the Ukrainians in the Ukraina amounts to 80.2%. Far advanced is also the ukrainising of the schools with 7 forms, in which during the last year more than 420.000 Ukrainians or 56.51% of all school children learned, whilst still 20.16% was taught in the Russian and Ukrainian languages and 16.52% only in the Russian language. Still worse is the picture of the Ukrainising of the professional schools being Ukrainic to 44% and of the higher colleges, in which the Ukrainians in the year 1927 were represented only with 30%, although the number of the students of Ukrainian nationality in the year 1927 amounted to more than 40% and the number of the Ukrainians in all towns of the Ukraina to more than 47%. The Ukrainising of the educational system at the High- and Trade schools makes continual progress together with the rapidly increasing number of the Ukrainian research institutions and the pleasant development of the All-Ukrainian-Academy of Science in Kiew, founded in the year 1918, and other scientific societies and organizations. Although equipped with small means the Ukrainian archives, libraries and museums containing an immense wealth of productions of Ukrainian culture grow very rapidly; they increase continually through persevering exaction of works of culture especially of objects of history and art, archives and books removed from the Ukraina to Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries and installed especially in Moscow and Leningrad. Particularly the numerous Ukrainian museums reached a high degree of development of these museums are more than 15 alone in Kiew in the former Petcherska Lawra. One is reminded at the greatest institutes of this kind considering the Ukrainian libraries, especially the library of the Academy of Science and the Central Library of the Ukrainian Central Book Stores counting together about 9 million volume and enjoying a great frequency of Ukrainian scholars and students whilst the Public Library system with 6.923 Public Libraries, 6.225 Public Reading Rooms and 3.430 Club Houses in the country are handicapped in their development through the Communistic Party's political tendency. Also the Ukrainian production of books has increased considerably, it exceeds already 5.000 works a year and shows a special increase of the scientific literature in the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian political press conducted without exception in communistic spirit is rather behind, compared with the West, because the analphabetism reigns still over 55% of the whole population and is only slowly yielding in consequence of the political conditions and oppression of the Ukrainian peasantry for years according to the statistical reports of the 17th December 1926.

With the political and cultural movement for the emancipation in the Ukraina goes an economical paralel to-day being so strong that also Russian elements are seized by it. It is possible, because the Ukrainian territory offers all suppositions for an economical autarchy. According to the last official reports and works of the Sowjet-Ukrainian statistics (e. g. Academician Wobli) the Ukraina formed a special economical unit which, to use the words of the aforesaid academician, possesses all suppositions of independent development, because it has firstly a large compact terri-otry at the beach of the Black Sea with corresponding frontiers, secondly a fufficient number of population of about 30 millions and of the density of the population 67, thirdly corresponding developed powers of pro-duction and fourthly a home market capable of reception. 80% of the whole coal production and 75% of the whole iron production of the entire Sowjet Union is concentrated in the Ukraina. The Donezbassin forms the center of the East-European heavy industry and is without competition in consequence of the neighbourhood of the raw materials. Also the light industry, principally the highly developed sugar-, mill- and brewery-in-dustry has predominatingly its center in the Ukraina. As the Ukraina, moreover, as land of the black earth delivers the greatest part o fthe corn surplus to the Sowjet-Union, posseses considerable energetic powers and is favourably situated with regard to the organization of traffic, its econo-mical importance and tendency continually growing for the purpose of becoming independant are standing out clearly enough.

The Ukrainian public and principally the economical circles are perme-ated more and more with the idea that the economical development of the Ukraina is to be reached through the independent extension of its own economy and a greater detachment of the relations to the economically weaker Russia. The economical circles and also the Sowjet-Ukrainian Government under their pressure endeavour therefore to fight for special rights for the Ukrainian finances and Ukrainian economy, to build up their old industries and to make them fit for competition. The years 1926 and 1927 especially were filled with this economical struggle which came out in very sharp manner in the meetings of the Ukrainian and Russian Highest Council of Economy, in the congresses of parties and counties of the Ukraina and Russia. The Ukrainians demanded especially the amendmets of the rights and functions of the Ukrainian Council of Economy and the exact limitation of the functions between the Commissionaries in question of the Sowjet Union and the Ukraina, furthermore the extension of the rights of their own finance and budget, and the decentralisation of the individual branches of economy with special consideration of those in- dustries lying predominantly on Ukrainian territory or having there the best chances. In connection herewith the Ukrainian highest council of economy has worked out a special projecct or plan of reorganization of the eco-pomical institutions and put them before the Moscow Central Offices for further revision and treatment. According to this plan not yet decided a whole line of functions of the highest council of economy of the Sowjet Union was to be transferred to the Council of economy of the Ukraina, especially the drafting of plans, the regulation and administration of the

whole Ukrainian industry, the granting of credits with the plan of finance of the year and the control of the trusts of general state importance in the Soviet Ukraina, whereby the Moscow Central offices had not to interfere with the operative work of the commissioners of commerce of the Soviet Ukraina.

The Ukrainian circles of economy try furthermore to establish new industries e. g. textile and weaving industry, and demand of the Central offices the Ukrainian communication and to improve considerably and enlarge the Black Sea ports and the River-, and Commercial Fleet of the Ukraina.

Lately even attempts are often made to break the Russian monopoly of commerce by means of direct commerce with other countries, as the Ukraina has quite different interest especially in the export than Soviet-Russia and can achieve its complete independence from the Russia center only by means of direct communication. Very actual becomes the question of export of the Ukrainian corn and of the so-called small agricultural products, which are delivered already now partly directly to other countries.

From the statements up till now one can perceive very well that the tendencies of making themselves independent of the present Soviet Ukraina are strongly noticeable in all and every respect and are continually progressing.

The position of the Ukrainian People under the Polish Government

by Wolodimir Kochan,
Ukrainian Deputy in the Polish Sejm.

After the war a large part of the ethnographical Ukrainian district, an area of 170 000 sqm, inhabited by a dense crowd of more than six million Ukrainians was allotted to Poland. Dispersed among them, especially in towns, national minorities, principally Poles and Jews live therein. Both these classes together amount, in this territory, to about 1½ million souls. The territory embraces Eastern-Galicia, that means the present counties Lemberg, Stanislaw and Tarnopol and the Southern and South-Eastern part of the county of Cracow (Lemken district), further the Volhynian county (Volhynia), the Polisian (Polisia) and large parts of the Lublin county (Cholmland and Pidlasia).

After the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in these territories an independent Ukrainian State (The Ukrainian Republic) existed and especially in the Galician district there was the Western district of this Republic (Western Ukrainian Republic) with its own Government and Parliament (National Council) with the seat, in the beginning, at Lemberg, and later at Stanislaw. From the day of the beginning of the Ukrainian

Government in the Western-Ukrainian district Poland tried to destroy it by force of arms. For months the severest fighting went on in these territories between the Ukrainian army and Polish troops. Only through false pretensions did the Poles succeed in forcing the Ukrainian army back. They placed the divisions of General Haller, organized in France and destined for the first line in the battle against the Bolsheviks, against the national Ukrainian army, representing it as a Bolshevik one before the High Council in Paris and designating the Ukrainian State itself as a mere parody of a State behind which Bolshevism and banditism were concealed. In this manner they received from the Peace Conference and the High Council on the 25th of July 1919 a mandate for the military occupation of East-Galicia.

Poland, however, not only occupied this territory in a military manner, but also introduced into it the Polish administration, although it had no right whatever to do so. The third point of the High Council of the Peace Conference of the 25th June 1919 expressly decided that the Civil-Administration would be introduced into East-Galicia by Poland when it concluded a treaty with the Allies assuring the autonomy for this territory as well as the political, religious and personal liberty of the population. As one sees, Poland did not maintain these conditions in any way when it introduced Polish administration into East-Galicia, but did violence to the population, and put even the Ukrainian Society — some 20 000 — into internment camps (Dombie, Lancut and Strzalkowo). At least half of the interned people died there and did not return. Luckily the greater part of the Ukrainian Society returned with the Ukrainian army and reached, after crossing the Zbrutsch, Great Ukraina.

