

POLISH ATROCITIES

IN

UKRAINIAN GALICIA

A TELEGRAPHIC NOTE

To M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU,
PRESIDENT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

FROM

VLADIMIR TEMNITSKY,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC

AND

JOSEPH BURACHINSKY,
MINISTER OF JUSTICE OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY OF THE
UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC

NEW YORK CITY, 1919

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The UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE of the UNITED STATES
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July 29, 1919

The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, by its resolution of the 25th of June, 1919, has authorized the Government of the Polish Republic to occupy a great portion of the Western Territory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic; that is to say, East Galicia up to the Zbruch River. The purpose of this resolution was, after its own terms, "to safeguard the lives and property of the peaceful population of East Galicia against the dangers and threats of Bolshevik bands." The Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers has decided to authorize the forces of the Polish Republic to extend their operations up to the Zbruch River.

The undersigned, plenipotentiary representatives of the lawfully and duly elected Government of the Ukrainian people, solemnly protest against this decision which abolishes the principle of the self-determination of peoples, violates in a most iniquitous manner the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic over its own territory, and delivers the Ukrainian people of East Galicia, liberated after a long period of slavery, to the mercies of an unbridled Polish imperialism, to the horrors of a regime by Polish authorities, and to the brutalities of the Polish soldiery. In alleging the motives which actuated the decision of the 25th of June, the Supreme Council is in evident contradiction with the principles of self-determination of peoples, and the principles of democracy embodied in the well-known Fourteen Points of President Wilson and accepted by all the Allied Powers as a basis for peace.

East Galicia, that is to say the country situated between the San and Visloka Rivers on the west and the Zbruch on the east, is ethnographically and historically a Ukrainian territory, in which the Poles, as confirmed by Polish statisticians, scientists, and geographers (Prof. Buzek, Prof. Romer, Prof. Pilat), form, together with the Jews, an altogether insignificant minority. This country was up to the middle of the sixteenth century an independent Ukrainian state, first a principality and then a kingdom, with succes-

sive capitals in Peremishl, Halich, and Lviv. Even after its conquest by the Polish king, Casimir, it formed in the Kingdom of Poland a separate unit under the name of the Ruthenian Palatinate.

The Ukrainian people of Galicia never consented to the annexation of this territory to the Kingdom of Poland; on the contrary, they struggled ceaselessly to overthrow Polish oppression until Galicia was incorporated with Austria. The Dynasty of the Hapsburgs, to satisfy the desires of the Polish nobility, established an artificial supremacy in favor of the Polish minority over the Ukrainian majority, and this is the reason why East Galicia, which has always been Ukrainian, has assumed an artificial Polish air and the Ukrainian people have been delivered to the Poles. These people, from the Diet of Kromerizh in 1848 to the Viennese Diet of 1918 have never ceased to battle for sovereignty over their territory, and to oppose the division of Galicia into two parts, the western half Polish and the eastern half Ukrainian, in which each nationality would form a unit independent of the other.

When, at the end of October, 1918, the Austro-Hungarian edifice was crumbling to the ground, East Galicia, acting in concert with the other ethnographical Ukrainian territories of the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, proclaimed its sovereign independence in the provisional constituent assembly called in Lviv on the 19th of October, 1918, and established a government which has extended its power over the entire country since the first of November, 1918. The government in conformity with declared constitutional principles assured complete cultural and religious autonomy to the Polish and Jewish minorities. The Provisional Parliament of the Western Territory of the Ukrainian Republic, conforming to the laws still in force at that time, enacted new laws to meet current needs and to exercise a strict control over the operations and actions of the Government. The Government enacted, among others, the law of the 15th of April, 1919 governing the elections to the Local Diet of East Galicia, which gave to all the minorities, including the Poles, a number of representatives proportional to their population. It also enacted a land law based on the sanctity of private property, which, without injuring the system of land cultivation then existing, substantially provided for a division of the great landed estates among those peasants who possessed no land at all and those who did not possess enough.

