

Roman Wysocki

Galicja Wschodnia w roku 1930 w świetle raportu konsula brytyjskiego w Warszawie

Rocznik Lubelski 35, 217-244

2009

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

ROMAN WYSOCKI
Lublin

Galicja Wschodnia w roku 1930 w świetle raportu konsula brytyjskiego w Warszawie

Obraz Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w oczach polityków zachodnich jest tematem wabiącym historyków. Relacje obcych dyplomatów pozwalają spojrzeć na przeszłość z innej perspektywy oraz poznać poglądy, które wpływały na kształt wyobrażeń o sytuacji ogólnej i stosunkach pomiędzy poszczególnymi grupami obywateli w międzywojennej Polsce. Przykładem takiego dokumentu jest prezentowany poniżej raport Franka Savery'ego, długoletniego pracownika placówki brytyjskiej, w późniejszym czasie konsula generalnego, w Warszawie.

F. Savery opisuje Galicję Wschodnią w roku 1930, którą obserwował podczas dwutygodniowej podróży. Tamtejsze realia poznał już podczas wcześniejszych wyjazdów służbowych; ostatni z nich odbył w roku 1928. Wnioski i uwagi zamieszczone w raporcie zawierają wiele ocen i porównań. Savery relacjonował swym przełożonym stan lokalnej gospodarki, uwypuklił przy tym kwestie dotyczące przemysłu naftowego, rolnictwa i skuteczności realizacji reformy rolnej, zwrócił uwagę na rozwój turystyki, spółdzielczości ukraińskiej i sprawy finansowe, a także działalność szkolnictwa czy też aparatu administracyjnego. Na charakter raportu wpłynął termin odbycia podróży. Doszło do niej tuż po tzw. pacyfikacji Galicji Wschodniej (Savery twierdził, że termin „pacyfikacja” wylansowany został przez prasę polską), co zmusiło autora raportu do zwrócenia większej uwagi na kwestię ukraińską.

Savery przekonany był, że przedstawiał zastane realia tak, jak je postrzegał. Czytając raport prędko dostrzegamy jednak sympatie polityczne autora. Nawet jako zagraniczny dyplomata Savery wyraźnie eksponował swoją fascynację obozem piłsudczykowskim w Polsce. Spowodowało to, iż niekiedy usilnie starał się tłumaczyć zasadność wszelkich działań rządowych. Uwagę przy tym zwracają opinie wyrażone na temat poszczególnych polityków, niekiedy dyskusyjne. Według Savery'ego urzędnicy sanacyjni wykazywali się niezwykłą twórczą energią, co miało ich zdecydowanie wyróżniać na tle przedstawicieli innych obozów politycznych. Uwypukla to zawarta w raporcie charakterystyka administracji lokalnej i opinie wyrażane na temat poszczególnych wojewodów województw południowo-wschodnich. Zaskakujące są sądy Savery'ego na temat przedstawicieli środowisk ukraińskich,

np. metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego¹ czy Dmytra Lewickiego². Tego ostatniego, redaktora dziennika „Dilo” i długoletniego przewodniczącego Ukraińskiego Zjednoczenia Narodowo-Demokratycznego, określał mianem polityka przeciętnego. Za jednego z najwybitniejszych polityków ukraińskich uznał natomiast Jarosława Oleśnickiego³.

Wiedzę o akcji sabotażowej i działaniach pacyfikacyjnych Frank Savery czerpał głównie z obserwacji i wiadomości uzyskanych od przedstawicieli władz lokalnych, mniejszą uwagę zwracał na relacje ukraińskie. Te ostatnie traktował, co często uporczywie podkreślał, jako wyolbrzymione. W konsekwencji więc, podczas swej podróży po Galicji Wschodniej dyplomata brytyjski zauważał ślady aktów sabotażowych dokonanych przez ukraińskie podziemie, ale nie potrafił dostrzec miejsc, w których, w trakcie działań oddziałów policyjnych i wojskowych, uszczerbku zaznał majątek lokalnych instytucji ukraińskich. Przytaczane przez niego dane świadczą, że miał dostęp do dobrego źródła informacji w kręgach władz polskich. Potwierdzają to chociażby wymieniane przez niego dokładne liczby podpażeń dokonanych przez podziemie ukraińskie w miesiącu sierpniu i tylko nieco zaniżone w stosunku do września tego samego roku. Mylne są natomiast informacje o obszarze pacyfikacji, która nie objęła kilku powiatów, lecz około trzydziestu⁴.

Publikowany raport powstał, tuż po zakończeniu przez jego autora podróży służbowej. Sporządzony został na polecenie z Londynu. Zawarte w nim informacje były ważne dla władz brytyjskich. Kurs władz polskich w kierunku autorytaryzmu, wybory brzeskie, pacyfikacja Galicji Wschodniej, wyłonienie nowego parlamentu i skargi mniejszości niemieckiej, to tylko część podwodów politycznych, dla których Brytyjczycy zwiększyli zainteresowanie tym, co się działo w Polsce.

1 Andrzej Szeptycki, ukr. *Andrej Szeptyckij* (1865-1944), bazylianin, od 1900 r. grekokatolicki arcybiskup lwowski i metropolita halicki oraz biskup Kamieńca Podolskiego. Pochodził z arystokratycznej rodziny galicyjskiej, jego matka była córką Aleksandra Fredry, zaś bratem gen. Stanisław Szeptycki. Poseł do Sejmu Krajowego we Lwowie (1901-1914), członek wiedeńskiej Izby Panów (1903-1914). W 1914 r. został deportowany przez władze carskie w głąb Rosji, do Lwowa powrócił w 1917 r. W latach 1918-1919 władze polskie obłożyły go aresztem domowym. W grudniu 1920 r. wyjechał do Rzymu, a stamtąd na kontynent północnoamerykański. Podczas powrotu do Lwowa, w czerwcu 1923 r. w Poznaniu ponownie aresztowany przez władze polskie. Zwolniono go po interwencji papieża Piusa XI. W 1924 r. powrócił do Lwowa, skąd przez następne dwa dziesięciolecia kierował Kościołem grekokatolickim. Był postacią o szerokim autorytecie wśród Ukraińców galicyjskich. Wspierał ukraińskie życie narodowe, polityczne, kulturalne i społeczne.

2 Dmytro Lewicki, ukr. *Lewyckij* (1877-1942), prawnik, działacz społeczny i polityk, poseł Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej w Kopenhadze. Po powrocie do Lwowa objął stanowisko redaktora dziennika „Dilo” (1923-1925), a następnie zaangażował się w lokalne życie polityczne. W latach 1925-1935 był przewodniczącym, a od 1935 r. wiceprzewodniczącym Ukraińskiego Zjednoczenia Narodowo-Demokratycznego. W latach 1928-1935 poseł do Sejmu i przewodniczący Ukraińskiej Reprezentacji Parlamentarnej.

3 Jarosław Oleśnicki, ukr. *Olesnyckij* (1875-1933), ukraiński działacz społeczny i polityczny, dyplomata, od 1930 r. poseł do Sejmu z ramienia UNDO. W 1931 r. z ramienia Ukraińskiej Reprezentacji Parlamentarnej złożył skargę do Ligi Narodów w sprawie pacyfikacji Galicji Wschodniej.

4 Według oficjalnego stanowiska władz polskich pacyfikacją objęto miejscowości położone w 16 powiatach. Złożony jednak już w grudniu 1930 r. wniosek senatorów ukraińskich w sprawie pacyfikacji wymieniał akcje przeprowadzone na obszarze 28 powiatów. W następnych miesiącach, po dodatkowych obliczeniach informacji otrzymanych z terenu, Ukraińska Reprezentacja Parlamentarna doliczyła się 30 powiatów objętych działaniami pacyfikacyjnymi policji i wojska. Zob. AAN, MSW, sygn. 1250, s. 120-121, 188; *Treść wniosku senatorów z Klubu Ukraińskiego w sprawie wypadków w związku z przeprowadzoną pacyfikacją na obszarach województw lwowskiego, stanisławowskiego i tarnopolskiego w miesiącach wrześniu, październiku i listopadzie 1930 r.*, „Ukraińskie Materiały Specjalne”, 30 XII 1930, s. 1-39.

Również udział polityków brytyjskich w pracach Ligi Narodów wymagał od nich posiadania własnych źródeł informacji w sprawie zasadności skarg niemieckich (w sprawie nadużyć wyborczych) oraz ukraińskich (w sprawie pacyfikacji Galicji Wschodniej). Skargi wnoszone w obydwu wymienionych przypadkach spowodowały bowiem, że stały się one przedmiotem dyskusji na forum Ligi Narodów.

Frank Savery (1883-1965), absolwent Oksfordu, służbę w dyplomacji brytyjskiej rozpoczął w roku 1911. W lipcu 1919 r. został wyznaczony do pracy w placówce brytyjskiej w Warszawie. Pracował tam do wybuchu drugiej wojny światowej. W następnych latach reprezentował rząd brytyjski przy emigracyjnym rządzie polskim, wprzód we Francji, a potem w Wielkiej Brytanii. Przed wojną, wykonując swe obowiązki służbowe, wielokrotnie odbywał podróże do województw wschodnich Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Wspomina o nich Janina Smogorzewska, która opublikowała w tłumaczeniu fragmenty trzech jego raportów zachowanych w archiwach brytyjskich w Londynie. Dokumenty te powstały w latach 1928, 1930 i 1932 i dotyczyły Wołynia i wojewody Henryka Józewskiego⁵.

