

UKRAINIAN PROBLEM.

1.

Bulletin XVI. Nr. 1.

Figures of population & distribution.

Country	Total	Official est	Autonomist	Expert (Macartney) 1931	Germany 1934
USSR 1938	165,7	31,1	--	..	43,6
Poland 1930	32,1	4.4	2 7	4 5	3 9,2
Rumania 1930	18	None	--	5-6	1,2
(N. Bukov. & Bessarabia)		3		1	2
Czechoslovakia 1930	14,7	0.538	0,587	385 Eastern Gal. 1 1/2 former Russian	0,746
Hungary 1930	8,7		58		
The American Continent + Canada		approx 1.5			
Latin America: Argentine and Brazil					

~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~

The term Ukraine means border land (Marches, the West). Not a people but a geographical term. Eastern Slav borderland between the Russians, Poles, Turks and Tatars. Centre round the lower reaches of the Dniepr.

The Mongolian invasion meant the end of the Skandinavian Russ-Kiev Kingdom and then (13th century) the Western part fell to the Lithuanians and Poles, who formed a united state in 1569. The Zaporogian Cossacks resisted up to 1710. Then it joined Russia and became one of the mainstays of Tsarism.

By the Partitions of Poland and the Treaty of Paris (Napoleon) Russia had acquired all the territory inhabited by Little Russians except:

- a. Carpatho-Ukraine (Russinsko ~~in~~ Hungarian: Podkarpadskaia Russia;
- b. Eastern Galicia. (Austrian). *from the 60's [of Russia] 1772*
- c. Bukovina (Austrian). *Germany. Sum. 1775*

Social conditions similar on the whole in Austria and Russia: an extremely poor peasant stock held in subservience by a Polish or mixed Russo-Polish feudal landowning class (Schlachta). The Imperial government everywhere favoured the landowners, the Austrians especially favouring the Poles (like Magyars and Germans). After 1866 Magyars, Germans and Poles (in Galicia) ruling nations. The so-called Ruthenians there serfs.

But as to the Ukrainian national sentiment:

in Russia

- a. The Tsar rigorously suppressed it (Russification). This ukrainophil movement had been originated by Russified or polonised intelligencia. [Savchenko: 1864]
- b. Galicia became the home of every kind of nationalist, autonomist and irredentist movement.

in Austria

Two kinds of Ukrainianism:

- a. The Russian government fostered a Russophil nationalism, which looked to Russia for deliverance (played an important part in the early parts of the ~~World~~ Great War).

Campaign for the conversion of the Uniat Ukrainians to the Orthodox Church.

- b. The Austrian government - particularly after Austria's Alliance with Germany had become effective also against Russia - encouraged an anti-Russian (and anti-Polish) movement for the creation of an autonomous Great Ukraine within the Austro-Hungarian Empire (thus weakening Russia and at the same time uniting all Ukrainians ~~under~~ under one rule).

If they hypothetically get rid of the Ukrainians of East Galicia

- c. What ^{do} the Poles in Galicia ^{do}? They supported the Russophiles though themselves of course violently anti-Russian. Why? They preferred the absorption of the Austrian Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) by Russia, ~~than that they themselves~~ ^{than that they themselves} ~~becoming~~ part of the autonomous Great Ukraine. [Only the Ukrainians, not also the Poles could hope for independence in case of a war; The Ukrainians could be united, if Russia lost the war, while the Poles looked and autonomous for ~~independence~~ independence which could come about only if both Russia and Austria were defeated, which seemed impossible. (Eventually, precisely this happened;)]

(A)

Pre-War position

Accordingly, ^{since 1907} in the Duma there was a Russophil political party (and in the Imperial Diet in Vienna) there was a Ukrainophil party.

b. extreme tension between Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia.

c. but this nationalism essentially a middle class-intelligencia movement, hardly touching the peasantry. The anti-Polish feeling was essentially anti-landlordism.

(B)

Postwar position

in Russia

(B)

Post -War position

- b. Ukraine remains mixed. 1918
 The Polish aspirations in the Russian Empire and the Austrian
 Russian Revolution in Russia March 1917 & November 1918
- a. But neither demanded more than a federal autonomy (neither
 in Eastern Galicia nor in Russia proper).

- c. Autonomy had been promised by the Austrian Emperor both to
 Eastern Galicia and to Poles in Congress ~~Russia~~ Poland.
 In the manifesto October 16, 1918 "The federal State" in which
 each nationality shall form its own body politic in the territory
 inhabited by it" adding now " This does not in anyway
 preclude the future union of the Polish districts of Austria
 within independent Polish State". This pleased, of course,
 neither the ~~transcarpathians~~ Ruthenians nor the Poles.