The Ukrainian National Council, in its capacity as legislative body for the Western Ukrainian territory, proclaimed, by its decision of the 3rd of January, 1919, the union of all

the Ukrainian territories of old Austria-Hungary with the Ukrainian Democratic Republic of former Russia. The Ukrainian Democratic Republic has consented to this union. The ethnographic Ukrainian territories of former Russia and former Austria-Hungary now form a single state which has taken the name of "Ukrainian Democratic Republic."

Of all the minorities in East Galicia the Poles alone have opposed the right of self-determination exercised by the Ukrainian nation over its own country to form an independent state. They have stirred up a revolution. The Poles, not comprising more than one-fifth of the total population of the country have not the right to govern it, and if they ever have had such a right they renounced it formally in favor of the Russian government during the Russian occupation of East Galicia in 1914. Knowing that this land has never been and is not now a Polish country, Poland has come to the military aid of Polish subjects in the western regions of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, and it is for this reason alone that East Galicia has been made the ground upon which is being waged a terrible and pitiless struggle. It is clear that this war bears all the earmarks of an insatiable Polish imperialism, while on the side of the Ukrainians it appears as a justified defense against the armed, brutal, and merciless aggression of the Poles.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, relying upon the published principles of President Wilson and the justice of the decisions of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, sent a Delegation to Paris to ask, in the name of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and the Ukrainian people, the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian Republic and the Ukrainian people's sovereignty over purely Ukrainian territories.

The Supreme Council has destroyed all hope of impartiality by authorizing, through its decision of the 25th of June, 1918, the Polish army to occupy and pacify East Galicia to the River Zbruch. The Supreme Council has granted this authorization on the ground that the occupation of East Galicia by the Polish army would guarantee the lives and property of the peaceful population of East Galicia against the atrocities of the Bolsheviks. This reasoning is completely contradicted by the true state of affairs and proves that the Poles have given to the Supreme Council only such information on the situation in East Galicia as was false and distorted to suit imperialistic schemes.

Given this fact, we affirm, with full personal responsibility for all that we say here, not only in the eyes of history

but also before any impartial tribunal, that during the entire duration of the Ukrainian regime there have been no Bolshevik bands, but only individual Bolshevik agitators. We also affirm that it is by virtue of the Ukrainian army of Petlura and the army of the Minister of Justice of the Western Territory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic that neither the Bolshevik armies nor the troops of Rakovsky have invaded the Galician lands. In consequence, the declarations of the chauvinistic Polish press concerning Bolshevik bands are flagrant fabrications. It is well known that the Polish press terms as "Bolshevist bands" the regular Ukrainian army, which, repulsing with heroic bravery the imperialistic military aggression of Poland against Ukraine on one side, has defended on the other side, with equal heroism, this same country against the invasion of Russian Bolshevik armies.

These undeniable facts, which we most emphatically affirm, remove even the semblance of justice from the decision of the Supreme Council and provoke profound indignation in the hearts of all the Ukrainian people. All impartial witnesses,—among others, all those numerous delegates of the Entente Powers who, from the month of December, 1918 to the end of May, 1919, have visited the Western Territory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and have had occasion to study with their own eyes the state of affairs—unanimously bear witness that the Western Territory of the Republic, that is to say East Galicia, has always enjoyed, under Ukrainian rule, order and tranquillity; that there have been no troubles, no uprising, no pogroms; that all the inhabitants, without considering race or creed, and all classes of society have found equal protection under the law; and that the Poles in particular have possessed full liberty and freedom to develop their cultural and national activities according to the just and impartial laws then existing.

It clearly results from this description of the true state of affairs that no pacification whatsoever of East Galicia was necessary. There was no reason to have this country occupied by foreign troops, and, what is a glaring injustice, to give this mandate to occupy by military force to a State which at the very moment is waging imperialistic warfare with the declared intention of annexing Galicia, to a people who for centuries have been the traditional enemies of Ukraine, to an army which during the present war has committed innumerable acts of violence and terror against the Ukrainian civil population. The long list of these abominable outrages is the most striking testimony of the man-

ner in which the Poles execute their mandate for the pacification of East Galicia and how they "protect" the lives and property of the peaceful population.

