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WITHIN POLAND

1920 - 1939

**WESTERN UKRAINE
WITHIN POLAND 1920-1939
(ethnic relationships)**

by

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The transliteration of geographic names conforms to that used
in „Ukraine — A Concise Encyclopaedia,” Toronto, University Press.

WESTERN UKRAINE: TERRITORY AND POPULATION

World War II resulted in great changes in the territory lying between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania on one side, and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republics on the other side. The question of the justness of the boundaries set in 1945 still is being discussed both in the world press and in scholarly publications. Nowadays, when old arguments based on dynastic and historical principles have lost their significance, the principles of national self-determination, backed by the concept of ethnic unity, becomes of decisive importance. This brief paper proposes to discuss the numerical ethnic relationships of the groups inhabiting the territory lost in 1945 by Poland to the Ukrainian SSR.

The territory we are concerned with consists of part of what usually is called "Western-Ukrainian lands" — an area with a predominantly Ukrainian population most of which, between the World Wars, belonged to Poland (the rest belonged to Rumania¹ and Czechoslovakia.²) The region as a whole witnessed a long

1 Ukrainians inhabited part of Bukovina and Bessarabia, as well as a small territory in Transcarpathia (the Marmor Area).

2 Transcarpathia, the principal part of which was the so-called Carpathian Ukraine (officially called Transcarpathian Rus') in Czechoslovakia. The western part of Transcarpathia — the Pryashiv Area — was part of Slovakia.

struggle for national interests between the Ukrainians and their neighbors on the West and Southwest — Poles, Rumanians, and Hungarians.

We present some data on the territory and population of the region in the 1930's:

	Territory in 1000 km. sq.	Population in thousands
The area under Polish domination		
The area under Rumanian domination	132.2 17.6	9,200* 1,240**
The area within Czechoslovakia	14.9	735**
Total	164.7	11,190*
* data of 1931	** data of 1930	

At present almost all the Ukrainian ethnic territory which formerly belonged to Rumania and Czechoslovakia is incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. The greater part of the area formerly under Poland also belongs to the Ukrainian SSR; only the westernmost sections remain within Polish domination (cf. pp. 30-31).

As stated above, this paper is concerned only with the analysis of that part of the Ukrainian ethnic territory which in the period between the two World Wars belonged to Poland.

II

GENERAL CHARACTERISTIC

The Ukrainian territory under discussion is composed of several lands, each possessing its own history: Galicia, Volhynia (only its western part was under Poland; the eastern part with Zhytomyr.

the capital, belonged to the Ukrainian SSR), Polisia (also only the western part), Podlachia, and Kholm Area (cf. map. p. 30).

At one time all these lands belonged to the Kiev State, later to the Galician-Volhynian State. In the fourteenth century Galicia and Kholm Area were taken by Poland, Podlachia and Polisia were incorporated into the Lithuanian-Rus' State. After the Liublin Union (1569) almost all these lands became a part of Poland; only sections of Podlachia and Polisia remained under Lithuania.

After Poland's downfall in the late eighteenth century and after shifting associated with the Napoleonic wars, finally Galicia was incorporated into Austria, and Volhynia, Podlachia, Kholm Area, and Polisia became part of Russia.

Galicia as a crown land of Austria (1772-1918), in addition to historical Galicia, was composed of part of the Polish territory that Austria had acquired: thus a province was created that was artificial both historically and ethnically. The Ukrainians living there advocated that Galicia be divided into two separate provinces of distinct ethnic character.

After the Austrian Empire disintegrated in 1918, Ukrainian Eastern Galicia, through selfdetermination, established itself as the West Ukrainian National Republic in acts of October 18, 1918 and November 1, 1918. By the act of January 22, 1919, it united with the independent Ukrainian state that came into being after the Revolution of 1917 on the Ukrainian territory formerly under Tsarist Russia (the Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed on January 22, 1918).

A boundary dispute between Ukraine and Poland, and the Soviets and Poland (1918-1920), involving the Western Ukrainian lands, had to be resolved by the Supreme Council of the Entente on December 8, 1919, which established an eastern boundary of Poland. The same line was proposed in July 1920 by Lord Curzon, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs; hence its name — "Curzon's line." This line was more or less based on ethnic boundaries. The

same line, with some amendments in favor of the USSR, was accepted by the Soviet-German Treaty of September 28, 1939. It was also agreed upon by decisions made at the Yalta conference in January 1945. Finally, this line with some modifications was accepted in a treaty between the USSR and Poland signed in Moscow on August 16, 1957.³

But the Treaty of Riga (1921) between the Soviet and Poland and the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of the Entente (1923) did not take into account the ethnic factor and the parts of Western Ukraine named below remained within Polish borders until 1939.