F. Savery przez cały okres międzywojenny niezmiennie trwał na placówce dyplomatycznej w Warszawie. Były jednak okresy, kiedy londyński Foreign Office planował go odwołać. Głośno mówiło się o tym tuż po wydarzeniach 1930 r., które stały się tematem przewodnim w prezentowanym poniżej raporcie. O próbie odwołania Savery'ego wzmiankował w swej tajnej relacji Jan Stanisław Łoś⁶. W dniu 19 listopada 1930 r. rozmawiał on na ten temat z Laurencem Collierem, szefem Departamentu Północnego w brytyjskim Foreign Office. Wynik rozmowy był istotny dla władz polskich, które zmierzały właśnie do zintensyfikowania działań na gruncie brytyjskim w celu neutralizacji ewentualnej dyskusji na forum międzynarodowym o traktowaniu przez państwo polskie mniejszości niemieckiej i ukraińskiej. Z pisma Łośa dowiadujemy się, że zanim raport Savery'ego dotarł do zwierzchników w Londynie właściwie już zapadły decyzje co do jego osoby. Ponadto Łoś donosił, że „Odnośnie p. Savery'ego była istotnie niedawno podjęta [akcja jego odwołania z Warszawy]. Te próby ze strony Departamentu Konsularnego F[oreign] O[ffice] zabrania go z Warszawy, Dep[artament] Konsularny motywował [...] tym, że p. S[avery] jest już w Warszawie bardzo zadomowiony, że korzystniej i z awansem dla niego byłoby Warszawę opuścić, a jego miejsce dać komuś, dla którego awansem właśnie [byłoby] przeniesienie do Warszawy.” W dalszej części swych wywodów dyplomata polski pisał, iż podczas tej rozmowy: „Trudno mi było stawiać drażliwe pytanie, czy inicjatywa Dep[artamentu] Konsularnego była zwykłym przejawem funkcjonowania maszyny biurokratycznej, czy też skutkiem jakiejś interwencji i czyjej: jakkolwiek by było Departament Północny Wydziału Dyplomatycznego F[oreign] O[ffice] położył veto [...]”. Foreign Office zgodził się na pozostawienie Savery'ego w Warszawie do końca 1931 r., dalsze decyzje co do ewentualnych zmian mogły zapaść dopiero w przyszłości. Według tejże relacji, argumentem

5 J. Smogorzewska, *Dyplomata brytyjski o wojewodzie Henryku Józewskim*, „Zeszyty Historyczne”, 2005, z. 152, s. 45-58.

6 Jan Stanisław Łoś (1890-1974), historyk starożytności, dyplomata, publicysta polityczny. W 1919 r. rozpoczął pracę w Ministerstwie Spraw Zagranicznych, w latach 1926-1929 radca legacyjny w poselstwie polskim w Londynie. W okresie międzywojennym publikował na łamach „Drogi” i „Buntu Młodych”.

przemawiającym na korzyść pozostawienia Savery'ego w Polsce, w rozumieniu jego zwierzchników, było to, że „p. S[avery] uważany jest za najlepszego referenta politycznego Ambasady [Wielkiej Brytanii w Warszawie]”⁷. Dodajmy, że autorytatywność Savery'ego w zakresie prowadzonych przez niego obserwacji potwierdzali również dyplomaci amerykańscy w Warszawie (dok. nr 3). Z późniejszych źródeł wiemy jednak, że wspomniany Collier uważał, iż w ocenach dotyczących Polski Savery „thinks, in these matters, more as Pole than as Englishman”⁸.

Pomimo iż raportowi dyplomaty brytyjskiego nadano klauzulę poufności bardzo prędko trafił on do rąk pracowników polskiego Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych oraz dyplomatów amerykańskich w Warszawie. Potwierdzeniem tego są znalezione w archiwach amerykańskich i polskich kopie wspomnianego raportu, które stały się podstawą niniejszej publikacji. By rzucić nieco światła na okoliczności towarzyszące temu wydarzeniu, zdecydowano się na poprzedzenie prezentowanego raportu trzema dodatkowymi dokumentami. Wszystkie one pełniły niejako rolę pism przewodnich poprzedzających, w różnych okolicznościach, wspomniany raport.

Pierwszy dokument jest pismem informującym o nadesłaniu raportu ministrowi Augustowi Zaleskiemu⁹. Załącznikiem do niego był nie tylko raport, ale także list własnoręcznie podpisany przez Franka Savery'ego i skierowany bezpośrednio do A. Zaleskiego. Został on zaprezentowany poniżej jako dokument nr 2. To właśnie z tym listem raport Savery'ego został nadesłany do Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych. List i raport nie trafiły od razu do A. Zaleskiego, lecz zostały skierowane przez kancelarię na biurko Tadeusza Lechnickiego¹⁰. Dopiero na polecenie Józefa Lipskiego¹¹, Lechnicki przesłał raport Zaleskiemu.

Najprawdopodobniej w podobny sposób inna kopia raportu trafiła w ręce dyplomatów amerykańskich. Tej kwestii dotyczy trzeci z publikowanych dokumentów, poprzedzający egzemplarz raportu nadesłany z Warszawy do Departamentu Stanu Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki w Waszyngtonie. Znajdujemy w nim m.in. opinię na temat pracy dyplomaty brytyjskiego, co pozwala na lepsze oszacowanie wartości jego relacji i zrozumienie tła części zaprezentowanych w nim ocen.

Autorem tego pisma (dok. nr 3) był John Cooper Wiley (1893-1967), który w maju 1930 r. został mianowany członkiem amerykańskiego korpusu dyplomatycznego w Warszawie. W Polsce przebywał do roku 1932, tj. do momentu kiedy został przeniesiony do ambasady amerykańskiej w Madrycie. W roku 1934 r., J. C. Wiley poślubił pochodzącą z Łodzi rzeźbiarkę, graficzkę i malarzkę Irenę Baruch (1906-1972). Była ona blisko związana ze Skamandrytami oraz cyganerią

7 AAN, MSZ, sygn. 5095, k. 1-2, *Pismo Stanisława Łosia do Pułkownika w sprawie rozmów z Laurencem Collierem*, Londyn 19 XI 1930 r.

8 Cyt. za: L.Y. Luciuk, *Searching the Place. Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration Memory*, Toronto-Buffalo-London 2000, p. 123.

9 August Zaleski (1883-1972), polityk i i dyplomata, minister spraw zagranicznych (1926-1932, 1939-1941), Prezydent RP na Uchodźctwie (1947-1972).

10 Tadeusz Lechnicki (1898-1939), ekonomista, wiceminister skarbu, poseł, podpułkownik wojska polskiego, szef Biura Ekonomicznego Prezesa Rady Ministrów. Pracę w MSZ rozpoczął w 1928 r., w 1930 r. został zastępcą naczelnika Wydziału Zachodniego MSZ

11 Józef Lipski (1894-1958), polityk i dyplomata, w latach 1933-1939 ambasador Polski w Berlinie.

malarską. Po wojnie opisała służbę dyplomatyczną męża w swych wspomnieniach¹². Epizodami z ich życia małżeńskiego było udzielenie pomocy Zygmuntowi Freudowi w wyjeździe z Austrii, w obliczu prześladowań nazistowskich, czy też Janowi Lechoniowi w opuszczeniu Brazylii i dotarciu do Stanów Zjednoczonych¹³.

Obecność raportu dyplomaty brytyjskiego wśród dokumentów polskiego MSZ i amerykańskiego Departamentu Stanu rodzi pytanie o dodatkowe okoliczności, które towarzyszyły przekazaniu jego kopii każdej z wymienionych stron. Zdarzenie to można potraktować jako przykład realnych kontaktów pomiędzy środowiskami dyplomatycznymi, bądź element gry dyplomatycznej. Wątpliwe jednak, aby raport, któremu nadano klauzulę poufności, Savery przekazał bez wiedzy przełożonych. Czy w Londynie zamierzano w ten sposób coś uzyskać, np.: przekazać informacje o stanowisku wobec pacyfikacji Galicji Wschodniej? Bez wątplenia należy odrzucić tu wszelką przypadkowość, a raczej założyć świadome działanie dyplomacji brytyjskiej.

Dokumenty i ich kopie wykorzystane w niniejszej publikacji przechowywane są w dwóch archiwach. Dokumenty nr 1 i nr 2 znajdują się w zasobach Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie w zespole Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych. Teśc dokumentu nr 3 oparto na fotokopii dokumentu odnalezionej w archiwum Harvard University w Cambridge w USA. Publikacja raportu Franka Savery'ego (dok. nr 4) oparta została na dwóch kopiach przechowywanych w obydwu wyżej wspomnianych instytucjach. Przy czym dokument z AAN potraktowano jako wersję podstawową, gdyż w tym przypadku nie było wątpliwości, iż pochodził bezpośrednio od jej autora. Drugą odnalezioną kopię wykorzystano natomiast do wyeliminowania ewentualnych błędów literowych czy też potwierdzenie przyjętych zasad pisowni. Warto zauważyć, że obie kopie sprawiają wrażenie kolejnych egzemplarzy raportu sporządzonych z dokładnością fotograficzną. Analiza tekstu pozwala jednak przekonać się, iż kopie nie powstały w trakcie tego samego przepisywania. Potwierdzają to nieliczne błędy literowe, pojedyncze przypadki różnic w użytych zwrotach.

W przeciwieństwie do kopii raportu przechowywanej w AAN, która pochodziła bezpośrednio od F. Savery'ego, dokument przechowywany w archiwum amerykańskim jest fotokopią raportu sporządzoną z egzemplarza znajdującego się w archiwum amerykańskiego Departamentu Stanu. Została ona zamówiona przez Mykołę Łebied¹⁴ w końcu lat siedemdziesiątych lub na początku osiemdziesiątych minionego wieku, który potrzebował jej w związku z przygotowaniem wspomnień. Wraz z częścią jego spuścizny, na początku 2003 r., kopia raportu z poprzedzającym go pismem dyplomaty amerykańskiego trafiła do zbiorów Harvard University. W okresie, gdy autor niniejszego tekstu prowadził kwerendę w wymienionej instytucji wspomniana kolekcja znajdowała się w zasobach biblioteki Ha-

12 I. Wiley, *Around the Globe in Twenty Years*, New York 1962.

13 *Nieznany autograf Jana Lechonia*, „Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej”, 2001, nr 4, s. 28.

14 Mykoła Łebied (1909-1998), czołowy działacz Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów, organizator zamachu na min. Bronisława Pierackiego w roku 1934, w 1940 r. został zastępcą Stepana Bandery w podziemiu nacjonalistycznym, współtworzył Ukraińską Armię Powstańczą, a w 1943 r. stanął na czele banderowskiej frakcji OUN. W 1944 r. jeden z założycieli Ukraińskiej Głównej Rady Wyzwoleńczej, z jej ramienia wyjechał na Zachód.

rvard Ukrainian Research Institute i była nieuporządkowana. Od tego czasu jej rozmiary uległy znacznemu powiększeniu oraz została ona uporządkowana.