The Poles are flooding the entire world with wholly false or greatly exaggerated tales of cruelties practiced on the Poles by the Ukrainians. And even though one were to take these stories seriously, yet they are as nothing compared to the atrocities perpetrated by the Poles. The famous pacification-expedition of the Poles is being conducted in the following manner:

The Poles arrest the Ukrainian "intelligentsia", peasants, and artisans, and intern them in forts, jails, and prison camps. The commanding general of the Polish army in East Galicia has issued a special order of the day in this respect. He is expelling the Ukrainian population en masse from the country; he is buring the Greek-Catholic churches; he is killing off the peaceful Ukrainians; he even hangs and shoots the children. The Poles have put an end to all cultural organization and practically all the Ukrainian economic order in all the occupied territory of East Galicia; they forbid the use of the Ukrainian tongue; they seize and destroy historical documents, close the schools, and burn the Ukrainian text-books. The Ukrainian people in East Galicia find themselves in a hell, so to speak, and the persecutions to which they are subjected find no parallel in history.

The Ukrainian population is not the only one to become the bloody victim of this Polish system of pacification. It is known that the Jewish pogroms were perpetrated following the arrival of Polish troops in East Galicia, in which Polish officers and men played an active part around Lviv, in the prison camps at Kolomiya, and in many little villages of East Galicia. It is very natural then that the Polish occupation and the so-called pacification of East Galicia has been the cause of a most unfavorable reaction in Eastern Europe. The fact that the Peace Conference has sanctioned this pacification expedition will not pacify Central Europe, nor will the fact that Poland abuses her mandate by exterminating the Ukrainian people, obliterating their culture, and destroying their property. All this will engender in the future new military conflicts on the frontiers of the East.

For this reason we appeal to the human conscience, to the sentiments of justice, to the reason of the statesmen of the Allied Powers, and above all, to the members of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference. We appeal not

only in the interest of Ukrainian sovereignty over purely Ukrainian territories, not only to defend the most sacred rights of the Ukrainian people to dispose of themselves as they see fit and safeguard their future, their property, and their culture, but in the general interests of all humanity, with the intention to reestablish normal relations in Eastern Europe at the earliest possible moment, in the interests of a durable peace, and to assure to millions of people the opportunity to live tranquil lives.

Before showing the injustice of the mandate accorded to Poland by the decision of the Supreme Council and the political consequences that it will have for Ukraine, for its people, for Eastern Europe, and for the entire world, we solemnly protest against this mandate before the civilized world in the name of the most sublime ideals of humanity, in the name of Democracy. We ask for an impartial intervention by the Supreme Council to put an immediate end to this pitiless extermination of the Ukrainian people in East Galicia, and to stop the flow of innocent blood, the torture of political prisoners, the deportation of peaceful Ukrainian citizens, the burning of villages, the pillage of property, and the destruction of culture. The Poles are committing all these crimes through abuse of the mandate of pacification confided to them and are realizing their dreams of Ukrainian extermination with the moral, military, and pecuniary aid of the Allied Powers.

The Ukrainian State and its people can not surrender and never will surrender their right to self-determination and self-defense. If the Poles or any other people threaten their most sacred rights and their most precious treasures, then the Ukrainian State and all its people will be compelled to do all that the instinct of self-preservation commands them to do.

At the moment of writing we hear from Paris that the Supreme Council has made another concession to imperialistic Poland in authorizing the establishment of a civil administration in East Galicia. The State and the Ukrainian people see in this decision a new mortal blow aimed at their liberties, and they protest with anguish and indignation to the civilized world against this new violation of the most holy rights of a nation. Our long experience tells us that none of the guarantees mentioned in this new decision can give security to the Ukrainian people. The fact that the Poles have never respected their treaties with the Ukrainians in the past, all their guarantees existing only on paper, forces us to conclude that the Poles will not fail to ignore the guarantees reserved in the decision of the Su-

preme Council. Poland will not fail to take advantage of this authority to establish a civil administration to denationalize the country, terrorize the population, and bring all its power to bear upon the results of a general plebiscite—will resort even to violence and corruption. Furthermore, such a referendum will be far from representing the free will of the people so that neither the Ukrainian government nor its people will be satisfied with such a solution of this question.