The first point of the arrangements of the High Council of the Peace Conference of the 25th of June 1919 expressly safeguards the population of East-Galicia and the right of self-determination respecting their nationality; but in reality this was in no manner maintained. The same council had later on the intention of giving a special statute for 25 years to East-Galicia, whereon a voting of the people was to take place. But Poland at that time rejected the plan. The matters of East-Galicia is the Paris decision of the League of Nations of the 20th of February 1921, whose first point runs:

"The decision of the Peace Conference regarding the rights of National Minorities in Poland is not allowed with regard to East-Galicia to be applied as it is lying outside the frontiers of Poland."

And in the fourth point it is said:

"Poland is only real military occupation (occupant) of East-Galicia whose sovereign the States of the Allies are."

Therefore the Council of the League of Nations had given the final settlement of this question to the Conference of the Ambassadors.

It is clear that these and similar decisions were not liked by Poland. It tried, therefore, with all means "to convince" the Allies, that East-Galicia ought to be joined with Poland. But also this did not yet satisfy them. The States of the Allies informed Poland that it was not to hope to see her wishes fulfilled, if it would not promise at least an Autonomy to

East-Galicia. In consideration of this demand the Polish Politicians carried, in the Polish Sejm of the 26th of September 1922, a law dealing with the so-called Autonomy for the three East-Galician counties (Lemberg, Stanislaw, Tarnopol) and the establishment of an Ukrainian University in the course of two years. In practice everything remained as it was; the "Autonomy" was a farce, a law, in which special privileges were granted to the Polish Minority in the Ukrainian districts of the three counties mentioned. But the Conference of the Ambassadors and the Peace Conference thought this "Autonomy" apparently sufficient when they granted Rights of Sovereignty to Poland over East-Galicia in their decision of the 14th of March 1923. But it is quite clear that the Polish Law of the Autonomy and the Ukrainian University of the 26th of September 1922 forms an International Obligation of Poland towards East-Galicia. Till to-day it has not been kept. This fact illustrates already sufficiently the Polish policy towards the Ukrainian population.

It is a policy of complete physical destruction of the Ukrainian population and an entire polonisation of the Ukrainian geographical territory in such a manner that the Ukrainian youth is to be deprived of its nationality and at the same time colonized with Polish civil and military settlers. Up till now the Polish Government has given in the closed Ukrainian territory for settlement 200 000 ha arable land in East-Galicia and 240 000 ha in Volhynia and Polisia to Polish colonists. These figures speak for themselves. They mean still more when one considers that there are in these Ukrainian districts to-day about 1 million Ukrainian peasants with a property of $\frac{1}{2}$ — $1\frac{1}{2}$ ha. It is no wonder that the hungry population is slowly dying away, as in this agricultural country there is no other occupation in factories or industry whereby the population can earn its livelihood. Even before the great war a surplus of population was noticeable in East-Galicia, and at that time all efforts were made to organize the emigration to foreign countries, as settlers to America (United States and Canada) and as temporary workers to Germany. To-day emigration to the United States is limited, to Canada it is almost impossible because of financial reasons as the Ukrainian peasant cannot save in his own country the amount of money necessary for the journey and first installation. The possibility of earning money as temporary worker in Germany was also made impossible for the Ukrainian worker through the Polish emigration policy.

If the facts cited were not sufficient to picture the Polish policy towards the Ukrainians before the eyes of the world, there are still other facts which cannot be concealed to the world of culture that give a correct picture of Poland.

During the years 1922—1924 besides the usual taxes an extraordinary money tax three times as high was imposed on the Ukrainian population by force in order to improve the Polish State finances. By force (police, army) it was collected, because the population, impoverished through the war, could not pay them. They lead to the economical ruin of the Ukrainian population, in whose territory continual war was waged during the years 1914—1920. After the war the population tried, through self-

defence, organizing of agricultural association, to improve their economical situation. To-day, in the Ukrainian district under Polish rule already more than 3000 agricultural associations exist. With almost super-human exertion they were organized; for the Polish authorities tried with all efforts to stop this organisation and endeavoured in an exorbitant manner to stamp out this economical action as a political movement against Poland. Whilst the Polish associations received 79 millions Zloty this year from the Polish State bank, the Ukrainian associations received, only with great trouble, a credit of 79 millions Zloty and they were recalled in June of the same year by the Polish bank. These figures speak for themselves. But this is still going further. There is in Lemberg the greatest Ukrainian insurance company "Dniester". Before the war the company had a capital of 2 132 585 Austrian crowns. The turnover amounted in the year 1912 25 716 663 crowns. In the course of 20 years this insurance society paid up to the year 1913, 7 523 231 crowns as compensation for 30 923 cases in consequence of elementary happenings. Also under Polish rule the company continued her activity successfully. The Polish authorities, however, could not see this favourable development. They introduced an enforced insurance, which had to be taken without exception, of the State Polish insurance society at Warsaw. The "Dniester" enjoyed an "exception", she was allowed to insure scarcely the third part of the property of her customers of long years. In this manner the further development of the insurance society was made impossible. When one considers that this exception is not kept either, one sees quite clearly that the "Dniester", the largest economical institution of the Ukrainian population, is destined to liquidation by the Polish authorities. The Poles carry on the same policy of liquidation continually; they are proceeding against all the, other Ukrainian credit and finance institutions. They grant them no credits, persecute them, and make all transactions impossible for them through special decrees ad hoc published. In the whole Ukrainian district there is not a single Ukrainian agricultural school, no lower or higher schools. The Ukrainians of East-Galicia are therefore forced, to use the higher Ukrainian Agricultural-school in Podiebrad (Czechoslovakia), because on Ukrainian ground, not even the erection of a private school is allowed.

The extraordinary great national wealth of the Ukrainian population which was administered by independent public institutions before the war is completely destroyed. It was demolished by the commissioners nominated by the State, (in the place of the elected mayors, village magistrates and vestry councillors) who, backed by the Polish authorities, conducted an uncontrollable management of the Ukrainian peoples wealth. We must bear in mind here that Poland dissolved all elected corporate bodies in 1919 and 1920 because they were, in town and especially in villages, in Ukrainian hands and replaced them by State commissioners. These conditions lasted till the year 1927. In the year 1927 municipal elections were carried out by reason of the old curia polling system, but to this day there are, in most villages, commissioners nominated by the state, because the population, when they voted, always elected exclusively Ukrainian councillors. It is impossible to enumerate in a short essay like this

Sokol-Batko comprised, before the war, 944 organizations with 34 717 members. The Union of the Sich-Organizations had 365 organizations with 12 457 members. Poland has destroyed all these organisations in the towns as well as in the provinces. The Polish authorities gave no permission at all for the restitution of the Sich Societies, for the Socol-Societies only in the year 1926/27. Besides the societies mentioned there were others founded after the war, Fire Brigade, -Sport-Societies with the designation "Luh". But at the establishment of these organisations on the basis of new statutes the Polish authorities offer the greatest difficulties and reject hundreds of the applications made.

Such is the picture in brief outlines of the Polish policy in the Ukrainian countries. Its aim is, either to polonise the Ukrainians, or to destroy them physically. But till to-day they have not succeeded anywhere, because at every attempt of polonisation and acts of Polish violence, the Ukrainian people answer often by acts of terror and sabotage of the Polish State.

Suppression of the Ukrainian Education in Poland

by Wolodimir Celewytch,

Ukrainian Deputy in the Polish Sejm, and Vice President of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation.