We wszystkich publikowanych dokumentach zachowano język dokumentów i oryginalną pisownię. Poprawiono jedynie błędy literowe. W tekstach angielskich, w których użyto słów polskich, pozostawiono oryginalny zapis bez znaków diakrytycznych (dok. nr 3), lub z niektórymi z nich (dok. nr 4). W ostatnim dokumencie tak, jak w oryginale zachowano pisownię słów z użyciem liter „ć”, „ó”, „ś”, „ż” oraz brak litery „ł” (zastąpioną literą „l”). Ponadto opuszczono wszelkie noty marginalne i adnotacje odręczne, będące w przypadku poszczególnych dokumentów jedynie informacją o dacie otrzymania dokumentu, jego przeczytaniu czy też zawierające numer komórki, do której dokument zostały skierowany z kancelarii ogólnej.

DOKUMENT NR 1

Pismo Tadeusza Lechnickiego do ministra Augusta Zaleskiego informujące o nadesłaniu raportu Franka Savery'ego

Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych

Warszawa, dn. ^a14/I 193 I^a

Wielce Szanowny Pani Ministrze,

Przypuszczając, że będzie się mógł Panu Ministrowi w Jego rozmowach genewskich przydać i stosownie do polecenia danego przez Pana Ministra panu Lipskiemu¹⁵, pozwalam sobie przesłać w załączeniu memoriał p. Savery o jego ostatnie podróży do Małopolski Wschodniej.

Zechce Pan Minister przyjąć wyrazy głębokiego szacunku i poważania.

^b*Tadeusz Lechnicki*^{b16}

Źródło: AAN, MSZ, sygn. 5095, s. 20. Oryginał. Maszynopis

a-a Data uzupełniona pismem odręcznym.

b-b Pełny podpis własnoręczny

¹⁵ Patrz przypis nr 11.

¹⁶ Patrz przypis nr 10.

DOKUMENT NR 2

**List Franka Savery'ego do Augusta Zaleskiego
informujący o przesłaniu raportu**

British Consulate,
Warsaw,
November 28, 1930
^aPersonal^a

^bDear Zaleski^b

Herewith, for your confidential information, a copy of my report on my recent visit to Eastern Galicia.

The report is a perfectly sincere one: I have set down the truth, all the truth and nothing but the truth as it appears to me. At the same time there are certain suggestions for the future which I did not put into the report for the simple reason that they were outside its scope but which I should none the less very much like to submit to you.

Further, I have today received by the bag a letter from Leeper¹⁷ which I should also like to discuss with you.

Would it be possible for you to see me one of these days? I don't think that I need take up more than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes of your time as I have the whole thing pretty well prepared.

^cYours very sincerely,^c
^dFrank Savery^d

Źródło: AAN, MSZ, sygn. 5095, s. 21. Oryginał. Maszynopis

a-a Wpisane odręcznie. Podkreślenie w oryginale

b-b Wpisane odręcznie

c-c Wpisane odręcznie

d-d Własnoręczny podpis Franka Savery'ego. Podkreślenie w oryginale

¹⁷ Sir Reginald Wildig Allen Leeper (1888-1968), dyplomata brytyjski. Pełnił funkcję pierwszego sekretarza poselstwa brytyjskiego w Warszawie w latach 1923-1924 oraz 1927-1929. W 1929 r. ponownie oddelegowany do pracy w Foreign Office.

DOKUMENT NR 3

Pismo Johna C. Wiley'a do Sekretarza Stanu w Waszyngtonie

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Warsaw, Poland

March 31, 1931

No. 640

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, as of special interest, a comprehensive report on conditions in Eastern Galicia which has been prepared by Mr. Frank Savery, British Consul at Warsaw and member of the staff of the British Embassy.

Mr. Savery's report was drafted after an extensive first hand investigation in the Polish Ukraine, and is based on years of specialized study of conditions there. Of foreign observers, Mr. Savery is perhaps the most authoritative.

He takes up material conditions in Eastern Galicia, discusses political factors there and describes the workings of Church influences. Mr. Savery even ventures to outline reforms which in his opinion would ameliorate conditions between Poles and Ukrainians.

Mr. Savery is a Convert and has many connections with the Church. He is personally acquainted with the Pope, having known His Holiness when Nuncio in Warsaw¹⁸. His connections with the higher Uniat clergy are chiefly with those who favor celibacy for the priesthood and are known for their loyalty to Rome. Foremost among these is the Bishop of Stanisławów.

At the same time, Mr. Savery is a convinced admirer of Marshal Pilsudski. In the conflict between the Vatican and the Polish Government over the former's wish to strengthen the organization of the Greek Catholic Church in Eastern Poland, Mr. Savery supports the Polish thesis. He believes that Vatican policy in this respect will be unpopular locally and will tend to weaken the position of the Government; Church and State being associated in the peasant mind. Mr. Savery believes it to be in the general interest to support the prestige of the Government at its points of contact with the borders of Soviet Russia.

Recently, Mr. Savery visited Rome. Though he did not see Cardinal Pacelli¹⁹, he talked with officials high in Papal authority. He doubtless attempted to play the role of mediator between the ^aSanacja^a and the Vatican.

18 Achille Ratti (1857-1939), wizytator apostolski w Polsce (1918), a następnie nuncjusz apostolski (1919-1921). W 1922 r. wybrany na tron papieski jako Pius XI.

19 Eugenio Pacelli (1876-1958), kardynał (1929), w marcu 1939 r. wybrany na papieża jako Pius XII.

As the Department will observe from Mr. Savery's report, he seeks to whitewash the report, he seeks to whitewash the pacification, to justify Polish policy and to favor the Roman group of the Uniat clergy. He is not pessimistic in respect of the possibility of appeasement, but does not overlook the vitality of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. He has written, I think, with both courage and knowledge and, if his sympathies are borne in mind, there is much of objective value in his conclusions.

Respectfully yours,
John C. Wiley
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosure:

1. Report of Mr. Savery on Eastern Galicia

Źródło: Harvard University, Ukrainian Research Institute Library, Mykola Lebed Papers. Maszynopis.

Kopia.

a-a Podkreślenie w oryginale

b-b Podpis własnoręczny

DOKUMENT NR 4

Raport Franka Savery'ego o sytuacji w Galicji Wschodniej oraz przebiegu i konsekwencjach akcji pacyfikacyjnej w roku 1930

Just under two years have elapsed since I paid my last visit to Eastern Galicia: the following report, which is based on a fortnight's travel in that part of Poland, should be read in connection with the report which I furnished on that occasion.

I.

In the matter of reconstruction and development the three voivodeships of Eastern Galicia were in the autumn of 1928 still lagging behind most other parts of Poland. I saw signs of improvement in Lemberg itself but in general progress had been very slow. In the last two years, however, there has been a marked improvement and the process of reconstruction has been both widened and accelerated. Although I did not, I think, come across any roads as good as the best in the Eastern Marches, the general level was respectable and some, at any rate, of the roads maintained by the local self-government bodies, for instance, in the voivodeship of Tarnopol, were quite good. I came across one or two small towns which were still in a bad state with their streets deep in mud but most of those I passed through had changed very greatly for the better. If the stately castles round which so many of them have grown up still show the devastations of the great war, all ordinary buildings with the exception of a few whose ownership is uncertain, have been repaired and not a few new ones have been constructed – largely at the expense of or with the assistance of grants from the Government. Tarnopol and Stanisławów made a better impression than they did when I last saw them two years ago. In the

case of Lemberg the change is very striking. It is now a clean, almost a smart looking town with decently paved streets and very well [...] stocked shops: moreover a good many houses, including some large blocks of residential flats, are being built on the outskirts of the city.

This improvement is all the remarkable in that it has mostly taken place since the general economic crisis began to make itself felt early in 1929. I am willing to give the Ukrainians a good deal of credit for the economic development of Eastern Galicia but I think that the central Government has done more than the Poles themselves in that part of the country are disposed to admit for the encouragement of building etc.

The number of signs in Ukrainian to be seen in the streets has greatly increased in the last two years. This is true not only of the smaller towns but also of the provincial capitals, Stanisławów, Tarnopol and even Lemberg. Outside the towns public notice recording, for instance, the boundaries of parishes or districts are sometimes put up in the two languages side by side. I did not notice any case in which in a town the name of the street was given in Cyrillian as well as in Latin characters. I am doubtful whether the lack of bilingual notice is a real hardship to the local Ukrainians most of whom are, I think, either entirely illiterate or more or less acquainted with both alphabets.

My journey was undertaken too late in the year to form an opinion of the state of cultivation but all I saw went to confirm what I heard, namely that there is now very little uncultivated land. In some parts of Eastern Galicia, notably in the voivodeship of Tarnopol, the great severity of the violent winds greatly reduce the yield of naturally very fertile land. None the less the crops have been, on the whole very, satisfactory all over Eastern Galicia for several years past and the peasants, even if their own purchasing power is crippled for the time being by the low world prices of agricultural products, have at any rate plenty of potatoes and cereals to eat, not to mention dairy products. I was sorry not to be able to visit the hilly regions of the Stanisławów voivodeship on the frontiers of Czechoslovakia and Roumania where the Polish Government has done a good deal, with, apparently, satisfactory results, to encourage the breeding of cattle and mountain ponies. In my report two years ago I called attention to the wise action of the Government in strengthening the community of economic interests between the extreme south-east of Galicia and the rest of the country by encouraging the cultivation there of fruits, such as grapes and apricots, which find a ready sale on the rest of Poland. On the present occasion I was struck by the opening up of the valley of the Pruth to the south of Stanisławów for tourist traffic. There was a railway there before the war but when I went up to Worochta, which is almost on the frontier, in 1921 there were hardly any inns or boarding houses all the way up the valley. Now there are several small summer resorts besides Worochta, which is also open in the winter, and the steady stream of tourists from all parts of Poland has greatly increased the prosperity of the peasants.

For the first time since, I think, 1923 I paid a visit to the Boryslaw oil field. I am no expert in the oil industry but I was in the company of men who live by it and have done so all their lives and they were unanimous in declaring that the modest prosperity which the industry had enjoyed for two or three years past was

entirely due to the wise policy of the present Minister of Commerce and Industry in encouraging the formation of a cartel and discouraging any great increase of the output. There could no longer, they admitted, be any return to the boom of 1910 and 1911 when the field was still almost untapped but there was no reason why the industry should not continue indefinitely on a small scale but in a healthy state provided the present policy were maintained. I was a good deal struck by some of the young engineers employed in Boryslaw who seemed to me very favourable specimens of the energetic new generation which I have seen growing up in Poland since the war. I was sorry that I had no time to visit the other field farther to the east at Bitków, not far from Stanisławów, where oil is produced of a better quality than that at Boryslaw. An interesting feature of the Galician oil fields is the increasing use which is being made of the natural gas issuing from some of the wells to light towns even at a considerable distance.