All these reasons impel us to make the most vigorous protest against this new decision of the 11th of July made by the Supreme Council.

The Polish policy of annihilation in the Western Territory of the Ukrainian Republic, East Galicia, started with the first invasion of the Polish army in East Galicia in November, 1918. It seemed at the time that the Poles wished to take advantage of their military preponderance to persecute the Ukrainian "intelligentsia" and the nationalist peasants, and to destroy the leaders of the national movement. Entire villages were plundered and depopulated by massacres; thousands of Ukrainians were deported and interned in the camps of Polish West Galicia and in the Kingdom of Poland. Even assassinations and atrocities were practiced against Ukrainian officers and soldiers who had been taken prisoners. In Lviv the Ukrainians were forbidden to use Cyrillic letters in their writing and the Ukrainian newspaper *Vpered* (Forward) was suspended. All these atrocities and violations of rights became the basis of a system of annihilation from the moment that the Poles were given the mandate for the so-called pacification of the Ukrainian country up to the Zbruch River with permission to employ Haller's army in the process.

Towards the end of this note we will discuss how the Polish delegates succeeded in the end in persuading the Council of Five to confide the pacification of the country to the Polish army. In the first place we will cite facts and testimony which will demonstrate to all fair-minded people that a terrible conflict is being waged in East Galicia between Polish autocrats and annexationists and the national independence movement of the Ukrainian people. The Poles are seeking to use the political situation as a means to destroy the educated Ukrainians and the civilizing work of the Ukrainian people, and to incorporate into the Polish Empire a country which, because of its weakness, finds it impossible to resist. The Polish policy of extirpation in wiping out the Ukrainian population, and above all the educated Ukrainians,

is to destroy Ukrainian national culture and intellectual life and even the Greek-Catholic Church. The destructive work of the Polish chauvinists is a characteristic sign of the relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians. But the crowning point of this policy of Polonization lies in the colonization of East Galicia by Polish legionaries and disabled soldiers. This policy has been further revealed in the discussions on agrarian reform in the Diet of Warsaw.

The Polish policy of annihilation in East Galicia has been described as assuming most incredible forms of cruelty, arrests and internments en masse of the Ukrainians in the vicinity of the city of Lemberg. Hundreds of Ukrainians have been arrested daily in the territory occupied by the Poles, and then transported to the interior of Poland and interned in camps built for that purpose. The principal internment camps are at Lemberg, Dabie, Wadowice, Baranow, Szcepiodyn and Powiadzki in East Galicia and in the unspeakable holes of fortified places of Modlin and Warsaw. More than two thousand Ukrainians, among whom are about two hundred priests, have been interned in the Brigidki Prison in Lemberg, a prison which in the past has served to house criminals of the most vicious sort. The Brigidki is crowded to such an extent that many of the prisoners have not ground room to sleep upon. Many women with infant children are among the interned. In this particular detention camp will be found a mother, Anastasia Vidiy, with her child of six weeks. One will also find there a dozen children ranging from two to ten years of age.

On the first of July, 1919, the following Ukrainians were interned in the Brigidki Prison: Madame Kichera, a mid-wife of Vizenka, with her two months old infant; Madame Anastasia Zvir with her five year old boy; and Madame Anna Zelena of Zamionka. Remarkable to state there are among the interned many distinguished Ukrainians of high repute who are not guilty of any particular crime, yet they have been lightly cast into filthy dungeons to perish. It is evident that the purpose of this procedure is to cause the disappearance of these notables. More than two hundred men of high standing have been interned in the last few days; among them is the Vicar-General Tsehelsky of the city of Kaminka-Strumilova, a man seventy-three years old.

These prisoners are victims of the most brutal treatment; they do not receive sufficient nourishment and the sick are denied medical assistance. One need not be surprised then that many Ukrainians die daily in these terrible prisons. In the city of Lviv the barracks in Lichakowska Street have

been chosen to hold the Ukrainian prisoners, although there are in the city many unoccupied barracks of more modern construction. The barracks mentioned above are fitted with frightful cells, and musty walls, hidden from the light of the sun. The unhappy Ukrainians here encaged are dying a lingering death. It is the universal opinion of their countrymen that they will never see the light of day again. More horrible than the arrests and internments en masse are the revolting cruelties inflicted on Ukrainian soldiers and citizens.