In contradiction to all treaties dealing with national minorities and the laws of the Polish constitution, all Polish governments — right and left — follow a destructive policy against the Ukrainian people since the occupation of Ukrainian districts by Poland with regard to education. The Poles try to polonize the Ukrainian school children in Polish schools, by Polish teachers and Polish school books written in chauvinistic tendency. At the first glance one can perceive its present detrimental position from the numerical illustration of this Polish action against Ukrainian education.

I. Ukrainian State Education.

a) Board schools.

According to the statement of the last Austrian school statistics there were in East Galicia 2496 Board schools in the Ukrainian language. After the taking of the school voting there were at 1st January 1926 in Eastern Galicia (in the three Eastern Galician counties) only 917 Board schools in the Ukrainian language, against 2347 in Polish and 1726 schools in two languages (Polish-Ukrainian). Since General Pilsudski came into the government, the Ukrainians have lost in Eastern Galicia in 1926/27 26 Board schools, in 1927/28 155 board schools, altogether in the last two years 217 schools. We can see from this that the government of "moral restitution" carries on the same policy of extermination as the preceding one.

Still more detrimental is the balance of Ukrainian education in the North Western-Ukrainian districts i. e. in Volhynia, Polisia, Pidlasia and Cholmland. There is not a single Board school in Cholmland

and Pidlasia. In the Volhynian county there are among 1144 Board-schools only 4 with Ukrainian as a teaching language, 390 are using two languages and 750 Polish. In Polisia there is, out of the 1062 Board-schools, not one with Ukrainian as a teaching language, only 3 ultraquistic and 1059 Polish. Further, one must especially consider that the Board-schools with the Ukrainian language are all schools of the lowest kind because of the 917 Ukrainian Board-schools there were in 1926, 842 with one or two classes only. The law of the school plebiscite of 31st of July 1924 and the instructions for its administration particularly helped very much to destroy the Ukrainian education. For:

1. this law introduces, in Art. 2 as a fundamental type of the schools for the national minorities, the school with 2 languages, i. e. for the Ukrainians the Polish-Ukrainian. This principle contradicts the express demands of Art. 9 of the treaty dealing with the protection of the rights of the national minorities.

2. Also other instructions of this law contradict the principle of equal rights of all subjects without regard of their nationality in opposition to the decisions of the treaties dealing with the protection of the national minorities, and they are:

a) for the Establishment of Ukrainian State Board-schools it is demanded that the Ukrainian population should amount to at least 25%. This limitation, however, does not concern the Polish population. Thus it is possible that 45 000 Ukrainians in Lemberg have not even a right to a single Ukrainian Board-school.

b) the right to a request for the erection of Ukrainian-school demands that there be at least 40 children at a school age, whilst for the erection of a Polish-school a number of 20 children suffices. In this way two Ukrainian votes are equal to one Polish one.

c) The Plebiscite law takes the possibility of the erection of Ukrainian, even of ultraquistic Board-schools in the Lemken district, Cholmland and Pidlasia, although the Ukrainian population of these districts amounts to 750 000 souls.

The execution of the school plebiscite is further regulated by the stipulations of the executions given by the Board of education of the 7th January 1925. These modifications prevent the execution of the school voting in a just and impartial manner. It is made impossible for the Ukrainian population to fight against abuses, disadvantages and forgeries of signatures on the Polish-school applications etc. Through this law the secrecy of the signatures of the Polish applicants is stipulated and the Ukrainian population has, therefore, no opportunity of bringing the innumerable forgeries of signatures which have been committed at all these places before the public.

To an overwhelming majority teachers of Polish nationality teach in the district inhabited by the Ukrainian population. Of 11.950 teachers working at the Board-schools under the Lemberg School-Board there are only 2.889 teachers of Ukrainian nationality. The Ukrainian teachers are moved either to the Polish Western districts or no candidates of Ukrainian nationality at all are accepted for the teaching profession. More

than 600 teachers of Ukrainian nationality have been moved to Polish schools into the interior of Poland.

In reality the utraquistic schools are not using two languages but Polish only. The decision of the Minister of Education of 28th July 1925 with regard to the division of the hours in the schools with two languages states, that in the first school year the pupils at the schools with two languages have to learn to read and write only in Polish. Only in the second year is the Ukrainian language taught. Of the various subjects history, geography, and natural science are taught in Polish, needle work, drill and drawing in the Ukrainian language. In practice the utraquistic school does not differ from the Polish one, if one still considers that the majority of the teachers are Poles and are not masters of the Ukrainian language in reading and writing.

Finally one must still emphasize that all school books, even those destined for schools with the Ukrainian language, are so put together that we can find scarcely anything in them about the history, literature and culture of the Ukrainian people, but excessively much about Polish history, and filled with a Polish chauvinistic spirit.

B. Trade-Schools.

After the example of other European states Poland is also developing a trade-school system of all kinds. In the whole Ukrainian district, however, at the present time being under Polish Government, we cannot find one single trade-school in the Ukrainian language. There is no Polish trade-school, not even in those situated on the ethnographical Ukrainian territory, in which the Ukrainian language forms a subject of studies. Pupils of Ukrainian nationality are not accepted at trade-schools. Pupils having been successful in being accepted at the trade-schools and having overcome the greatest obstacles are deprived even of the religious care. Those Ukrainian trade schools, especially agricultural ones which existed in these territories at the time of the occupation of Volhynia and Polisia by the Poles, have been changed by the Polish Government either into Polish ones or closed.

C. Ukrainian Secondary Schools.

(Grammar-Schools and Training-Colleges.)

The Plebescite Law of ill fame forbids, in the Polish State, the Ukrainian population to erect Grammar-schools, Trade-schools and Training-colleges with Ukrainian as a teaching language. Only Secondary-schools, Trade-schools and Training-colleges with two languages can be erected. In reality there is no Trade-school and no Training-college in the Ukrainian language.

In the North Western-Ukrainian districts there is not a single State Grammar-school in the Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Polish language. Up to the present time there exist only six Grammar-schools in the Ukrainian language in Eastern-Galicia, the same as in the Austrian time. But also in these Ukrainian educational institutions the Polish language was introduced for history and geography. The Polish Government has already tried several times to liquidate the Ukrainian State Grammar-schools, resp. to

change them into ultraquistic ones, so that their existence is also greatly endangered for the future.

D. Ukrainian High-schools and Nostrification of the Diplomas acquired in other countries.

At the Austrian time some University chairs with Ukrainian as a lecturing language were at the Lemberg University. The Polish Government has dissolved them. Here we must especially mention that the Polish Government by reason of the law of 26th March 1922 pledged itself to erect a Ukrainian University within two years. This obligation has not been kept by the Polish Government till this day, and it has no thought of fulfilling it in future.

The private, secret, Ukrainian University was destroyed by the Polish Government, and insurmountable obstacles are put before the Ukrainian academical youth who have finished their studies in other countries when the foreign diplomas are to be nostrified. They have to wait for years for the granting of the nostrification and a person receiving it is forced to pass examinations once more even for the medical faculty.

II. The Ukrainian Private-schools.

In order to prevent the intentions of polonisation, the Ukrainian people try, within the frontiers of the Polish State, to erect schools of all kinds that are not under its power. At the moment there are 17 Ukrainian private Grammar-schools, 9 teachers Training-colleges, 4 Supplementary Trade-schools, 4 Handicraft-schools and 31 Board-schools. All these schools receive no State-grant whatever, quite the opposite; the Polish School-authorities try by all means to prevent the erection of new Ukrainian Trade-schools and to liquidate the existing ones in some way or the other. They use for this purpose the following means:

- a) The authorities do not permit the erection of Private Board-schools,
- b) The authorities raise all possible difficulties at the granting of the right of publicity for Private Grammar-schools and Teachers Training-colleges,
- c) The authorities forbid the existence of Trade-schools even Private ones in the Ukrainian language.
- d) The Ukrainian Private schools are forced by the School-authorities to carry on the internal and external official matters in the Polish language and to teach history and geography in Polish.