The timber industry is important in some parts of Eastern Galicia, especially in the hilly regions to the south of Stanisławów. So far as export is concerned, it is at present suffering under Soviet dumping but fortunately the local demand for reconstruction purposes is fairly large.

I dealt at length in my last report with the question of agrarian reform in Eastern Galicia: the information I received on the present occasion went to confirm the opinion I expressed two years ago, viz: that the reform is not being made use of by the Polish authorities to introduce extraneous elements or to prejudice the Ukrainian population. In this very important question the attitude of these authorities contrasts very favourably with that of Mgr. Szeptycki²⁰ who is doing his best to prevent any of the land hitherto the property of the Greek-Catholic Church which has to be sold under the terms of the Concordat from passing into non-Ukrainian hands: that is to say, he is trying to put even indigenous Polish peasants at a disadvantage as against Ukrainians. Private parcellation has not always been carried out on very rational lines in Eastern Galicia; that is to say, instead of deciding once for all to sell a certain part of their estates landlords have in many cases sold bit by bit as they had need of money. As a matter of fact, this essentially uneconomic practice has favoured local peasants as against settlers from other parts of the country. Suppose a landowner is suddenly obliged to raise a few thousands of złote: he knows that such and such well-to-do peasants in the neighbourhood would like to increase their holdings and he finds the money he requires by selling to them small strips of his estate. I imagine that the local representatives of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform are now doing their best to put a stop to all parcellation which is for any reason uneconomic but a good deal of land had already changed hands before they got to work.

So far as I can ascertain, regrouping, which plays such an important part in the work of agrarian reform in all parts of former Russian Poland, is perhaps rather less necessary in Eastern Galicia where peasant holdings are not generally divided up into quite so many separate scraps of land. Further, in order to be effective regrouping must be combined with parcellation; unfortunately in Eastern Galicia the amount of land which remains for distribution under the terms of the Agrarian

20 Patrz przypis nr 1.

Reform Law is not large whereas the population is an agricultural country very dense. None the less I was pleased to see that since 1928 an – apparently increasing – amount of regrouping has been carried out by the Polish authorities – at any rate in part in villages with a predominantly Ukrainian majority. In the early days of the agrarian reform in Poland – in fact up till about 1927 – it was not easy to convince the peasants, whatever their race, that regrouping was likely to prove advantageous to them. In Eastern Galicia this obstructive conservatism, inherent in all peasants, is complicated by a not unnatural distrust of the Polish administration.

In earlier reports I have more than once called attention to the rapid development of the cooperative movement among the Ukrainians not only in Eastern Galicia but also in Volhynia. That movement continues to grow. Up to 1928 the Ukrainian “Centro-Bank”²¹ received large credits from the Polish Government through the State Agricultural Bank²²; on its refusing to submit to the control of the latter Bank the credits were, however, withdrawn. The manager of the State Agricultural Bank in Lemberg told me that the Ukrainian “Centrosojuz”²³ and “Maslosojuz”²⁴ no longer availed themselves of credits from his bank – the former because it had come to a direct arrangement with the State nitrate factory at Chorzow in Polish Silesia from which it purchased artificial fertilizers and the latter because it was doing a large export business which did away with the necessity of obtaining credits in Poland. For the last year and a half the “Maslosojuz” has, none the less, been transacting ordinary banking business on a large scale through the State Agricultural Bank. The manager of the latter went on to say that he was giving credits to the extent of 300 000 and 250 000 zloty a year to two “Old Ruthen[ian]”²⁵ cooperative unions, besides which Ukrainian cooperatives benefited largely by the credits which were granted through the branches of the “Kasa Stefczyka”²⁶ and through communal credit institutions (“Kasy Komunalne”²⁷). I have of late heard a good many complaints from Polish officials that the officials that the administration of the purely Ukrainian cooperatives is not above reproach and that sev-

21 Centralny Bank Spółdzielczy (w skrócie Centrobank) był główną instytucją finansową spółdzielni ukraińskich. Pod taką nazwą funkcjonował we Lwowie od 1924 r., tj. od kiedy dokonano jego reorganizacji.

22 Państwowy Bank Rolny (powstał w roku 1919) był jedną z największych instytucji finansowych w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej, zajmował się udzielaniem kredytów drobnym i średnim gospodarstwom rolnym.

23 Związek Związków Spółdzielczych (w skrócie zwany Centrosojuzem) był centralą handlową ukraińskich spółdzielni w Galicji. Zajmował się dostarczaniem i zbytem towarów spożywczych, galanteryjnych, maszyn i narzędzi, materiałów budowlanych, nawozów sztucznych, opału, nasion. Powstał w 1899 r. w Przemysłu; w roku 1924 r. obsługiwał 5 central krajowych, 25 powiatowych i okręgowych oraz 1491 spółdzielni pierwszego stopnia.

24 Krajowy Związek Mleczarski „Maslosouz” powstał w 1907 r. w Stryju. W roku 1931 podlegało mu 1259 punktów zbiorczych mleka oraz 224 mleczarnie. W 1938 r. miał 12 oddziałów z 26 hurtowymi i 57 sklepami, zatrudniał ok. 300 osób.

25 Starorusini – kierunek polityczny w społeczeństwie ukraińskim w Galicji Wschodniej. Swymi początkami sięgał połowy XIX wieku.

26 „Kasy Stefczyka” były spółdzielniami oszczędnościowo-pożyczkowymi wzorowanymi na niemieckich spółdzielniach Raiffeisena. Nazwa pochodzi od nazwiska Franciszka Stefczyka, założyciela pierwszej tego typu spółdzielni w Czernichowie pod Krakowem w roku 1890 r.

27 Komunalne Kasy Oszczędnościowe były instytucją finansowo-oszczędnościową, na mocy regulacji prawnych z 1927 r. organizatorem kas miały być miejskie, powiatowe i wojewódzkie związki komunalne. Pierwsze tego rodzaju kasy na ziemiach polskich zaczęły powstawać już w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku.

eral bad cases of peculation have occurred: I cannot say for certain whether these complaints are well founded or not.

There can be no doubt whatever that the Ukrainian element in Eastern Galicia has become much stronger economically in the last few years. The change which greatly struck me in the autumn of 1928 is still proceeding with undiminished impetus in spite of the general economic crisis from which Poland as a whole is suffering. The Greek-Catholic Bishops who, under the terms of the Concordat, are, like their Latin brothers, having to sell a good deal of the arable land which has hitherto gone to maintain themselves and the parish priests, are investing much of the proceeds in house property in towns such as Stryj and Stanisławów – a policy which does not always commend itself to the lower clergy but which certainly tends greatly to strengthen the Ukrainian element in the towns where the Poles and the Jews had hitherto been predominant. All foreign observers in Eastern Galicia with whom I have spoken share my view that the Ukrainians have advanced economically far more in the twelve years of Polish rule than they ever did in the Austrian days – a fact which must certainly be borne in mind when Ukrainian publicists and politicians wax eloquent, as they are only too disposed to do, over the woes of their unhappy race.

II

But if everything was going reasonably well for, the Ukrainians, if they were as prosperous as anybody could hope to be in the present hard times and if they were steadily consolidating and strengthening their position in Eastern Galicia, what brought about the recent outbreak of arson without saying a few words about the administration in the former Austrian provinces of Poland but it must be understood from the outset that I do not regard that administration as having been oppressive in its treatment of the Ukrainian population: the faults have been those of omission rather than of commission.

Before the war the administration in Galicia was, I think, fairly popular with most elements of the population. It was run on the usual Austrian lines, that is to say, innovations of all sorts were discouraged but on the other hand it was impressed on officials that they must be all costs avoid friction with the local population. It was in that tradition that the Polish officials in Galicia were trained and it must be admitted that the system worked quite well so long as the country was under the rule of a Government more or less alien to, even if friendly disposed towards, all the three races inhabiting that particular province of the Dual Monarchy. But with the re-establishment of Polish independence the situation was radically changed. There was no longer any distant Government in Vienna to serve as a lightning conductor for all complaints and goodnatured *laissez aller* at once became a very inadequate principal on which to run the administration. New and constructive ideas and an entirely new type of official were called for. The old Austrian cadres could not furnish either and, if the new Polish administration which has been improvised in the last twelve years in the former Russian provinces is in many ways very good indeed, the merit lies in the main with the men, drawn from all parts of the country, who joined Pilsudski's legions in 1914 and have since 1918

brought into the administration a vital energy and a freshness of view worthy of high praise. But, whereas it was relatively easy to plant out these new officials in the former Russian provinces, it would have been very difficult in 1919 and 1920 to justify their introduction in large numbers into the administration in Galicia where there was already a considerable supply of men with at any rate some experience of such, work. During the chaotic years before 1926 only too many of the voivodes all over the country were inefficient – certainly those whose acquaintance I made during my fairly frequent visits to Eastern Galicia between 1921 and 1924 were, almost without exception, futile. With Marshal Pilsudski's "coup d'état" the situation changed. That very remarkable man, Count Dunin-Borkowski²⁸, was appointed voivode of Lemberg: two good men, M. Korsak²⁹ and M. Kwaśniewski³⁰, were sent to Stanisławów and Tarnopol. In fact, as Ukrainians have repeatedly admitted in talking to me, most of the higher officials in Eastern Galicia have since 1926 been conscientious men without any bias against the non-Polish elements in the population. Unfortunately the changes have not gone deep enough. Whereas in the Eastern Marches the starosts are, as a whole, very satisfactory, I am afraid that that the same cannot yet be said of Eastern Galicia, although even in this respect a great deal has been done in the last two years. It is easy to understand why Marshal Pilsudski in the first years after his return to power devoted more of his attention to the Marches than to Galicia. In the first place, he did not as yet dispose of a very large staff of well trained assistants and, in the second place, he knew that in Eastern Galicia, where the National Democrats have always been strong, the Polish element would be far more obstructive than in the Marches where he himself enjoys great personal popularity. If only the officials in Eastern Galicia had shown more firmness in their political allegiance, he might have been obliged to dismiss a good many of them but unfortunately, with an absence, of principle which is extraordinarily typical of Hapsburg Austria, most of them flocked to the Marshal's camp. But they had to adapt themselves to a changed and – for them – decidedly uncomfortable situation: on the one hand they knew that the men who had come to the front in Warsaw stood for a liberal policy towards minorities and on the other they had to reckon with the Polish National Democrats on the spot. The result was that in most cases they decided to do nothing. As early as November, 1927, one of the most respectable Ukrainians in Galicia told a Polish friend of mine that the police in the Stanisławów voivodeship were in a very difficult position: if they arrested persons of Ukrainian race for small offences, poaching, theft or the like, and if the case was taken up, as often happened, by an Ukrainian lawyer, they could not count on any backing from the local officials and their authority was in consequence being seriously impaired. This cowardly shirking

28 Piotr Dunin-Borkowski (1890-1949), konserwatysta, pisarz polityczny, wojewoda lwowski (1927-1928) a następnie poznański (1928-1929). Związany z „Buntem Młodych” i „Polityką”, założyciel Klubu Zachowawczej Pracy Państwowej (1934)

29 Władysław Korsak (1890-1949), polski działacz niepodległościowy i socjalistyczny, wojewoda stanisławowski (1926-1927) i kielecki (1927-1930), a następnie wiceminister spraw wewnętrznych (1930-1939).