The following cases have been irrefutably established: During the passage of the Polish troops through Yesupol, near Halich, not less than sixteen peasants were hung without trial in a single day. The Curate Pelekh, a peaceful ecclesiastic and favorably known at Radechiv, and the Curate Andrey Pelensky were shot without trial by the Polish troops at Lisyatich near Striy. In the city of Striy the Polish troops shot the Curate Ostap Nizankovsky, who was for a long time the vicar of the district administration and director of the agricultural societies. At Vodniki, near Borka, Polish legionaries gouged out the eyes of the peasant Jasko Bondar with a bayonet because he resisted the requisition of his last cow. All possessions of the population of this city were seized by the Polish soldiery, including clothing and linen. At Voloshina, near Bobrka, the school teacher Ivan Kazanitsky was seized by Polish troops and while being taken to Lemberg was flogged and beaten by the soldiers, and then left on the wayside to die, covered with seven mortal wounds. During the removal of four prisoners to Kulparkiv, near Lemberg, other Ukrainians were seized on the way, and pitilessly flogged. The commander of the groups expressed himself to the effect that "It was useless to drag these dogs along." They were shot on the spot. Madame Goldberger, wife of the ranking physician of Lemberg, was witness to the following incident: Krissa, a workman on the Lemberg railroad, was arrested while on his way to his family in Tarnopol and severely beaten. He was subsequently thrown into prison, and his wife, a Polish lady, was denied permission to visit him or bring him food. "We must starve him to death", said the officer in charge. At Pidbereztsi near Vinniki hundreds of unoffending men were flogged by Polish legionaries until their flesh turned black from the blows received.

A widow, mother of seven children, and the choir singer of Labye were hung without trial because a rifle abandoned by the Ukrainians had been found near the house of the widow. One Malishevsky, a railroad executive, was arrest-

ed at Zolochiv and subjected to brutal treatment. Malishevsky was commissioner of the Brody-Krasne and Podvolochiska-Krasne lines and acquainted with Captains Bachmann and Reicher, members of the American Mission in Krasne. The unfortunate man was beaten by Polish soldiers and in consequence suffered fractures of the legs and arms. After being rendered unconscious he was taken to Krasne. Entire groups of cultured Ukrainians were shot without mercy by Polish soldiery while passing through Sambor, Striy, and Stanislav. Their names will be published. The Priest Demchuk, and old man of seventy, was shot at Sokal because his son was with the Ukrainian force.

A Ukrainian patrol under the command of the bugler Kossar was captured near Bartiatin. When the captives reached Lviv Kossar was unceremoniously shot by a Polish legionary. Seven Ukrainian soldiers captured at Lubachiv were shot near Sidliska in much the same manner. At Hiriv Lieutenant Kremechko of the Ukrainian army and many others were shot.

Doctor Karl Kure of Vienna relates the following incident during his stay in Stanislav immediately after the occupation of that city by Polish troops: "Polish soldiers broke into the military hospital and ordered the gravely wounded Ukrainians outside, where they were promptly shot. A Ukrainian lieutenant who was also in the hospital was dispatched along with the rest. Murders committed by Polish soldiers on the Ukrainian sick and wounded are only too well known."

There are cases too numerous to mention of the violation of Ukrainian women, particularly women of the more educated classes, by the Polish soldiery. We cite only the following verified incident: At Vinnitsky, near Lemberg, young girls belonging to the best families were dragged from their homes and publicly violated. Large ransoms in gold were then demanded for the release of these girls, and in some instances five thousand crowns were paid to obtain the liberation of these unhappy victims of Polish violence. On the 8th of May, 1919, regimental-sergeant Javorsky related the following at Lemberg: "After we had occupied Risna our first job was to gather in the cattle; whoever resisted was killed on the spot. The other soldiers went after the women while I got a girl of twelve whom other soldiers had raped." The statement of a prominent Czechoslovak on Polish atrocities is authority for the following: On the nights of the 23rd and 24th of March, 1919, two Ukrainian girls, Anna Mahun and Anna Tsihiv, of the town of Pid-

dubtsi, were subjected to the most diabolical cruelties. These two unfortunate girls were surrounded by Polish soldiers who held them by the arms and legs while their companions assaulted them.