In one word, all Polish Governments have made it their aim to destroy the Ukrainian schools and want to introduce Polish ones in their place. The methods the Polish Government applies to attain this end are an almost exact imitation of the Russian attitude towards the Polish schools at the time of the Russian Government. In the defence of the Polish educational methods at the time of the Tsar the whole public opinion of Europe rose. Nobody raises his voice to-day in defence of the Ukrainian school system, and the Polish Government wants, also furthermore, to be looked upon as a government of tolerance in Europe towards the national minorities.

It must be noticed especially that all statistical and numerical statements are based on the following Polish official informations.

"Preliminarz budżetowy R. P. P. na okres od 1. kwietnia 1928 do 31. marca 1929" i "Materiały odnoszące się do działalności Rządu w czasie od 15 maja 1926 do 31. grudnia 1927" u. a. (Proposition for the Budget for the Polish Republic for the Period from 1st April 1928 till 31st March 1929 and documents concerning the activity of the Government for the period from 15th May 1926 till 31st December 1927" &c.)

The Terror in Poland

by Sydir Tschutschman,

Editor of the „East European Correspondence“

The recent events in Poland, the increase in the number of political processes, the injustice and baseless verdicts of Polish tribunals (sentences of death against the students of Ukrainian, Atamanchuk and Werbycky in March 1928), the draconian punishment of the Whiterutenian delegate and other members of the Whiterutenian Hromada, the baseless execution of the courtmartial (sentences of death against the Ukrainian Ordyneć and Płachtyna in Lwow, July 1928) bring a new actuality of the Polish terror against the national minorities in Poland. This Polish terror, which dominates all questions of economical and political life concerning the national minorities, is best illustrated especially by the measures of the Polish police and the Polish tribunals.

In civilised states this Polish politic has already been given the name of "The White terror". It was the cause of many protests by the French politicians and authors (Mac 1924: Protest against the white terror in Poland, signed by Paul Painlevé, Edouard Herriot, Léon Blum, Paul Boncour etc.). The "International committee for political prisoners" has also published a book with the title: "Political prisoners in Poland". The English parliamentarians, J. Beckett, A. Shepherd and Mrs. W. Horrabin, members of the Labour-party, made a journey, at the end of November 1926, through the Polish prisons and reported to the English public on the wretched conditions in Poland.

This government, when Poland was acknowledged as a sovereign state, occupied the Ukrainian districts. This change of government, according to the political situation of the Polish states and the national minorities in Poland, meant the extermination of all the nations, which were not Polish.

The Polish government began to persecute the Ukrainians immediately after the fall of the central-powers. On the first of November 1918 the Polish-Ukrainian war began, in which, the Ukrainians were defeated, on account of the help of the Polish Hallerlegions, which were formed in France. The Ukrainian army was driven back behind the Zbrutch and the Ukrainian districts came under the military regim of Poland. Many Ukrainians, who did not or could not emigrate to the Great-Ukraine, were put into the prisons of Dombie, Lancut, Strzalkowo and Bugshopy a. s. o. where more than 29 999 Ukrainians were interned. Several thousands died

there. Many of those interned in Bugshopy lived on leaves and roots. Infections diseases raged in the prisons and the men were starved. Many were shot without judicial examination. Others languished in Polish Prisons waiting for a judicial examination, suspected for high treason. Because the Ukrainian districts were not under Polish sowerignity is was contrary to law.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of these martyrs. The war prevented the discovery of the manner in which, and the place where, the Ukrainians died, who were imprisoned by the Poles and they did not give exact specification. Each judge executed the sentences without informing the Polish Central governments.

These states continued till the middle of 1922. The 25. of June 1921 Poland received a mandat from the superior council in Paris to inaugurate of a civil government in the Western-Ukrainian districts, which gave autonomy to East-Galicia. Poland refused it and tried in her own manner to place the Ukrainian district under its power. The Polish state also began to exercise dominion (f. e. proclamation for the election of sejm and senat in East-Galicia, to take a census) which had to give a base for the adjudication of the Polish government over these districts, which were entirely Ukrainian. The passive attitude of the Ukrainians was persecuted by the Polish governments. Numerous imprisonments, brutalities, the inauguration of the courts martial and other acts were the chief activities of the Polish power. In Lwow more than 15000 Ukrainians languished in Polish prisons. In East-Galicia and Wolhynia at that time more than 50000 Ukrainians were imprisoned for several months. The political life of the Ukrainians was suppressed in an unjustified manner. The Ukrainian people were forced to prevent these cruelties by sabotage. An underhand war began then and has lasted since that time. The Polish call this Ukrainian movement for independance: high-treason, sabotage and intrigues of kommunism, and oppose it in the severest manner. On the 14. of March 1923, Poland received the sowerignity over the Western-Ukrainian districts from the Entente. This did not change anything in the situation of the Ukrainians. From this time on Poland not only tried to execute its alleged rights with power and terror, but to root out the Ukrainian element making a central-national state. The persecution of the Ukrainians has now a systematical form. Reprisals are made against the Ukrainian youth, as one can see by the numerous processes against the young people in Ukraina.

This task is accomplished by the political police and the Polish tribunals, which from time to time take action against the Ukrainians. Every week in the eastern frontier-district of Poland new imprisonments are made on account of political offences. Every insecurity in the interior of the country, at Warsaw or at Lodz, is always followed by the imprisonment of Ukrainians in East-Galicia. E. g. during the coup d'etat of Pilsudski at Warsaw, general Sikorski ordered the imprisonment of the Ukrainians in Lwow. Every danger which is supposed to be from foreign countries is at once followed by new imprisonments of the Ukrainians and Witherutenians. This arrests are carried out by the political police. The pri-

soners are charged with belonging to the secret Ukrainian military organization, high-treason, espionage and communistic propaganda. Often the prisoners admit crimes they have not committed in order to get away from the tortures or the police-prisons, and to come up for trial. This judicial inquiries in the police prisons are carried out with tortures and last weeks; day and night; till at last the prisoners are almost dead.

The events of May (entering upon the sovereignty by Marshall Pilsudski) did not improve matters, on the contrary it made our situation still worse. . . .

(Speech of the Ukrainian delegate Kozubski in the Polish Sejm, Sejm account of the 5. february 1927).

A good instance of how the prisoners were maltreated is shown by the case of **Bessarabowa**: who was a victim of the Polish police in Lwow on the 13. february 1924 and also became the object of a proclamation of the French in May 1924.

The late Polish author St. Zeromski wrote in his book: "Przedwiosnie" about the using of electric current at the judicial examination of the prisoners. It was done by touching the prisoners with conducting-wires. In this book he minutely describes the tortures in the Polish prisons in Lwow and mentions the name of the Polish commissar Kajdan, who ordered these bestialities and took part in them.

The commission under the direction of the delegate Thugutt, who had to examine the situation in the Polish police- and justice-prisons, found in the prison an electric-wire about which the police would not give any information.

Case Boganski: On 24. December 1926, Boganski was arrested from the 10-th ballation of the Cordon-Corps and brought to the town of Krasnik. On 26. December 1926 he was examined. A sergeant and a certain Mr. Stachik undressed him, bound his hands and feet to a bench and began to strike him with sticks. Stachik put a moist cloth ien his mouth and began to beat his heels. On this Boganski fainted, and when he recovered was again examined. When he could not answer, he was thrown to the floor and then put on a wooden-trestle and beaten with a wire-rope and a iron-bar, till he lost consciousness. This was repeated every day, up to the 31. December. On the 1. and 2. December 1927 Boganski was racked again. He was put on the floor, Stachik sat on his chest and held his hands, a second examiner held his head and a third sat on his chest and held his hand, a second examiner held his head and a third sat on his legs. Than urine and petroleum were poured into his mouth. On the 6. of January Boganski was told, that he would be transported to Wilejka, where he might possibly be acquitted by the tribunal. He was warned not to tell anything about what had been done with him, otherwise they would find means for repeating the racks. On 3. February Boganski was acquitted in Wilajka. (Interpellation No. 190 of the Whiterutenian Club of the department for home and justice.)