30 Mikołaj Kwaśniewski (1871-1941), działacz socjalistyczny, żołnierz I Brygady Legionów, pełnił funkcje wojewody tarnopolskiego (1927-1928), krakowskiego (1929-1935) i poznańskiego (1935), senator i wicemarszałek Senatu (1935-1938).

of responsibility has had very bad results. The police in Eastern Galicia – not, of course in other parts of the country, – has been demoralized and proved quite incapable of coping with the terrorist action when it began – at first on a small scale – towards the end of June of this year.

A very important question, is why it should have started at precisely that moment. Now it cannot be denied that Polish Government and the alien Slav population – both White Russian and Ukrainian – from Vilna down to and including Volhynia – have greatly improved in the last two or three years. On the other hand, it is a “secret de polichinelle” that there are three Powers, Germany, Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia, who have, at various times and for various reasons, encouraged those elements in Eastern Galicia which are hostile to the Polish State. Polish officials circles – in Warsaw certainly and, I think, also in Galicia – acquit the Czechoslovak Government of having had any hand in fomenting the recent troubles. That the Soviet Consul³¹ in Lemberg is hand in glove with the – to all intents and purposes – communist “Selrob-Jedność”³² is notorious and would not, I think, be denied by the Consul himself. Polish friends who do not speak lightly have told me within the last few weeks that they have definite proof that funds are furnished from Berlin – by the German General Staff – to M. Konowalec³³ at Geneva, who is the supreme head of the “UOW” or Ukrainian Military Organization³⁴. It is not for me to offer an opinion as to the source from which the militant Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia receive both money and arms but I am convinced that it is to be sought outside Poland: I do not believe that the Ukrainian peasants are themselves at present disposed to provide funds for any such purpose. In any case there cannot be the least doubt that Poland has enemies abroad who are better pleased the worse conditions are in this country. Those enemies must certainly have noticed the improvement in conditions in Eastern Poland to which I have alluded above nor can they have failed to be informed of the action taken in the early days of June last by M. Józewski³⁵, now voivode of Volhynia and at that time Minister

31 Konsulat radziecki we Lwowie powstał w roku 1927. Aktywnie wspierał lokalny ruch komunistyczny, m.in. współfinansował prasę komunistyczną. Pierwszym konsulem był Semen Kyryczenko, po nim w 1928 r. kierownictwo placówką przejął Jurij Łapczyński (Łapczyński), którego odwołano na początku lat trzydziestych. W 1933 r. nastąpił regres w funkcjonowaniu konsulatu, obsadzono go nowym personelem, ale nie zdołał on już odzyskać posiadanych wpływów wśród Ukraińców galicyjskich. W przededniu wybuchu II wojny światowej placówka radziecka była jednym z 16 przedstawicielstw zagranicznych we Lwowie.

32 Ukraińskie Włościańsko-Robotniczy Związek Socjalistyczny (w skrócie Sel-Rob) powstało w październiku 1926 r. W maju 1928 r. doszło do jego podziału, większość utworzyła umiarkowaną frakcję Ukraińskie Włościańsko-Robotniczy Związek Socjalistyczny „Jedność”, która podporządkowywała się ukraińskim partiom komunistycznym. W roku 1932 władze polskie rozwiązały partię.

33 Jewhen Konowalec, ukr. *Konowalec* (1891-1938), dowódca Strzelców Siczowych, w 1920 r. stanął na czele Ukraińskiej Organizacji Wojskowej (UWO), zaś od 1929 r. kierował Organizacją Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów (OUN).

34 Ukraińska Organizacja Wojskowa (UWO) działała od roku 1920 do początku lat trzydziestych. Celem doraznym organizacji było stworzenie wojskowych struktur kadrowy. Prowadziła działalność polityczną i terrorystyczną, okresowo sformowała niewielkie oddziały partyzanckie. UWO współtworzyła Organizację Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów.

35 Henryk Józewski (1892-1981), działacz niepodległościowy, polityk, malarz. Należał do kręgu osób zaufanych Józefa Piłsudskiego. Wiceminister w rządzie Symona Petlury (1920), Szef Gabinetu Rady Ministrów (1927), dwukrotny minister spraw wewnętrznych (1929-1930) oraz wojewoda wołyński (1928-1938), ponadto wojewoda łódzki (1938-1939). Jako wojewoda wołyński realizował program tzw. asymilacji państwowej ludności

of the Interior- in calling on Archbishop Szeptycki in his palace at Lemberg. For reasons which will be explained in due course I do not myself believe that negotiations between the Polish Government and Monseigneur Szeptycki will lead to any useful results but I have no doubt that M. Józewski acted in perfect good faith. Nor do I suggest for a moment that the campaign of terrorism was the Metropolitan's reply to the Polish overtures. It does, however, seem to me extremely probable that that conversation, which only preceded the beginning of the terrorist campaign by a very few weeks, may have convinced Poland's foreign enemies that prompt action must be taken to prevent any improvement in Polish-Ukrainian relations.

If that is the case, events in Eastern Galicia played into the hands of Poland's enemies. In the spring of this year it became necessary to appoint a new head of the "UOW" in Galicia – M. Konowalec remaining, of course, the supreme head of the whole organization but residing at Geneva. The choice fell on a certain Holowinski³⁶. He was a man of great energy with a genius for organizing conspiracy but most Ukrainians have now come to deplore his appointment. For my part, I am doubtful whether the appointment was popular even at the time, for Holowinski's character was generally known. I am myself convinced that the bulk of the Ukrainian peasants in Eastern Galicia would prefer to be the citizens of an Ukrainian rather than of a Polish State and that, if a really independent Ukraine with a "bourgeois" constitution were to come into existence beyond the Zbrucz, it would be very difficult for the Polish Government to resist the natural tendency towards union. At the same time I believe that those peasants wish for the time being to concentrate their efforts on strengthening their economic position: They may wish to keep the "UOW" alive but they do not, I consider, wish to increase its activity on terrorist lines. The position of the "UNDO"³⁷ – at any rate as it has more than once been defined by M. Dmytro Lewicki³⁸, – is different. According to M. Lewicki, the party of which he is the president is fundamentally and in all circumstances disloyal to Poland: it will, of course, accept any concessions which the Polish Government may grant but it will, on principle, never show gratitude for them and it will work consistently to keep hostility to everything Polish alive in the Ukrainian masses. As a matter of fact, the "UNDO" is an union of decidedly disparate groups: M. Lewicki, who is not by any means its most reputable member, was only elected president as a compromise after several candidates had been rejected by one group or another. There are among the leaders of the right wing of the "UNDO" several respectable men who, though in principle good Ukrainian nationalists, would, in practice, be prepared to behave with, – at any rate conditional – loyalty towards the Polish Government if they were not, unfortunately, extremely afraid of the boys and young men who carry out the orders or at any rate believe themselves to

ukraińskiej.

36 Julian Hołowiński, ukr. *Hołowiński* (1894-1930) – setnik Ukraińskiej Armii Galicyjskiej, dowódca 6 Brygady (Rawskiej), a następnie 1 Brygady Czerwonej Ukraińskiej Armii Galicyjskiej. Współzałożyciel Ukraińskiej Organizacji Wojskowej i jeden z pierwszych kierowników galicyjskich struktur OUN.

37 Ukraińskie Zjednoczenie Narodowo-Demokratyczne (UNDO) powstało w roku 1925. Błyskawicznie zdobyło pozycje największej i najsilniejszej ukraińskiej partii politycznej w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Reprezentowało nurt centrowo-prawicowy.

38 Patrz przypis nr 2.

be fulfilling the intentions of the "UOW". These lads – they are usually pupils in the upper forms of Ukrainian secondary schools and are often the sons of peasants – receive their orders in most cases through the masters in the same schools. So long as they remain in the schoolboy or student stage, they are undoubtedly quite irreconcilable to Polish rule. Such of them as, later on, manage to get a fairly well paid position probably modify their methods, if not their political aspirations, and drift into the position of passive disloyalty towards Poland which seems to me to be characteristic of the Galician Ukrainians in general.

III

Much has been written in the foreign press about the terrorist campaign in Eastern Galicia and its repression but comparatively few figures have been given. According to the Polish authorities twenty-nine acts of sabotage took place between August 1st 1929, and July 31st, 1930, of which a very considerable proportion must, I think, have occurred in July of this year. During last August there were fifty-five acts of sabotage: in four cases telegraph or telephone wires were cut and in the others property belonging to private persons of Polish race was set on fire. In September there were ninety cases, eighty-one of which had to do with damage to the private property of Poles. There is no doubt that many of these acts were committed by boys in the upper classes of the Ukrainian secondary schools at Tarnopol, Rohatyn and Lemberg. There is good reason to think that the boys were advised to commit such acts at some little distance from their homes. The acts of sabotage were most numerous in the districts within easy reach of those towns though not necessarily in their immediate neighbourhood. It is very important to remember that large areas with a strong Ukrainian population were hardly at all affected by the terrorist campaign. For instance, in the voivodeship of Stanisławów, where the proportion of Ukrainians is highest, there were very few acts of sabotage except in the district of Rohatyn.