This description of the treatment of the Ukrainian population, and more particularly the cultured classes, and the results obtained by this barbarous policy of annihilation practiced by the Poles is confirmed by strangers who have had occasion to view the terrible situation at close hand. The "Narodny Listy", a newspaper held in high repute in Prague, carried the following correspondence on the 26th of February, 1919: "Returning Czecho-Slovak prisoners from Poland give terrible details of the lot of the Ukrainians captured by the Poles. The Ukrainian prisoners are treated worse than beasts; they have the appearance of living corpses; their eyes are sunken, and their cheek-bones protrude. Famished, they seek in the streets the crusts that our soldiers throw away, for the Poles give to the cattle the bread which should be distributed to the Ukrainians, who are dying of hunger and typhus."

Nobody takes any care of the Ukrainian prisoners. Those of them ordered to hospitals are carried there in wagons pulled by other sick Ukrainians. They are subjected to insults and ridicule and are often discharged from the hospitals while still sick. Many times the sick have died en route from the hardships they have suffered.

Many Ukrainian villages were pillaged and burned during the first invasion by the Polish troops, particularly those villages whose inhabitants were considered to be patriotic.

In the district of Sudova Vishnia, near Lviv, seven villages were reduced to ashes. The people were killed at the point of the bayonet. All this was done by virtue of an order of General Maskiewicz, who, by reason of his cruelty, was placed on the retired list. But the Polish soldiers and chauvinists loudly denounced his removal and demanded his immediate reinstatement. After three days the Warsaw Government capitulated to popular sentiment, and General Maskiewicz was restored to his command to resume his nefarious work.

These atrocities are on a par with the barbarous cruelties perpetrated in the Balkans and Armenia. And the massacre of Cherche even surpasses those historical crimes. This village was noted for the patriotic ardor of its citizens, a fatal defect in the eyes of the Poles, for they decided to punish it in an exemplary fashion. The village was surrounded by Polish legionaries and all street corners set on

fire. All persons attempting to flee were killed with rifle or bayonet. Polish soldiers were seen to seize living children and hurl them into the flames.

We have already spoken of the restriction placed on Ukrainian writing and the suppression of the press. Only one newspaper is being published in the Ukrainian language in the occupied territory at this moment.

The staff of the daily "Vpered" has been arrested and imprisoned. All the scientific institutions have been closed and sacked by the Poles. At Lviv the Farmers' Co-operative Union, Silsky Hospodar, and Soyuz Torhovelnih Spilok, (Union of Commercial Societies) have been suppressed and their funds and stock confiscated. There is not one Ukrainian printing house operating today; all have been seized by the Poles. The ancient printing establishment of the Order of St. Basil in Zhovkva has been requisitioned, and the archives, together with the library, have been pillaged and burned. The printing plant and archives of the Staropigijsky Institute at Lviv, the most important disseminator of Ukrainian learning in East Galicia, and which even in the eighteenth century exercised a strong influence on Ukrainian Literature, has suffered the same fate.

The monastery of the Order of Saint Basil at Krechiv and its library were plundered, and forty-three priests were exiled to Western Poland. The Ukrainian theatre, as well as all the primary and secondary schools of Lemberg, have been closed. Pedestrians on the road from Zhovkva to Krechiv found precious antiques and destroyed manuscripts in the mud. Ukrainian primary text books which have been lawfully used in the Ukrainian primary schools were confiscated and ordered burned by the Polish primary school inspectors.

The commissioners of all villages were ordered to gather all Ukrainian school books in one place and burn them. The use of the Ukrainian language, oral or written, by the civil authorities has been strictly forbidden in the Ukrainian territory occupied by the Poles. All caught speaking the Ukrainian language suffer corporal punishment. As testimony to this unheard of brutality we cite the following facts:

The canon of the Greek-Catholic Consistory in Peremishl, Dr. Bohachevsky, was flogged by Polish soldiers because he answered his inquisitors in Ukrainian. The Polish officer presiding personally prescribed the punishment, saying, "Teach this priest that he can no longer use his language of pigs."