Other evidence of cruelties in the Polish police-prisons is the process against the 151 Ukrainians, which began on the 15. November 1926 in Wladimir Wolinski. All the prisoners declared, that they had been forced

to make acknowledgements by the rack. The defendant Gernabki had been beaten, in the presence of the public prosecutor Stuminski, by the agent of the detective police Koschuk. But they were not content with beating; they employed every possible means. Bowls were put between the hands of the defendant, they were pinched between two plates and by a special mechanism pressed together so that the blood came out under the nails. The poor man fainted several times.

(Abstract of the law-proceedings against the 151 Ukrainians.)

Case Medwid: The Ukrainian Medwid, who was put into prison on 7. July 1925 said in the law-proceedings, which began after a year on 5. June 1926 in Lwow . . . "On 7. July 1925 I resolved to fly into a foreign country to escape the persecution of the political police. On this flight I was seized and put into prison. In this prison I was beaten till the blood flowed by the agent Stecula and the policeman. Not only once, but these cruelties were repeated several times at each examination. My whole body was black and blue."

(Report from the law-proceedings against the 12 Ukrainians, "Nowyj Czas" from the 13. 6. 1926.)

Case Olenskyj: Being suspected of belonging to the ukrainian military organisation at Poznan Olenskyj was brought to Lwow in August 1925. He describes his examination in the police-prison: "I was beaten several times in the police-prison. The agents of the police told me that they would beat me till I consented to what they wished. Once I was beaten in my cell, another time in the vestibule of the prison: With each beating the agents threw the blanket over my head so that the other prisoners in their cells could not hear me crying and shouting."

Case Mikola Jasynski: Jasynski, who was imprisoned in the beginning of July 1925 at Lwow describes the cruelties in the police-prison of Stryj in a letter: ". . . I was taken from my bed and brought to Stryj in chains. In the same night I was sent for examination. I was tortured terribly because I answered in the negative. The agents pulled off my shoes, beat my heels and calves till I had fearful wounds. These wounds are not healed yet. I was also trampled on. Then I was thrown on the floor by the agents, while I had the chains on my hands and could not move. I was cut and bruised so much that I could not lie down, my whole body was bleeding and covered with open wounds.

The next day the commissars and agents arrived from Lwow to rack me again. This examination, or these tortures were continued for 10 days. Then I was brought to Lwow. At Lwow my wounds were probed after three weeks, at which time when they were a little better."

From the short statements in these single cases might be gathered the fact that the prisoners are being submitted to terrible bodily ill-treatment and torture in the prisons in order to extract from them forcibly condemning statements. They are being beaten over the head, in the face, over the back and breast with fists, blunt tools, whips and so forth. One of the means of torturing is the pumping of water and winegar into the nose this causing an hemorrhage of the lungs. Another means is to force needles under the fingernails. A complete list of the ill-treated

persons or methods employed does certainly not exist. The majority of the damaged persons is afraid to launch any complaints against the all-mighty police.

It is furthermore difficult to report all cases because not everything is made public. Who for instance is being punished at the police cells? No important politician, no famous intellectual person, who would know how to report the injustice done unto him, but the simple ukrainian peasant and the young student, who not even know who to tell about their sufferings. The court trials on the other hand, which are meant to be the aftermath of the illtreatment by the police, are taking place behind closed doors under the pretence that the espionage work of the accused is being discussed, from which the general public must be excluded.

After the questioning in the police prisons which, contrary to the article 97 of the polish constitution, lasts several days, the prisoners are being handed over to the criminal courts. What then is the situation of the political prisoners who, after the endured tortures within the police prisons, are being sent to the court prisons? The duration of the detention on remand in Poland is quite uncertain. There is no law which provides within which period an arrested person must be arraigned.

Examples:

In the case of Paslawski and confederates, which were accused of membership to a secret ukrainian military organization, nineteen months passed between the arrest of the first accused and the actual trial. (Paslawski was arrested November 1924; the trial took place the beginning of June 1926.)

In the case against the 151 Ukrainians of Wolhynia, who were accused of membership to the communistic organization, the detention on remand lasted 19 months (arrests in April 1925, Trial middle of November 1926).

In the case of the Ukrainians who in Krakau were accused of belonging to the ukrainian military organization, the detention on remand lasted 14 months (arrests in August 1926, trial November 15th, 1927.)

In the trial of Atamantshuk and Werbyckyj who were arrested under the suspicion of having murdered the schoolcurator Sobinski and of membership to the ukrainian military organization, passed 13 months.

We have only recounted here some cases in which generally several persons were within the dock and where the period of the detention on remand lasted more than one year. British parliamentarians have wholly reported on the conditions prevailing in polish prisons. The prisoners pass several months and years within prisons on detention on remand alone; they are being submitted to every possible moral and physical torments and tortured with hunger. Even if they are being acquitted at the trial, they are wholly ruined bodily, recover nearly never and perish after a few years in freedom.

The cases of the ukrainian engineer, the colonel of the Ukrainian ar mee Melnyk and of the students Zyblikewytsh and Zelenyj who were being severely beaten in the Lemberg prison on September 16th 1925, give us a near enough picture of how the prisoners were being treated in the polish prisons. The arrested Melnyk was being dragged out of the cell

and head long down the stairs despite his high temperature. Since the entire floor was plastered with nails, the whole body of the sick man was severely injured. Within the courtyard the two polish keepers Driblin and Mariniak rushed upon him and began to beat him with fists and feet. When the prisoner became unconscious he was being transported in that state into the second Lemberg prison "Brygidki" where he was thrown into a dark cell. His friends and relatives were only permitted to see him after his wounds were slightly healed.

The conditons prevailing within polish prisons were also described by the Polish Sejm committee which was appointed in 1924. Although this committee only visited 14 prisons they gathered such an amount of material that it did not risk to appear before the general public with it. Only after two years work did the committee in a secret session (the members pledged themselves not to bring anything about their investigations into the open), finish a report for the polish parliament which was published in March 1926, although strongly curtailed. We extract the following short cuttings of thies report: "The prisoners sleep on the floor under the plank beds. One straw matress for two prisoners. The straw in the matresses is old and ground. The cells are lousy and full of bugs. The conditions in the Galician prisons are the worst. The prison of the Holy Cross must be quickly liquidated."

What the conditions in the "Holy Cross Prison" are like is being reported by the polish newspaper "Morgen Express" on September 18th 1923. which says: To be imprisoned in the Holy Cross Prison is indeed a misfortune; the prison is justly being called a grave for living human beings. It is an open secret, that none can live long in the Holy Cross Prison. Already today there are 40% tuberculous prisoners and this number increases steadily. The prison consists of a number of stone graves which are unfit to live in. Although the cells are being heated during summer and winter the water runs down the walls. Many of the cells are semi-dark which causes many prisoners to get blind. The deathrate in these prisons is tremendously high. During the year 1923 alone 78 died from tuberculosis. The sanitary conditions of the prison are dreadfull. The linnen rofts literally on the body of the prisoner. This terrible situation often caused a resentment which resultet in a clash between the police and the prisoners. To inquiries the ministry of justice answered that "this prison is intended for prisoners with life sentences". With other words: "it is in the interest of the state to shorten the life of the prisoners and thereby save expenses for the state".

Within Polish circles one often heard the statement that this unbearable situation would only last until Pilsudskis Coup d'Etat May 1926. But with the taking over of the supreme power by Pilsudsky nothing has changed. Member of Parliament Thugutt, being questioned by english parliamentarians on December 10th, 1926 (seven months after Pilsudskys youp d'etat), declased that conditions had only little or not at all changed since the publication of the committees statement. Not one of the ten motions which the investigation committee submitted to the government

including the closing down of the Holy Cross Prison had been carried through.