October 18th, 1918 in Lwow, Eastern Galicia
 Republic proclaimed, Dr. Petrusziewicz. Recognised by Austrian
 government. Independent Ukraine Republic.

- d. In Russia proper:

In April 1917 at Kiev a Central Rada was elected by the Ukrainian
 National ~~Congress~~ Congress. But the Provisional Government
 took the usual nationalist line (cf. France in referen-
 to Catalonia, Basques and Galicia).

In November 1917 an Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed
 which sent an independent peace delegation to the Brest
 Litovsk Conference of March, 1918. Bread Peace, February 9th,
 1918. (General Hoffmann's line. Moscow, the Enemy, 1922.)
Secret Clause: Eastern Galicia should be created an autonomous
 non-Polish province within Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.)

March 1918, the Bolsheviks occupy Kiev and the Germano-Austrian
 trains the whole of the Russian Ukraine. The Rada expelled
 from Kiev by the Bolsheviks. The Rada reinstated, but soon
 supplanted by a Hetman, General Skoropadski, a Ukrainian
 of Russian descent. Germans requisition grain. Peasant resistance.
 State of siege. German Field Marshall von Eichhorn murdered.

November 1918, Germany evacuates the Ukraine, Skoropadski
 falls (a resident of Berlin) return of the Rada, under
 Petljura and innitchenko - two of the Brest Litovsk delegates

January, 1919. Dr. Petrusziewicz Eastern Galician Republic uni-
 tes with Petljura's Ukrainian Republic. Two front war:
 against Poles in the West and Bolsheviks in the ~~East~~ East.
 Outcome: The Poles take Eastern Galicia and become allies
 of Petljura against the Russians

UKRAINIAN PROBLEM.

B Polish position in Ukraine (cont) 1917/18

November, 1920 Petljura expelled again by the Russians. The Poles hold their own, but cannot hold the Ukraine.

October 1920 & March, 1921 Treaties of Riga the Russian recognise Polish sovereignty over Galicia and Wolhynia, both parties recognise the "independence" of a Ukrainian Republic. But already in

July, 1923 becomes constituent part of the Russian USSR.

On the whole: the peasants had defeated both the Germans and the Petljura Republic. They wanted land and the Bolsheviks gave it to them.

e. the status of Eastern Galicia after the War:

The Poles had actually occupied Eastern Galicia via facti. June 25th Supreme Council informed the Ukrainians that "as far as possible" autonomy of this territory and the political, religious and personal liberties of its inhabitants should be guaranteed. This agreement shall be based on the right of "free disposition" of the inhabitants of E.G. "in the last resort".

Plebiscite, mandate etc. proposals turn out to be futile. December 1919 the Supreme Council recognised the Polish Government right "to organise a regular administration". And at the instance of the French, the Eastern Galician Autonomy was proposed.

March, 1923 Eastern Galicia assigned to Poland by the Conference of Ambassadors on the understanding that it is recognised by Poland that... the ethnographical conditions necessitate a regime of autonomy".

What came of this? Cf. below.

f. Rumania acquired by sheer absent ^{mischance} mindedness the Bukovina & Bessarabia. The Ukrainians have always denied the Councils competence to vote for joining Rumania in March, 1918. October 28, 1920 the occupation sanctioned by the Minority Treaty of that date. Not accepted by the USSR nor ratified by Japan.

Bukovina November 11, 1918 troops from Rumania occupied this territory on the collapse of the A.H.M. (it had been handed by the retiring Austrian commander to the Ruthenians ~~KNOWLEDGE~~).

g. Sub-Carpathian Russia more complicated:

They had three separate Ruthenian National Councils between November 1918 and January 1919.

- a Union with Eastern Galicia
- b Autonomy in Hungary (December 25 1918 Statute of Autonomy)
- c Union with Petljura Ukrainian Republic.
- d at Stanton USA on November 12 Union with Czechoslovakia.

but

Masaryk provided that some other R. territ. of Slov. be included.
leader: Zatkovic.

After the fall of the Hungarian Government in March, 1919 (the Communist regime was established in Budapest) Zatkovic gains the support of all fractions for the joining of Czechoslovakia. Local autonomy within a federal Czechoslovakia. Understanding of "fullest degree of self government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State"

Recent History

F in CZECHOSLOVAKIA

What came of it?

a. Mere strategic value (corridor to Rumania and perhaps to USSR). Terribly poor. Financial liability.

b. 1930 census. Total 725000. Of these

Ruthenians	447,000
Magyars	109,000
Jews	91,000
Czechs	33,000
Germans	13,000
others	14,000

c. weakness of country, Magyars and "Russiandanger". Minority Treaty of 1919 and Czechoslovak Constitution 1920.

promised autonomy
autonomous Diet with legislative power in local cultural and administrative matters.
Governor appointed by the President, responsible to the Ruthens Diet.
Actually administrative experiments followed, mostly Czech administration.