At Peremishl also a certain Pankivsky, son of a Ukra-

inian priest of the district of Striy, was assaulted because he testified in Ukrainian during the course of his trial. He was beaten by a corporal in the presence of an officer and compelled to testify in the Polish tongue, to sign his depositions in Polish writing, and to take the oath of loyalty to the Polish state. Ukrainian officials in all the occupied territory were discharged and their places taken by Poles. An inadequacy of personnel compels the Poles to use some Ukrainian officials, but these occupy subordinate positions only and are not permitted to exercise their civil functions until they have sworn fealty to Poland.

Notwithstanding the fact that the status of East Galicia has not yet been defined the Poles compel all commissioners of towns and villages to take the oath. It is a well-known fact that the population of East Galicia professes the Greek-Catholic religion, which is by its nature a powerful bulwark against the Polonization of the country since the Poles as a whole belong to the Roman Catholic Church which differs from the former in its use of the Latin ritual and certain religious rites. One need not be surprised then if the Poles apply themselves assiduously to the destruction of the Greek-Catholic Church and the Ukrainian clergy. The number of Ukrainian churchmen arrested to date is more than a thousand; the greater part of the Greek-Catholic churches have been sacked by Polish soldiers and used as stables for their horses, and even as latrines. These outrages have occurred in Pikulovichi, Domazhir, and many other cities.

Public gatherings have been forbidden, as has also the singing of church hymns in the Slavic tongue, under pain of severe punishment. Even the Ukrainian clergy is subjected to assault and insult by the Polish soldiery, as for example in the village of Botulitse, where the priest, an old man of seventy, was stoned by Polish soldiers because he recited his prayers in Ukrainian. This priest is now interned at Rava Ruska. Ukrainian priests are confined in cells with common criminals and thieves where they are assaulted and abused. In the city of Uhniv the Ukrainian priest was placed in the same cell with some notorious thieves. The prison guard then donned the sacramental vestments of the Greek-Catholic Church and sought to ridicule the priest before the other prisoners by officiating at a mock mass.

High dignitaries of the Greek-Catholic Church are subjected to this same maltreatment and abuse. Every day a Polish patrol enters the presence of Doctor Kotsilovsky, the Bishop of Peremishl and a peaceful man never involved in politics, making requisitions on his household effects, and

threatening him with personal harm and even the firing squad. The highest dignitary of the Greek-Catholic Church, Count Andrew Sheptitsky, is confined in the Palace of St. George because he wished to complain to Pilsudski of the cruelties perpetrated upon the Ukrainians, and wished, for this purpose, to confer with the Polish Commander-in-Chief. A Polish patrol has been stationed on the square of St. George, in front of the palace of the venerable Ukrainian, and everybody forbidden, under pain of arrest to see the Metropolitan. The patrol has orders to maintain a strict watch on the Metropolitan lest he leave the palace.

The Polish attitude towards the Greek-Catholic Church is a fair indication of the manner in which they hope to propagate their culture in East Galicia, and it betrays also the efforts being made for Polish colonization. This last means employed by the Poles to annex this Ukrainian country is on a par with the methods used by the Prussians to accomplish the same results in Poland. It is a fact that from the time of the Austrian domination the Poles have exerted great efforts in colonizing East Galicia with Polish elements. Since the Polish State has been founded, and since East Galicia has given the Poles a reason for a so-called pacification expedition, they have maintained their freedom of action to dispose of the land as they see fit. A project of agrarian reform containing the following dispositions is actually under discussion in the Warsaw Diet: The free distribution of the great landed estates is forbidden; the distribution thereof can only be effected through the Polish colonization office. The lands shall be granted first to men of rank, next to retainers of the great landed estates, and these we know from experience are exclusively Poles. Third in line with privilege to buy are the Polish legionaries and wounded soldiers; and lastly come the peasants of the communities. For the last class the following clause also has been inserted: "that these lands shall not be apportioned where such an apportionment might jeopardize the interests of the Polish State."

There is no need to explain in any detail the purpose of this legislation over the non-Polish territory of East Galicia.