Court sentences:

A chapter by itself are the Polish courts within the eastern-border-territories. Alone the fact that Polish judges were employed exclusively in the political trials of the Ukrainians is proof enough that no just sentences could be delivered. According to Austrian laws courts of assizes exist in Eastern-Galicia. The jury however consisted in innumerable trials of Ukrainian fighters for independence exclusively of Poles. The Prosecutor arranges for, that for every trial of Ukrainians only such jurymen are being balloted which guarantee, that the trial will end with the sentencing of the accused. Simultaneously with every trial of Ukrainians the Polish press campaign begins which influences the jury in an anti-Ukrainian sense. It happens not seldom that the jury during the trial reads ostentatively the chauvinistic Polish press, which is full of accusations against the accused, instead of listening to the defence of the prisoners. In such atmosphere no just verdicts can be passed. It happens quite often that the jury members do not command the Ukrainian language and consequently are unable to follow the trial proceedings. A gross example was the trial of the Ukrainian fighters for liberty in Lemberg in 1922. During the reading of forbidden Ukrainian pamphlets a jurymen declared in the name of the entire jury that the jury did not understand the Ukrainian language: "We don't understand anything, we sit here since a week like at a Turkish sermon. Let the Accused be judged by Ukrainians". The motions of the Ukrainian lawyers for the defence and the Ukrainian public mind to admit Ukrainians to the jury benches are never accepted. The result is that all sentences never present the point of view of a juridical impartiality, but are the outcome of the Polish destruction policy and therefore also contain unjust and draconic sentences. The best proof for this is the recent trial of the 17 Ukrainians which began January 25th and ended March 15th 1928. In this trial two Ukrainians, Atamantschuk and Werbytskyj, were found guilty of the murder of the School kurator Sobinski and of high treason, although they could not be convicted. The statements of provocators, of the police spys and several "morally not responsible" criminals, and contradictory statements of chauffeurs were the foundations of the indictment. The work of the Polish press like "Slowo Polskie" and "Wiek nowy" weighed more than the alibis of the accused. The Polish justice committed in this case a judicial murder which was resounded within the entire world of culture.

The here recorded cases form only a minimum fraction of the conditions which were and are still being enacted in Polish police prisons. 341 prisons with 30 000 prisoners including 6000 political prisoners speak for themselves. Not uninteresting may be an statistical report about the prisons in Poland for the year 1927: Number of political prisoners 6000; number of political trials 100; number of sentenced persons 988; among these death sentences 6; lifelong imprisonment 18; the remainder to total number of years: 6620.

The above figures were gathered on account of newspaper reports and other sources and must therefore be taken with care, although they are not far away from the truth .

We have intentionally chosen the year 1927 in order to prove that during the time of organized conditions and the abroad so much advocated "Polish Liberalism", no change towards the better has occurred in favour of the non-polish nations.

The terror which began since the existence of the Polish state continues with the final aim not to bring quiet and order into the country, but to extinguish the non-polish nations and to suppress every movement for independency.

The Ukrainians in Roumania

by Dr. Zenon Kuziela,

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Owing to the adverse war situation, considerable parts of pure Ukrainian ethnographical territory have, without Ukrainian consent, devolved to Roumania.

On 20th January 1918, the Roumanian General Presan, occupied Bessarabia under the pretext that he wanted to protect this country from the Bolsheviks; in November of the same year the Roumanian General Zadik marched into the Bukowina, and on the basis of a frontier arrangement with Czechoslovakia, the Marmorosh district devolved in the year 1920 to Roumania. Even before this time the Ukrainian villages in the Dobruzscha were assigned to Roumania in virtue of the decision of the Berlin Conference of 1871.

Roumania tried to legalize the occupation of Bessarabia, whose population at first wanted to be united with the Ukraina and who afterwards proclaimed their independence, by forcing the Bessarabian National Council „Sfatul carii” to declare on 27th March 1918 the Union with Roumania in the form of an autonomous State and by submitting this "decision" for ratification to each one of the Allied Powers, although already on 26th November of the same year this "Autonomy" was abolished and in its place martial law was proclaimed which still continues there as well as in the Bukowina.

The less peaceable annexation of the Bukowina which in general is in the greater part a Ukrainian country (in the year 1910 305.101, that is to say 38,4% Ukrainians, 273.254, 34,4% Roumanians and 223.000 that is to say 27,2% Germans Jews and others) and which in the Northern and Western parts is inhabited by no more than 5% Roumanians against nearly 70% Ukrainians was — without alking the Ukrainians who proclaimed their Union with the West Ukrainian Republic — by the Peace Treaty of St. Germain of 10th September 1919, assigned to Roumania, as arranged already in the year 1916 by a secret treaty between Roumania and France.

The Ukrainian National Territory in Roumania which has an area of about 23.000 qkm comprises 1) considerable parts of North-, East- and

South-Bessarabia which before the war formed part of Russia, with the towns Kischinew, Chotyn and Akerman and with a Ukrainian population of more than 650.000 souls; 2) the North and West of the former Austrian Bukowina with the towns Czernowitz, Wiznitz, Kotzman, Waschkoutz, Zastawna, Sereth and Storozynetz with about 350.000 Ukrainians; 3) the former Hungarian Marmorosh district with about 10.000 Ukrainians and 4) villages in the former Bulgarian Dobrudscha beording upon Bessarabia with some thousands of Ukrainians. Conscientiously calculated Roumania now counts about 1.061.325 Ukrainians or about 7% of the whole population.

These Ukrainians are autochthones and have been living for centuries in these districts which since the 9th century formed part of the Ukrainian Kiewian State, in the beginning of the Grand-Duchy Kiew and later on — from the 12th to the 14th century of the Galician-Wolodymirsh Kingdom of Halitsch, and only in the 14th century were their peripheric districts partly colonized by Roumanian immigrants. Before their involuntary union with Roumanian all these Ukrainian districts had the possibility of a free national and cultural development in a free Ukrainian National State and under the old rulers, particularly in Austria, they enjoyed certain liberties which before all in the Bukowina reached a high degree of national self-government. Great Roumania received this district from the Allies with the obligation stipulated in the Paris Special Treaty of 9th December 1919:

- 1) to treat equally all citizens without distinction of race, language and confession in civil and political regard.
 - 2) to assure to the non-Roumanian population adequate facilities with respect to the use of their National language, both in writing or by word of mouth, before the courts of justice (last paragraph om the 8th article),
 - 3) to guarantee to the Non-Roumanians equal rights with respect to the foundation, administration and control of their charity-, religious and public institutions, schools and other educational establishments and also to guarantee the right of the free use of their own language and perfect liberty in their religion (article 9).
 - 4) to guarantee, in questions of public education in all towns and counties in which a considerable part of the citizens use another language than the Roumanian, corresponding facilities for the security of the instructions in the Board-schools in the respective national languages, and finally
 - 5) to guarantee, in all districts with a considerable number of the minorities of race, religion and language, to them a just participation in the use and disposition of public means destined for purposes of education, religion and social welfare in State-, Community- and other budgets.
- All these Roumanian obligations of the Paris Treaty for the protection of minorities are considered to be fundamental rights, which cannot be annulled or altered through any other laws, regulations or State activities, and they can only be altered asan

obligation of international character by virtue of a decision of the League of Nations.

The Roumanian State, however, went over these international obligations, proclaimed a permanent state of martial law in Bessarabia and Bukowina, abolished unconditionally all former Ukrainian accomplishments and arranged an unintentional campaign to roumanize, and through special laws and regulations, which according to information of official organs has the intention to deprive the Ukrainians, within a short time, completely of their nationality.

The Ukrainians in Bessarabia were deprived of all rights and exposed to a military terror which demanded several thousands of victims and forced several tens of thousands to emigrate to Argentine, Brazil etc. All Ukrainian schools of which in the year 1920, there were still 200, were changed into Roumanian. The publication of newspapers and books in the Ukrainian language was forbidden, and the import of all Ukrainian printed productions in cyrillic writing was also forbidden.