There are believed to have been one or two cases in which Poles retaliated and set fires to Ukrainian property; further, peasants or landowners may have occasionally themselves set fire to their stacks etc., in order to get the insurance money. These two categories do not, however, account for more than a very small percentage of the total. According to confidential information given by the Ministry of the Interior 40 per cent of the terrorist acts enumerated in the preceding paragraph were inspired by agents of the "UOW" and the remainder by Bolshevik agents who, however, not infrequently acted under a nationalist cloak. There is not, I think, any doubt that in its early stages the campaign of terrorism was very unpopular with the Ukrainian peasants who, it is generally admitted, do not like to see property, especially in the forms, familiar to them, of corn, hay and the like, wantonly destroyed. If the police had succeeded in arresting at once the authors of the first acts of sabotage, I do not think that the campaign would ever have developed as it did. Unfortunately the police – for reasons given above – proved extremely inefficient. Struck by this weakness of the Polish authorities in dealing with the trouble and thinking that the moment had perhaps come for the creation of an independent Ukraine, some peasants – not a very large number in all probability

– did, later or, come to take an active part in the campaign. As is well known the acts of terrorism mostly took the form of arson but they also included the attack on a Polish mail van in the course of which one Polish official lost his life and the driver of the van was severely wounded³⁹. The acts of arson were usually directed against the property of large landowners but Polish smallholders also suffered in some places, notably at Kozowa⁴⁰ in the district of Brzezany (voivodeship of Tarnopol). In that small town, which I visited, fire had been set one day when all the population was at church to a cottage and farmyard belonging to a Polish peasant: a strong wind was blowing and the fire, before it could be stopped, had run through sixty-two cottages, of which fifty-seven belonged to Poles, three to Ukrainians and two to Jews. The cottages were all thatched with the result that not only the stacks of hay etc., but also the roofs of the houses and most of the contents were burnt. I made enquiries on the spot and learnt, firstly, that the Polish peasants were not colonists who had come into the district in recent years and, secondly, that the military were not called in by the local authorities there until after the outrage had been committed.

A respectable Ukrainian of my acquaintance in Warsaw spoke to me very bitterly of what he described as the dereliction of duty on the part of the leaders of the “UNDO”: when the campaign of terrorism began, many of them were abroad or at watering places in Poland. Why, he asked, did none of them hasten back to Galicia and do their duty, that is to say, exert all their influence to check a movement which was bound to do more harm than good to the Ukrainian cause? I am afraid there is no getting away from the fact that the Ukrainian political parties are as rotten as the Polish and just as I feel that parliamentary government in Poland will only be possible when new parties, corresponding to the changed stratification of the population, have emerged, so I feel that there is no existing Ukrainian political party with which it would be worth while for the Polish Government to treat. The “UNDO” undoubtedly has some very respectable members – among whom I do not include, M. Dmytro Lewicki, its president – but the history of the past few months has shown that by enlarging their platform to include sundry more radical parties they have lost control of the organization. I spent a good deal of time while I was in Eastern Galicia studying the geographical distribution of the Ukrainian parties but I came to the conclusion that those parties are not yet very stable; that is to say, if a party has a good many followers in any one district, it is likely to be due to the personal merits of its local agents rather than to any real community of interests. At the present time Monseigneur Chomyszyn⁴¹, the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Stanisławów, is laying the foundations of a new party, which is to be definitely

39 30 VII 1930 r. w okolicach Bóbrki bojownicy UWO, zachowującej jeszcze odrębność od OUN, dokonali napadu na ambulans pocztowy. W trakcie napadu zastrzelony został konwojujący transport policjant oraz jeden z napastników.

40 Podpalenia dokonano 21 IX 1930 r.

41 Hryhorij Chomyszyn (1867-1947), hierarcha Kościoła greckokatolickiego, od roku 1904 r. biskup stanisławowski. W polityce kościelnej wyróżniał się orientacją prozachodnią i dążeniem do latynizacji Kościoła greckokatolickiego, brał udział w życiu politycznym inicjując powstanie w 1930 r. Ukraińskiej Katolickiej Partii Ludowej.

“Catholic” and is to have as its maximal programme autonomy for Eastern Galicia and not independence.

IV

About the middle of September the Polish Government at last decided to take energetic action. It was well for the Ukrainians that they did so as otherwise the Poles in Eastern Galicia would undoubtedly have taken the law into their own hands; The “pacificatory action”, as it is usually called in the Polish press, did not cover the entire area in which acts of sabotage had occurred. As I have already pointed out, the terrorist campaign itself did not extend all over the parts of Eastern Galicia inhabited by Ukrainians. I must emphasise once more the local nature of both action and counteraction. In this respect it seems to me that very misleading reports have found their way into the foreign press. The Ukrainians are very fond of indulging in lyrical and pathetic generalizations which they do not, I daresay, even expect the hearer or reader to take “au pied de la letter”. I can quote from my own experience a very striking example of this mythopoeic faculty. A day or two ago, since my return from Galicia, I received the visit of an Ukrainian friend whom I had, as a matter of fact, seen in Lemberg. In the course of our conversation he used, speaking of Eastern Galicia, the phrase “The whole country is in ruins”. I protested, saying that I had travelled some eight or nine hundred kilometers by motorcar through Eastern Galicia following an itinerary of my own choice and had seen no noticeable traces of destruction except for the Polish cottages which had been burnt down at Kozowa (see above): I had passed through small towns and villages innumerable and in practically all of them I had seen Ukrainian co-operatives which were certainly open and did not, externally, show any signs of having been damaged: while willing to admit that the pacificatory action must have caused damage to property in some places, I thought that sweeping generalizations on the subject could not be justified. My friend immediately replied: “Only three administrative districts (“powiaty”) were entirely and two or three more partially affected by the Polish repression”. The three voivodeships of Eastern Galicia comprise to the best of my knowledge, fifty-four such administrative districts but my friend did not seem to see that there was any real discrepancy between his first and his second statements. Experiences such as the one I have just described are a useful corrective to the sweeping statements which have appeared in the press,—for instance, to the assertion that on the present occasion the Poles have set out deliberately to destroy the Ukrainian cultural achievement of the past years, their cooperatives and the like. If the Polish authorities had had any such intention, they would certainly have planned their action on a larger scale and would have kept it up for a far longer period: nor would so many Ukrainian cooperatives be working to-day, as is, in fact, the case

If in the instance of the Ukrainian mythopoeic faculty which I have just quoted there was no deliberate intention to deceive, the same cannot be said of the following story which has appeared in the Polish press above the signature of a respectable journalist. In one of the small towns in the voivodeship of Tarnopol there are some buildings ruined by bombardment during the Great War which have not yet

been restored. Not long ago a young man with a camera in his hand was seen wandering about in them. A few days later he was arrested on a charge of belonging to the "UOW": among his effects were found the photographs of the ruins and on the back of the prints were inscribed in his own handwriting the words "Polish outrages on the territory of Western Ukraine: building of the "Proswita" (Ukrainian cultural society)⁴² at.... blown up by the Poles."

The pacificatory action was carried out partly by troops and partly by the Police. To western minds there is always something objectionable in the use of the military to put down civil disorder: In the present instance, however, I believe that the Polish Government was well advised to make use of the army. The 14th Uhlan Regiment which has been most spoken of in this connection and may very possibly have been the only one employed, is recruited in Galicia and, though I have no certain information on the point, I think it most probable that a good many of the soldiers who took part in the "punitive expeditions" were of Ukrainian race. That the soldiers at times dealt roughly and even brutally with the local population – especially if the latter showed itself recalcitrant or provocative and failed to provide the oats etc., asked for – I have not the least doubt but it must not be forgotten that Galician peasants, whether Poles or Ukrainians are a fairly primitive race. I feel more disposed to doubt the advisability of having such punitive raids carried out by policemen specially got together from other parts of the country, – not so much because the raids were often carried out with a very heavy hand as because it is, I think, demoralizing to the police to make use of them for extraordinary work in carrying out which they cannot observe the same rules of conduct as are binding on them in their regular functions. On the present occasion both police and soldiers are accused, firstly, of having treated many persons very roughly and, secondly, of having spoiled or destroyed a great deal of property. As regards the first charge it would certainly seem to us in the United Kingdom, who are accustomed to a very prompt justice, better to arrest a man and let him be tried rather than to roughhandle and not to arrest him. But in the special conditions with which the Polish authorities have had to deal in Eastern Galicia, it is, I think, possible that they chose the wiser course. In the Eastern Marches I feel almost sure that less bad blood would have been created if the Polish authorities had dealt with the "Hromada"⁴³ movement on such lines instead of arresting a very large number of peasants and keeping them in prison for months awaiting trial. At the same time the stories which are current as to the happenings at, for instance, Gaje⁴⁴, a village in the neighbourhood of Lemberg, are not only so lurid but also so circumstantial that the Polish Government ought, I think, to have prompt and thorough investigation made into some of them: further, the investigation ought, in the selected cases, to

42 Ukraińskie towarzystwo społeczno-kulturalne „Proswita” powstało w 1868 r. Organizacja zakładała czytelnie i placówki oświatowe, prowadziła działalność oświatową, inicjowała działalność wydawniczą, organizowała imprezy kulturalne.

43 Białoruska Włościańsko-Robotnicza Hromada, radykalna lewicowa partia polityczna powstała w 1925 r. W momencie delegalizacji, kilkanaście miesięcy od założenia, posiadała ponad sto tysięcy członków.

44 16 IX 1930 r. szwadron 14 pułk ułanów dokonał pacyfikacji miejscowości Gaje w powiecie lwowskim. Akcja ta była jednym z najczęściej przytaczanych przykładów brutalności w trakcie działań pacyfikacyjnych, jej opis znalazł się m.in. w tekście interpelacji parlamentarzystów ukraińskich.

cover the activities of the soldiery as well as the police. The result may very possibly be to show that the accusations made against the Polish authorities are even in these instances based on gross exaggeration and misrepresentation, but, in any case, I think that the fact of such an investigation having been carried out by the Polish Government would go some way to reassure the Ukrainian population.