We must make known to mankind the methods employed by the Poles in deceiving the outside world as to the real situation in East Galicia. The Poles have obtained the so-called pacification mandate for East Galicia through their misrepresentation of the Ukrainian army. They have pict-

ured this army as a band of Bolsheviks intent on terrorizing unoffending Poles in East Galicia. The Polish Press has collected a number of incidents attributed by them to the Ukrainians for use at the Peace Conference. The representatives of the Allied Powers who have had an opportunity to conduct an impartial investigation of the true state of affairs in the disputed territory during the Ukrainian administration unanimously agree that there has never been a Bolshevik force in East Galicia, that there has been and still is a national Ukrainian army with no other duty than to protect the country against the Polish invasion, and that after the proclamation of the independent Western Ukrainian Republic this force has ruled the country in a peaceful and orderly manner. The widespread publicity given to news of alleged Ukrainian atrocities among the ruling forces of the Allies by the Poles are not in harmony with the truth of the matter and such news has been propagated and exploited in order that the accomplishment of their declared objective might be facilitated.

The method employed by Polish statesmen in exploiting these pretended acts of cruelty by the Ukrainians is not new; and those who have had to deal with the elections made by the Poles in East Galicia understand this method thoroughly. During the period of the Austrian domination it was the custom of the Poles to complain to the Central Government, which always lent them a ready ear, that frauds had been committed by the Ukrainian Electoral Committees, or still better, that disorders had accompanied the elections. Their purpose was to obtain the arrest of the Ukrainian electors en masse, thus making certain the election of a Polish candidate in districts where the Ukrainians formed the majority. This state of affairs, as well as the other electoral trickeries with which the Central Government was led into error were later exposed and discussed in the Austrian Parliament. But the truth unfortunately appeared too late, for the desired end had already been obtained.

We cite some details which illustrate Polish manipulation of the alleged Bolshevism of the Ukrainian population and the so-called acts of cruelty practiced on the Poles. Some time ago the Polish newspapers gave pages to the alleged news that a certain Peter Blacharski, a Pole, had been arrested by the Ukrainians, who had cut out his tongue, plucked out his eyes, cut off his nose, and branded a cross on his forehead. The *Tribune*, a Lemberg weekly, even ran a picture of this Blacharski. The Polish Archbishop Bileczewski issued a pastoral letter to his flock featuring the

affair. All Poland was convinced that the Ukrainians were guilty of the fiendish cruelties practiced on Blackarski, and there is no doubt that this picture of Ukrainian barbarism was sent broadcast throughout the world.

Great was the surprise of the Poles when this same Blacharski made his appearance in Lemberg a few days ago, following the capture by Haller's army of Stanislav, where he had been detained by the Ukrainians.

The Roumanian officers who have occupied a part of East Galicia can testify to the manner in which the foreign element has been deceived by the Poles through gross misrepresentation of the facts. There is no need to emphasize the value for the Ukrainians of this disinterested and impartial testimony of a third party.

As the Roumanians were on a good standing with the Poles after the occupation of Northeast Galicia and the Delatin Kolomiya and Delatin-Keroesmoeze railroads, Roumanian officers were greatly surprised at the denunciations made by the Poles against the Ukrainians. Thus the Roumanian chief in Kolomiya was advised by the Poles that all the Roumanian soldiers in the vicinity had been massacred by the population and that Ukrainian Bolshevik bands were on the march. Similar denunciations were made against certain individuals, as, for example, the members of the Ukrainian Red Cross Mission, and against Doctor Alexander Maritchak, counsellor of the Mission, who was denounced as a Bolshevik and accused of having killed twenty Roumanian officers. Naturally the Roumanian commander immediately adopted severe measures, ordered an investigation, and arrested Doctor Maritchak as a dangerous person. Two days later the Roumanian Command released the Doctor, it having been proved that the Polish denunciations were mere stories invented for the purpose of exciting the Roumanian army of occupation against the native Ukrainian population. The truthfulness of the matters we have described can be easily verified by the testimony of the Roumanian ranking officers, General Zadik, Colonel Gerotta, and Commander Daszkevich.