The greatest work of oppression, however, was directed by officials against the Ukrainian population of the Bukowina that enjoyed a far reaching national autonomy in Austria. The Ukrainians in the Bukowina had, in the Bukowina county Council, a special curia with 17 deputies, a special Ukrainian section for the administration of the country with its own County Vice-Marshal and own Members of the County Commission. They had national administrations in the Ukrainian towns and Counties, proportionate participation in all County offices, and in the Ukrainian districts in the administration, Law Courts, church and school only Ukrainian officials, judges, clergy and teachers were employed. The Ukrainian language was, besides the German, the most important, legally acknowledged language of the country and was spoken officially in all local —, district — and central offices. Especially exemplary was the Ukrainian education organized, which was in the hands of a special school-section with a State-School-Superintendent and 10 District School Superintendents of Ukrainian nationality. The Ukrainians had in the year 1913, more than 199 and in the year 1918, more than 218 public Ukrainian Board-Schools with 800 forms and 40.000 school children and about 1000 well trained Board-school teachers. Moreover they had, besides numerous private Ukrainian Secondary and Trade schools which were supported proportionately by the government, three Ukrainian Grammar schools in Czernowib, Wizniß, and Kotzman, one Ukrainian Grammar school with a modern side in Waschkoutz, one Ukrainian Higher Grade school in Kotzman, two teachers training colleges in Czernowitz and four Trade schools in Czernowitz, Kotzman (Agricultural school), Storozynetz (School for handicraft), and Wizniß (school for sculptors and carvers). The Ukrainians had, at the University of Czernowib, four Ukrainian chairs for Professors of the Ukrainian language and Literature, ecclesiastical Slavonic language and East European history, a Lectureship of the Ukrainian language whilst the theological Greek orthodox faculty was Ukrainian-Roumanian, and the

Ukrainian theological students could hear all lectures in the Ukrainian language.

Equality rights also permeated; and the Greek-Oriental Churches were materially well founded. The Greek-orthodox Ukrainians had their own Bishop, their own section in the Council and their own clergy officiating only in Ukrainian, in the Ukrainian Parishes, whilst in Czernowitz they preached in Roumanian and Ukrainian. The religious instruction was given for the Ukrainians or the Greek-Catholic united as well as the Greek-Oriental religion, in the Ukrainian language.

The Ukrainians of the Bukowina were on a high cultural and economical level of development. They established several hundreds of their own savings and credit banks, a National Central Bank ("Seljanska Kasa"), a special bank ("Ruska Kasa"), a life assurance institution ('Karpattia'), a great number of special associations, several hundred-reading rooms and public libraries, a working men's educational institution, an amateur theatre, several choral-, sport-, fire brigade-, and social welfare societies, and had a good number of newspapers and periodicals.

All these achievements of the Ukrainians were completely destroyed by the Roumanian government in the course of a few years. In the first place the Ukrainian Self Administration with the Ukrainian Curia and the Ukrainian School Section were at once abolished, and the Roumanian Administration introduced. The country was artificially divided into five sections in which mostly, such Roumanians who did not understand the Ukrainian language were employed. All higher officials of Ukrainian nationality were at once dismissed whilst the employment of the Ukrainian language even in private intercourse was forbidden to the lower officials, and it was decreed that they should learn the Roumanian language as quickly as possible. Special examining committees sent from Old Roumania decreased the number of the Ukrainian officials afterwards at the language examinations and many of these by way of punishment, were sent into pure Roumanian districts. In all offices, even in the County Administrations of pure Ukrainian villages, the Roumanian language was at once introduced, whilst all former rights of the Ukrainian language were abolished at the beginning without a legal reason and afterwards by virtue of the order of the 17th May 1922. Even at the Law Court the Ukrainian language is forbidden. The Ukrainian parties are not allowed to apply in the Ukrainian language, a special decree of the year 1926, forbade the solicitors to use the Ukrainian language which is unavoidable for practical reasons and the introduction of official interpreters for minority languages to annoy the population is being prepared. The official methods to roumanize proceed even so far that e. g. in the Bukowina by virtue of a special decree of the Home Office of March 1927 all posters, notices, programs of theatre, concert and cinema, even price lists and notes in the restaurants, offices and private businesses have to appear unconditionally in the Roumanian language.

The Ukrainian educational institutions have had still more to suffer. They were, in the course of a short time completely liquidated; roumanized,

so that for several years there has not been a single Ukrainian Board-school or a single Ukrainian Secondary-or Trade school or a Ukrainian chair for a Professor; even the Private schools were dissolved or changed into Roumanian ones. The Ukrainian language was even forbidden as a teaching subject because according to the Roumanian official idea (see the explanations of the Minister for Bukowina, L. Nistor in "Lupta nationala in Bucovina" Bucarest 1919) the Ukrainians of the Bukowina are only Ukrainaised Roumanians (II) who have to return to their national language and the School Law of 30th of July 1924 (s. Lege pentru invacamantul primar al Statului" in "Monitorul National" No. 101) decrees without exception, that "these citizens of Roumanian descent who have forgotten their (Roumanian) mother tongue are obliged to send their children only to schools with Roumanian as principal language".

This decree could not be removed in spite of all Ukrainian presentations, quite the opposite, a short time ago it was communicated in writing to the late deputy Lukaszewitch on his application in question from the Roumanian President of the Privy Council (Nr. 74 of 15th January 1927) that the Board of Education does not allow the introduction of the Ukrainian language into the Board schools. Similar applications from 40.000 Ukranian parents were ignored and thrown into the waste paper basket as the Board of Education officially informed the sollicitor Dr. Dutczak (Buro A. Nr. 96 625 of 23rd Sept. 1926).

Incredibly the Ukrainian language has been forbidden also at the religious instruction against which even the Greek-Catholic united authorities could not do anything.

Although the instruction is made almost impossible for the Ukrainian children because the Ukrainian population does not master the Roumanian language easily, their number is still decreased at the examinations of immatriculation and maturity. To illustrate this, it may be mentioned that e. g. in Czernowitz at the bachelor of arts examination at the 7th and 8th October 1926, 26 out of 29 Ukrainians failed whilst 59 out of 61 Roumanians passed the examination.

The abolition of the Ukrainian language in the church services of the Greek-Orthodox Church appears incredible. The church services in Ukrainian language are, even in pure Ukrainian districts, forbidden, whilst up to a short time ago in all parishes, where at least there were three Roumanians, a Roumanian divine service had to take place.

The Roumanians dissolved all Ukrainian societies, reading rooms and public libraries in the year 1918, and allow their restitution only with great difficulties by virtue of the Law of the 6th of August 1924.

The Ukrainian news-papers and periodicals were annoyed and forbidden, the editors often arrested and punished and the readers of the censured papers even persecuted by the police. For this reason only one single paper appears at this time in the Ukrainian language, and it is allowed out of necessity to write only on agriculture. The import of Ukrainian literature is still forbidden, and the parcels are seized directly at the frontier.

The economical disadvantages of the Ukrainian population forms a special chapter. It suffered greatly through the war without receiving up till now the compensation promised. The Roumanian Government has, furthermore, settled mostly Roumanian colonists, peasants and legionaries on the disowned estates in the Bukowina, and has taken over the rest of the ground amounting to 62 000 ha in its own administration of the Bucarest ministry of agriculture. The Ukrainians were, in general, at the reconstruction of the land, put to great disadvantage and received here and there the smallest parts, even a half or a quarter of a hectar. Greater taxes were imposed on the Ukrainian peasants and they were hindered at the economical reconstruction. For this purpose all Ukrainian associations and economical societies were subjected to the Roumanian economical central stations which distribute any surplus from the Ukrainian sources to the disadvantage of the Ukrainian associations. The **Bukowina** is considered a colony and exploited in every economical respect in favour of the Old Roumania. For this purpose the official statement of Bianovici, the Roumanian member of the Chamber of Commerce of Bukowina in Czernowit, of the 31st August 1926, suffices to mention that e. g. the Roumanian State derives 15% of all income of the Bukowina, whilst the State credits for the Bukowina amount only to $\frac{1}{1000}$ th part, 15 million lei of the total of 15 milliards.