Whatever may be thought of the morality or even of the expediency of punitive measures such as those which have been employed by the Polish Government, there is one misunderstanding which must certainly be set right. Neither the perquisitions in the villages nor the punishments meted out to Ukrainians were promiscuous. On the contrary the information I have received from various persons – not by any means all of them Polish officials – all goes to show that, when they entered a village, the police and the officers in command of the troops knew very well in which cottages suspect persons were living and where they would be appeared likely to find arms and ammunition or copies of the “Surma”, the illegal organ of the “UOW”.

It so happens that I succeeded in obtaining absolutely reliable information about a police raid in the district of Buczacz. There had been no acts of terrorism in the village in question but a certain – not very large – minority of the Ukrainian inhabitants was notoriously ill disposed towards the Polish authorities. One night a detachment of police appeared in the village: The constables immediately made their way to eight of the most suspect cottages and made a perquisition, in the course of which they struck certain men with their hands (not with sticks) and did some damage to the thatched roofs. They then carried off a few persons – not more than eight, I gathered – in a motor lorry but shortly afterwards released them with the result that they were back again in the village within a few hours. I asked whether the damage to the thatched roofs was serious and received the reply that in no case could it have taken more than two hours to repair. In another village – in the district of Brzezany – the headman told me that the troops, which had been there had only made perquisitions in cottages, the inhabitants of which were deservedly suspect.

As regards the damage to property I am extremely doubtful whether it has been very great. Some of it was an inevitable accompaniment of the perquisitions. The police or soldiers were looking for arms and ammunition and among the places in which such things were most likely to be concealed were binns of flour and sacks of corn. A good deal of corn and flour was, no doubt, poured out on to the ground and some of it may have been deliberately destroyed or spoiled by the police but I believe that a careful investigation of these cases would show that in ; of them such action was taken deliberately as a punitive measure against persons who were regarded as being ill disposed towards the Polish State – perhaps as having been actively engaged in the terrorist campaign. Incidentally the Ukrainians like to make it seem as though the troops had not paid for the corn etc., which they requisitioned. General Popowicz⁴⁵, to whom I mentioned this accusation, told me

45 Bolesław Popowicz (1878-1937), generał brygady Wojska Polskiego. Karierę wojskową rozpoczynał w armii austriackiej, od listopada 1918 r. służył w wojsku polskim, zaś w latach 1928-1935 był dowódcą Okręgu Korpusu VI (Lwów).

that all the requisitioned stores were to be paid for at rates fixed by the local civil authorities: there had been three or four cases of alleged pilfering by soldiers who had been promptly arrested and were at that time awaiting trial.

A good deal has been written about the action of the authorities towards Ukrainian societies, such as the "Plast"⁴⁶ (boy scouts), the "Luh"⁴⁷ and the "Sokil"⁴⁸. Of these the first named had hitherto merely been tolerated by the Polish authorities: it had never been registered as a society and the International Boy Scouts Union had refused to accept it on account of its refusal to include in its oath a promise of loyalty to the Polish State. The "Sokil" is an athletic society and the "Luh" an union of volunteer fire brigades. In this connection it is worth noting that of the 747 branches of the "Luh" not more than 100 were equipped with pumps and appliances for putting out fires. Up to now the Polish Government has not disbanded either the "Luh" or the "Sokil" but has merely closed a number of their branch offices. That all these three societies have had a political side to their activities is, of course, notorious.

To sum up, I am convinced: firstly, that by the middle of September – earlier in fact – the situation in Eastern Galicia had become such as to call for very severe measures of repression; secondly, that measures of repression have not taken place outside the districts in which acts of terrorism had occurred on a considerable scale: thirdly, that in most cases in which punitive raids have taken place only those persons were affected against whom the Polish authorities had grave grounds of suspicion: fourthly, that there has been no deliberate attempt to destroy the property, material and cultural, of the Ukrainian race as a whole: fifthly, that the material damage done to Ukrainian property is not very great and will very soon be made good by the local Ukrainians themselves, even if they do not receive any help from the Polish Government.

V

Many accusations have been made by the Poles against the Greek-Catholic clergy, some of which are certainly without foundation. None the less there are a good many undesirable men among the Uniat clergy in Galicia – even, I am sorry to say, in the immediate entourage of Archbishop Szeptycki. The Metropolitan himself admitted to me that Greek-Catholic priests, though not in his diocese, had behaved very reprehensibly in holding solemn funeral services in commemoration of persons who had met their death during the perpetration of terrorist outrages. On the other hand I myself met the other day an Uniat parish priest who confused me greatly for a while by his use of the pronoun "we" until I realized that by it he meant the Poles. In earlier reports I have ventured to express my admiration for the Bishop of Stanisławów. On the present occasion I made the acquaintance

46 Ukrainiska organizacja skautowska Plast powstała w 1912 r. W 1928 r. władze polskie zabroniły prowadzenia działalności przez Plast na terenie Wołynia, dwa lata później nastąpiła delegalizacja jego działalności w Galicji.

47 „Luh”, ukraińskie towarzystwo sportowo-pożarnicze. Powstało w 1925 r. we Lwowie w miejsce rozwiązanego wcześniej przez władze polskie towarzystwa „Sicz”. Na jego czele stał Roman Daszkewycz.

48 „Sokil”, ukraińskie towarzystwo gimnastyczne, działało od roku 1894 r.

of Monseigneur Latyszowski⁴⁹, his suffragan bishop, who is clearly a man of mark and is looked upon with respect by the Polish authorities. I also met for the first time Monseigneur Kocyłowski⁵⁰, the Bishop of Przemyśl, who did not make a bad impression on me. As a matter of fact, both Monseigneur Chomyszyn and Monseigneur Kocyłowski have – irrespective of any political activity on their part – contributed very materially to raise the level of the branch of the Catholic Church to which they belong by the introduction of celibacy among the secular clergy. Monseigneur Szeptycki, on the contrary, has refused to carry out this reform, although it has the approvals of the Vatican, on the plea – it is said – that if he were to do so, half his diocese would go over to Orthodoxy. In which connection it may be pointed out that there have been no secessions to Orthodoxy in the diocese of Stanisławów and comparatively few in that of Przemyśl. Further, when the other two Uniat bishops proposed to introduce the Gregorian calendar for fixing church holidays Monseigneur Szeptycki vetoed the reform: that I regard as a definitely culpable action on his part as, even apart from all practical considerations, such as the waste of time entailed by duplication of holidays, the continued existence of the two calendars side by side, even if only for church holidays, tends to keep the two races apart and to accentuate the difference between them.

Monseigneur Szeptycki has come to be regarded abroad as the embodiment of the Ukrainian movement, at any rate in Eastern Galicia. For my part, however, I believe that in the earlier stages of his career that movement was in his eyes merely a means to the great end which he had in view, namely the reunion of the Russian Church with Rome. He is not, I think, a very intelligent man but he saw clearly enough that there was no hope of effecting that reunion on the lines hitherto pursued by the so-called Moscophiles who held that the Ruthenian race was only a very slightly differentiated branch of the Russian race without a culture or even a language of its own. His policy was, I feel sure, to begin by developing the Ruthenian, or rather the Ukrainian, race in Galicia. Hence his lavish expenditure on Ukrainian national institutions of all kinds, hospitals, schools, museums and the like. When once he stood at the head of a flourishing and – with due regard to the supremacy of Rome – national church, the members of which did not regard them themselves as poor relations of the Russians, he would, he thought, cut a better figure against the Russian Orthodox Church which in those days – I am speaking now of the years from 1900 to the outbreak of the Great War – had all the might and wealth of the Czarist Government behind it. At that time it did not look in the least as if Poland would ever regain her independence and Monseigneur Szeptycki with his strong ecclesiastical bias may well have persuaded himself that the encouragement he was giving to the Ukrainian movement in Galicia was of no political importance. Monseigneur Szeptycki has not been the sole begetter of the Ukrainian movement any more than has the unfortunate Count Badeni⁵¹, but he

49 Iwan Latyszewski, ukr. Latyszewskij (1879-1947), hierarcha Kościoła greckokatolickiego, pełnił funkcję biskupa pomocniczego w diecezji stanisławowskiej. W okresie międzywojennym stał też na czele ukraińskiej Akcji Katolickiej.

50 Josafat Kocyłowski, ukr. Kocyłowski (1876-1947), bazylianin, hierarcha Kościoła greckokatolickiego, od 1917 r. biskup przemyski.

51 Kazimierz Feliks Badeni (1846-1909), prawnik, polityk, konserwatysta, namiestnik Galicji (1888-1895)

has, for, I am convinced, purely ecclesiastical reasons helped that movement more than any other single person. Hence it is not surprising that he enjoys a good deal of prestige among the Galician Ukrainians – prestige, I think, rather than popularity. The Ukrainians are willing to treat him with considerable respect so long as he pipes their tune but he himself feels that that respect would disappear at once if he were not to be consistently more intransigent towards the Polish Government than they are themselves.

During my recent visit to Lemberg I had over an hour's conversation with Monseigneur Szeptycki. It was not a pleasant interview. The Archbishop showed himself excitable, not to say irascible and was extremely annoyed because I declined to accept his word for things which he admitted he had not seen with his own eyes. As a matter of fact, I felt during the whole conversation, as I had on previous occasions, that he really knows very little at first hand of what happens in his diocese: he is now too decrepit to travel up and down his diocese and he spends nearly all his time in his palace at Lemberg where he is entirely dependent on what his entourage chooses to tell him. A respectable Ukrainian admitted to me the other day that that entourage was not satisfactory and he added that it was almost impossible for laymen, such as himself, to penetrate to the Archbishop.

Argument with Monseigneur Szeptycki is rendered difficult by the fact that he changes his standpoint very frequently: at one moment he is the champion of the oppressed Ukrainian race but, if it is suggested to him that he should, as such, take some step which does not appeal to him, he shifts his position and declares that he is only a humble bishop. When I suggested to him that, as arson and other forms of terrorism had undoubtedly been practiced by Ukrainians in Galicia during the past few months, he, as head of the Greek-Catholic Church there, might suitably issue a pastoral letter condemning such acts in general, he replied that the terrorists did no go to Church and did not belong to his flock. The burden of his conversation was that it was useless to talk to any Polish official whatever and that he had no suggestions to make for the future. When, however, I returned to Warsaw a fortnight later, I learnt that Monseigneur Szeptycki's representative in the capital had within those very last days told a Polish journalist that the Archbishop was perfectly prepared to put his own influence and that of his clergy at the disposal of the Polish Government for dealing with the Ukrainian question provided the Poles would help him to obtain from Rome either a cardinal's hat or a patriarchate.