d. generous expenditure of state funds. extremely efficient Czech administration. Far more liberal than any prevailing in the neighbouring states.

e. two cultural ~~autonomy~~ movements of autonomists: the Great Russian (Duchnovica) Whites, Orthod. Russian) Ukrainian (Prosvita). Little Russian variatio (and Poles) for predominance of Little Russian variatio (and Poles) Orthodox Union of Ruthenia with a non-Bolshevik Russia

of the Ukr. dialect. (as distinct from Local Ruthenian). Union with Eastern Galicia in an Independent Ukraine advocated.

f. The recent events:

Up till October 26 the Russian and the Ukrainian group cooperate against the Czech government. They gain Autonomy within the CzechoSlovakian State (identical to those granted Slovakia). Similar to the Irish "Dominion status" arrangement. Ruthenian Cabinet of the Russian ~~group~~ met { 3 Russian members Brody, Bacinsky, Fencik } 2 Ukrainian group Ravy and Volosin.

Russian means Hungarian, while Ukrainian means German Why? Because the Magyars/do not want a Ukrainian movement (and Poles) the Germans want nothing but a Ukrainian movement. (and the Czechs)

g This was closely connected with the Polish Magyar effort to annex Carpatho-Ukraine (the Poles will not have Ukrainians!) The Germans opposed it. The Russian party was ousted, Brody was arrested. Volosin Prime Minister (the German candidate).

Russian Party eliminated. Dissolution of Great Russian National Council
Great Russian Black Shirt Party (led by Fencik, who was mad to resign).
Award of November 2nd.
German National Council auth "Carpatho-Ukraine" title adopt
German instructors of the S.C (Ukraine para-military I. organisation for the defence of the Ukraine).

Pr. M. Volosin November 1938 1938

"The world already recognises the Ukrainian nation and its efforts to build up a Ukrainian State.."

January 9, 1939 "I believe with good reason that a Great Ukraine will be created in the near future and that all Ukrainians throughout the world will be able to return to their liberated fatherland, to their brothers who are now so cruelly oppressed by the Poles and Russians.."

Recent History
II. in POLAND

The Ukrainian question in Poland is of the greatest gravity.

The Ukrainians of Poland have political traditions, training and method. Moreover, there was civil war and fighting. Traditional anti-Polish sentiments very strong.

Excuses: Bolshevik influence, Polish & Jewish minority, Carpathian frontier

Out of total population of		Ukrainians		Ruthenians		Jews	
Total	51,9	3,2	10,1%	1,2	3,8%	2,7	8,6%
	68,9%						

In the predominantly Ukrainian provinces:

Province	Population	Poles	Ukr	Ruth	Jews
I. East Galicia Lwow Stanislawow Tarnopol	6,2 mill	47%	27%	18%	7%
II. Russian Ukr, Volhynia & Podlesia.	3,2 mill	16%	46%	1%	10%

But towns are Polish

In Poland (cont.)

East Galicia	Roman Catholic	37%	Orth	0,2%	J.10%	Uniat	52%
Former Russia		14%		42%		10%	0,4

Polish undertakings:

Home rule - Towards Supreme Council.
 Conference of Ambassadors

Rights of minorities. 28 June 1919, Treaty
 Riga. Treaties (Russia) 1920/21

Law passed by the Sejm 28 Sept, 1922. for self government
 Ukrain University at Lv
 Lwow.

Nothing come of this 2 years promise.

Polonisation and repression - their true policy.
 Diet dissolved.
 occupation...
 large landed estates broken up given to Poles.
 instruction in the Ukrainian language ~~with~~
 1924/5. restricted. ~~taught~~ bilingual
 schools introduced.
 Thousands sent to concentration camps.
 Frontier ~~districts~~ colonised by Poles.

The Ukrainian National Democratic Party ^(U.N.D.P.) is represented in the Sejm by 15 deputies. (1922) Leader Mudrij (Dpt Speaker of Sejm)

" " Pacification of East Galicia started 1930
 O.U.W. non-Parliamentary, a secret body, directed from Berlin by the U.W.O. (Ukrainian Military Organism).
 Leader: An ex-Austrian officer Konovalec. was assassinated in 1938.

The UNDO repudiates the revolutionary policies of the OUN & UWO. Other terrorist organisations in existence.
 Self help in cultural and economic ways. (Cf. Ireland).
 The League received only 6 out of 38 Petitions before 1931.

January 1932 - pacification by force.

1935 new promises made to the UNDO

By January 1936 dissatisfaction expressed.

May 1938 "more drastic measures" decided by Exec. Council of Ukr UNDO.

October 1938 Carpatho-Ukraine State proclaimed.

December 9 1938

Home Rule Bill brought in the Sejm. Voted.