The Ukrainians in Roumanian live under terrible oppression which, according to the words of the Roumanian inspector Spenul is aiming at converting 1 million Ukrainians, in the course of a generation, to good national Roumanians. They defend, however, with tenacity their position, and resist all attempts to deprive them of their nationality which suffers shipwreck at the stubbornness of the national Ukrainian peasantry. The Ukrainians of the Bukowina go on building up, in spite of all persecutions, their own still modest organisations and form common cause with other Roumanian minorities, whose position in Roumania is likewise not enviable.

Podkarpatska-Rus (Carpatho-Ukraina)

by Captain Riko Jary,
Secretary of the Ukrainian Officers Union.

The Ukrainian district at the South border of the Carpathian mountains in the extreme East of the present Czechoslovakian State extends in a length of 350 km from the rivulet Poprad at the foot of the Tatra to the Wyschawa in the East with an average width of 70 km. Before the war this district formed part of Hungary. The best proof for the national indomitableness and vitality of this part of the Ukrainian people, the most outlying towards South-West, that has a strength of $\frac{1}{2}$ million souls who are living here on an area of 12.000 qkm, is the fact that they resisted

through centuries all Magyar attempts to rob them of their nationality and maintained their national property. After the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine expressed on the base of Wilson's formula with regard to the "Self-Determination of the peoples" immediately their will to be united to the Ukrainian motherland north and south of the Carpathian mountains. The accomplishment of the Union with the Ukraine, for which the National Councils in Prjaschiw, Swaljaw and Uzhorod declared themselves unmistakably, was unfortunately prevented by the development of the events in the Ukraine itself. The working together of the American National-Council of the Carpatho-Ukraine with the Czechoslovakian politicians and before all the promises of Masaryk himself, formed the base for the idea of a Union with Czechoslovakia, whereby a far reaching autonomy within the frontiers of this state was guaranteed to the Carpatho-Ukraine in the agreements of Screnton of 12th November 1918 in case of a union with Czechoslovakia.

Directly after the breakdown the Hungarians were likewise anxious to have the Carpatho-Ukrainian territory within their frontiers, and just as well as the Czechoslovakians in America promised also the Karoly Government in Budapest on 21st December 1918 to give to the Ukrainians full national autonomy. After the communistic revolution in Hungary the Carpatho-Ukraine was occupied by Czechoslovakian troops from Slovakia as the Ukrainian Government on account of the simultaneous fights against Poles and Russians in Ukraine it was not able to assist the Carpatho-Ukraine.

Besides through the arrangements of the representatives of the Carpatho-Ukraine in Pittsburg (U. S. A.) still before the conclusion of peace, the political position of the Carpatho-Ukraine has been exactly established in the Peace Treaty of St. Germain and in the Constitution of the Czechoslovakian Republic itself. In conformity with the decisions of the Peace Treaty of St. Germain of 10th September 1919 (§§ 10, 11, 12 and 13), the Government of the Czechoslovakian Republic published a special "General Statute for the Organization of the Podkarpatska-Rus". According to the said Peace Treaty the Carpatho-Ukraine when voluntarily joining Czechoslovakia received absolute political autonomy. She was to elect her own Sejm (diet), that was to be decisive for all questions with regard to schools, languages and religion just as well as for all administrative matters. At the same time own deputies of the Carpatho-Ukraine were provided for the Czechoslovakian Parliament.

The constitution of the Czechoslovakian Republic in accordance with the Peace Treaty of St. Germain confirms also the autonomy of Carpatho-Ukraine. The Law Nr. 122 of 2nd February 1920 acknowledges expressly that the Czechoslovakian language is not to be considered as official language for Carpatho-Ukraine, but that the resp. questions of language are to be settled by the Carpatho-Ukrainian Sejm. Also employees for the local administration, teachers etc. were — according to the Autonomy Law in first place to be taken from the local population.

The development of the last years, however, does in reality by no means correspond to the treaties concluded. Contrary to the Pittsburgh

agreement — in spite of Masaryk's personal promises — and in opposition to the Peace Treaty of St. Germain and the Czechoslovakian Constitution the Carpatho-Ukrainian Sejm has not been called in by the Czechoslovakian Government. Also the protests and urgencies of the representatives of the population could not change matters.

Most visible, however, are the Czechian tactics in the question of languages. The population of Carpatho-Ukraine speaks an Ukrainian dialect and it would be only logical and natural that as literary language the Ukrainian should be established. Based upon the small number of followers of the russophil course which still from pre-war times is to be found as a sort of resistance against Magyarization the Czechs have tried to establish Russian as the language of the country. For reasons of politics one will not admit the "Ukrainian" and therefore tries to artificially create by means of local dialects a new literary language, the "Russinian".

In educational matters too the same political tendency is to be found. In pre-war times there were in the Carpatho-Ukrainian district only public Board- and Secondary schools with Hungarian lecturing language. Besides them there existed still highly developed Church schools with Ukrainian lecturing language, supported by Ukrainians in America. In some schools — according to the teachers — the teaching language is to-day Ukrainian, in others even Russian, whilst the artificially created language "Russinian" is to be the official lecturing language. In this artificially created chaos the Czechians systematically extend their own Czechian Educational system and even in the remotest mountain villages they are establishing schools with Czechian teachers and consequently Czechian lecturing language instead of Ukrainian schools. The want of Ukrainianschools and higher Trade schools compels the growing youth to frequent higher Czechian schools where of course they are still more exposed to the danger of being Czechised. It is not very astonishing that under these circumstances also cultural institutions as before all the enlightening society "Prosvita" which has branches throughout the country is checked in its development.

Even the domain of the church is not left untouched by the methods of Czechian politics. Instead of Ukrainising again the Greek-Catholic Church which in the course of time has been magyarised to a high degree, one tries with the help of Russian emigrants to introduce the orthodox Church in order to increase the splitting up even within the church domain.

The economical situation of the Carpatho-Ukraine is at present a very difficult one. While in pre-war times a great part of the population went to Hungary as season workers (harvest workers) and returned in autumn to their country provided with provisions, such a possibility is missing to-day. The agricultural districts of Czechoslovakia are sufficiently provided with hands, the mountainous country cannot maintain its population, no wonder therefore that in these districts famine and the diseases derived from it are constantly reigning. Also in parts richly wooded the wood industry does not offer sufficient opportunity for earning a living, for the greater part of the wood is not worked in the Carpatho-Ukraine itself but is exported to Czechoslovakia. The appearance of minerals at the

borders off the mountains is too trifling for admitting occupation of a bigger number of hands.

If even in the very first years after the conclusion of peace the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine had been disappointed by the fact that by an artificially created frontier more than 250 000 Ukrainians of the Western districts (West of the Uz) were joined to Slovakia and not to the district of the Carpatho-Ukraine itself, it is not very astonishing that by the non-observation of the rights laid down according to agreements on the part of the Czechs, there is no friendly feeling towards them. Just through the fact that this district had joined voluntarily with the Czechoslovakian State after the revolution it ought to occupy a special position as far as its civic rights are concerned in opposition to the other Ukrainian districts having been occupied by the enemy by force of arms (the Greater Ukrainian by the Russian Bolsheviks, East-Galicia and Volhynia by Poles, Bukowina and Bessarabia by the Roumainians). In reality, however, the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine and their political leaders must lead a hard battle in order finally to receive also in reality now the rights guaranteed for the last ten years, the autonomy with its own Sejm and governor.

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