VI

Up to now in this report I have tried to give as objective a picture as possible of what I believe, on the strength of what I have seen, to be the real state of things in Eastern Galicia. I should now like to make a few general observations. In my opinion the recent troubles will eventually be found to have had two good results. In the first place, they have convinced the Ukrainians of all classes that the Polish Government is one to be reckoned with and is by no means so futile as the weakness of

i premier austriacki (1895-1897). Współuczestniczył w zawarciu ugody polsko-ukraińskiej w Galicji w latach dziewięćdziesiątych XIX wieku.

some branches of the administration in the last few years had lead them to believe. Secondly – and this is almost more important – the Poles in Eastern Galicia find themselves obliged to reconsider their position. The National Democrat party has always been strong in that part of Poland not only among the landowners but also among the middle classes in the towns. For years past and especially since 1926 all too many of the local Poles – though there have, of course, been numerous exceptions – have clamoured for a more repressive policy towards the Ukrainians. They now find that the policy has been carried out by a Government which they have hitherto accused of weakness. Those of them who are politicians pure and simple tend to criticize that policy because it is the work of Marshal Pilsudski's Government but the better elements among these nationalist Poles – and those elements are numerous especially in the landowner class – are beginning to draw a more valuable lesson from the events of the last few months. The view that the Polish element in Eastern Galicia has always been sitting on a volcano which never bursts and that it will continue to do so for ever and ever is more and more giving place to a conviction that the time has come seriously to consider the problem of the joint existence, side by side, of the Poles and the Ukrainians in a country in which both races must be regarded as autochthonous. Two years ago I was favourably impressed by the sensible attitude towards this question of the leaders of the Catholic students' movement: on the present occasion I found a decided change for the better in this respect in wider circles

I am well aware that the Ukrainians themselves are inclined to complain that I saw too many Poles and too few Ukrainians while I was in Galicia. As a matter of fact, my action in this respect was deliberate. My visit to Eastern Galicia had been planned before the terrorist campaign began in June last and was only put off because I could not fit it in with my other engagements. I considered that it was my duty to investigate the general situation as it had developed since my last visit in the late autumn of 1928 and not to concentrate my attention on the events of the past months. I have had a good deal to do with the Galician Ukrainians in the last ten years and I have learnt to distrust the lyrical pathos with which they delight to invest the most commonplace events when it is a question of laying them before a foreign observer. I have already alluded to this national characteristic but it may be worth while to quote another instance. Some six or seven years ago I called in Lemberg on M. Oleśnicki⁵², one of the really respectable members of the "UNDO", whom I had already met several times. I asked him how things went in his part of the country. "As bad as they possibly can" he promptly replied. I then put to him definite questions as regards the five points which were at that time most at issue between the Poles and the Ukrainians: under cross examination he admitted without difficulty that in all those respects the situation had of late improved very considerably for his fellow countrymen. On the present occasion I felt that this tendency to lyrical vagueness would be even stronger than usual and I was convinced that I should get a far truer picture of the real situation and even of the real feelings of the Ukrainians through Polish friends, such as Count Dunin-Borkowski and

52 Patrz przypis nr 3.

Count Loś⁵³, who are and always have been on friendly terms with many of the Ukrainian leaders.

It is my firm belief that there are among the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia a good many men of mark – ecclesiastics such as Monseigneur Chomyszyn and his suffragan bishop, politicians such as M. Haluszczyński⁵⁴ and M. Oleśnicki – who are even now anxious to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Polish Government, not to mention the mass of the peasants who, even if they remain in their heart of hearts good Ukrainian nationalists, do not consider that the time has come for the emergence of an independent Ukrainian State. That there are plenty of Poles in high places who are most anxious to pursue a liberal policy towards the Ukrainians as towards other alien elements in the country is and has been ever since May, 1926, manifest to all foreigners in touch with Polish official circles. At the same time I do not consider that the present is a suitable moment to make any very sensational concessions to the Ukrainians in Galicia. For instance, I do not think that it would serve any useful purpose just now to raise the question of an Ukrainian university. In order to remedy a situation which has to a great extent arisen in consequence of the weakness of the administration in that part of the country the Polish Government has found itself obliged to take very severe measures. Any reversion to the old policy of *laissez aller*, even the adoption of a policy which should use the same means to attain different ends would be fatal to the peace of Eastern Galicia.

In the matter of the recent troubles the Polish Government has decided to take up the line that the mass of the population, that is to say, the peasants, have had very little share in them. As a generalization that is, I think, true and I should like once more to emphasize the fact that large areas, notably in the thoroughly Ukrainian voivodeship of Stanisławów, have been almost entirely exempt from terrorist acts. At the same time the Polish authorities are certainly under a misapprehension if they think that the mass of the peasantry in Eastern Galicia is not interested in the idea of an independent Ukrainian State and can still be shepherded into the Old Ruthenian fold. I have reason to think that the higher officials in the Ministry of the Interior are not under such a misapprehension, which presumably means that the information they receive from their subordinates in Eastern Galicia is sound on that point. At the same time I consider that some Polish officials on the spot do talk too much about the Old Ruthenian movement: personally I am convinced that no such “movement” exists and that both the fractions into which the former Old Ruthenian party has split since its decimation by the Austrians during the Great War are of very little practical importance.

Personally I hope that in a few months' time the Polish government will come out with a programme for Eastern Galicia. If it is not to stultify itself, that programme must begin with a statement that, as the peasant mass has not been disloyal, everything possible will be done to meet its requirements: that assistance will

53 Patrz przypis nr 6.

54 Mychajło Hałuszczyński, ukr. *Hałuszczyński* (1878-1931), ukraiński działacz wojskowy i społeczno-oświatowy. W latach dwudziestych profesor tajnego Lwowskiego Uniwersytetu Ukraińskiego, współzałożyciel i czołowy polityk UNDO, stał na czele towarzystwa „Proswita” (1923-1931).

be given to Ukrainian cooperatives, provided that they submit to the same control as is asked for in the case of Polish cooperatives which receive credits from public funds: that nothing will be done to interfere with the system of primary schools which come into being as the result of the so-called "Language Laws" in the summer of 1924.

Two years ago I was of opinion that the system of bilingual primary schools was working badly in Eastern Galicia. The present was not a good occasion to study educational questions in which, for the time being, no one seems to take much interest. In the light, however, of what I saw in Volhynia in the spring of this year I am inclined to look with more favour on that type of school: it seems to me that a resolute official – such as the school curator in that voivodeship – can prevent the abuses, for instance, the undue favouring of the Polish as against the Ukrainian language, which certainly occurred in the early years after 1924. Further, I do not see how the Polish State could possibly find the money to run two sets of primary school side by side, in Eastern Galicia. The Ukrainian complaint, which has been colported through the foreign press, that the number of primary schools in Eastern Galicia has enormously diminished under Polish rule falls to the ground when it is remembered that, whereas the Austrians favoured the system of having a large number of small one-class schools, the Poles are to reduce the number in order to create three or five-class schools which they believe to be better from the educational point of view.

I also believe that local self-government ought to be an important plank in the programme of the Polish Government. When he was Minister of the Interior, M. Jozewski tried to get through the Diet a law which would have enabled him. To proceed to the election of district councils ("Rady Powiatowe") in Galicia – at present the very old fashioned Austrian law still holds good there – but his efforts broke down on the obstruction of the opposition parties. That is a reform which must be carried through as soon as possible: another is the substitution of collective communes, such as exist in the former Russian provinces of Poland, for one-village communes which still survive in Galicia, and which entail a great deal of unnecessary expense for the ratepayers on account of the multiplication of petty employees, etc., I have reason to believe that the Polish Officials in Eastern Galicia – especially those who have been brought there during the last two years – attach great importance to this question. They wish to enlarge the scope of the local self-government bodies so as to bring them into closer contact with the economic life of the population – a policy which is being pursued with good results in the Eastern Marches. My own belief is that Poles and Ukrainians would be able to sit side by side on parish and district councils without much friction and that such collaboration would have a healthy influence on both races. I also think that it would be well to create advisory councils attached to such of the three voivodes – the members to be nominated by the Government: this would enable the latter to bring forward Ukrainians who show a desire to collaborate. I am, however, convinced that there cannot for the time being be any talk of introducing local autonomy: to do so would only be to increase the possibilities – or rather the certainties – of friction between the two races and would probably lead to grave injustices being done to the Polish element.

Finally, I consider that the Polish Government ought to undertake that all the persons who have been arrested during the "pacificatory action" shall be brought to trial as speedily as possible – say, within three months. Personally I think that it would be a very good thing if the trials could take place somewhere else than in Eastern Galicia – perhaps at Cracow.

But if the Polish Government are not only morally but from considerations of policy called on to behave with generosity towards the peasant mass, I do not see how they can well do otherwise than continue for the time being to behave with severity towards the so-called intelligentsia. It must be remembered that of the judiciary in Eastern Galicia 35 per cent in Ukrainian and I am afraid that not a few of the Ukrainian judges cannot be relied on when they have to deal with an accused person of their own race. I heard the other day of a case in which an Ukrainian peasant was brought up before a judge and a public prosecutor, both of his own race; the judge, although unable to acquit him, merely inflicted on him a nominal fine instead of the term of imprisonment which he had richly deserved. Severity must be exercised against officials of Ukrainian race who have not done their duty, against professional politicians and journalists who have been notoriously disloyal, against the all too numerous priests against whom the same charge can justly be made, and, above all, against the teaching staff in the secondary schools who have undoubtedly acted as the intermediaries between the headquarters of the "UOW" and the schoolboys who committed the acts of terrorism. If those secondary schools are to be allowed to exist and to receive either monetary grants from or even the recognition of the Polish State, the teaching staff in them must be sternly dealt with. Many of the teachers will, I have no doubt, have to be summarily dismissed without any compensation.

Źródło: AAN, MSZ, sygn. 5095, s. 22-56. Kopia. Maszynopis.