The following table presents data on the territory and population of Ukrainian ethnic lands under Poland on December 9, 1931.

Lands	Territory in 1000 km. sq.	Population in thousands
I. Galicia	55.7	5,435
II. Northwestern lands	76.5	3,763
The latter included:		
Kholm Area and Podlachia	10.2	675
Western Volhynia	35.8	2,085
Western Polisia	27.8	924
Bilsk county	2.7	79
Total	132.2	9,198

Ukrainian lands in Poland represented 34.0% of the total territory of the Polish state, and their population 29.5% of the total population.

The history of the individual Ukrainian lands under Poland, the evolution of the relationships of the nationality groups within

³ Cf. *Encyclopaedia Ukrainoznavstva*, 2 v. 994.

each land, and the policy of Poland towards each of them were different; therefore it is advisable to consider each of these lands separately.

III

GALICIA

Galicia was under Polish domination or Polish influence (while within Austria) longer than any other Ukrainian territory; consequently, the picture of the shifting ethnic relationships within that area is very complex. In the second half of the nineteenth century and until World War I, Galicia was politically significant for the entire Ukrainian renaissance: therefore a description of the nationality relationships within Galicia should be of particular interest.

After its occupation of Galicia following World War I, the Polish government divided it into three voievodstvos: Lviv, Stany-slaviv, and Ternopil. Eight additional counties (povits) with almost or entirely Polish population were added to the Lviv voievodstvo in order to decrease the percentage of the Ukrainians there. The three voievodstvos were identified by an artificial name: "Eastern Little-Poland." Part of the southwestern ethnic Ukrainian territory (Lemkian Area) was attached to the entirely Polish Cracow voievodstvo.

Ethnic relationships in Galicia, however, were already complicated before the time of the postwar Polish occupation because of the location of Galicia within the Ukrainian-Polish borderland and the history of this area. When in the late fourteenth century Galicia came under Polish domination, Polish elements began to penetrate into what had been purely Ukrainian ethnic territory. The upper strata of the Ukrainian population gradually came under the influence of the dominant Polish elite and adopted its ways. German and Armenian elements flowed to the Galician cities where

they were easily Polonized and assimilated. Jews also came to the cities which began to acquire a mixed Jewish-Polish--Ukrainian character. Two opposing processes took place in the rural areas: in the west some Ukrainians became Polonized; in the east, however, some of the Polish villagers became Ukrainized within the Ukrainian environment predominant there. These processes lasted for several centuries and resulted in a shifting of the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary from the Vyslok River eastwards to the Sian River; Polish ethnic islands appeared throughout the territory of Galicia, particularly in its central, most fertile part.

Galicia came under Austrian rule in 1772. At first the ethnic picture was not much changed except that the German population in the cities increased, and some German rural colonies appeared. The Ukrainian national renaissance intensified Ukrainian national selfconsciousness, however, and the struggle between nationality groups — mainly in the towns which had become flooded by Ukrainians workers and artisans coming from overpopulated rural areas — increased. The Ukrainian element in the towns was strengthened; its leadership was in hands of the intelligentsia, the bearers of the renaissance. A shift occurred between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when an intensive emigration of pauperized Ukrainian farmers to America took place, resulting in the development of considerable Ukrainian communities in the United States and in Canada, but in a proportionate increase in the percentage of the Polish population in Galicia.

Under Polish rule, after World War I, there was a decrease in the emigration of the Ukrainians abroad and a reduction of the flow of Poles to the towns of the agrarian nonindustrialized land. On the other hand, Polish pressure resulted in the Polonization of some Ukrainians (which was outwardly manifested in a change of religious affiliation).

These complicated processes led to the appearance in Galicia not only of national minority groups such as Poles, Jews (who,

in the nineteenth century, composed 10% — 12% of the population), and Germans (about 1% of the population), but also to the development of groups in transition between the Ukrainians and the Poles.

In Galicia, three criteria could be used to determine adherence to a particular ethnic group: religion, language, and feeling of national identification. Apart from the Jews and Germans, the population of Galicia was composed of Ukrainians, Poles, and members of groups transitional between the two.

Ukrainians were mostly of the Greek Catholic creed, although some 25,000 Ukrainians of the Greek Orthodox creed lived mainly in Lemkian Area. Ukrainians conversed in Ukrainian and felt themselves to be Ukrainians.

Poles were of the Roman Catholic creed, spoke Polish, and felt themselves to be Poles.

However, a considerable part of Galicia's Slavic population consisted of members of two *transitional* groups: the so-called *Latynnyky* (Latinians), and the Polish-speaking Greek Catholics.

The Latynnyky is an artificial, not commonly used word designating Ukrainian-speaking Roman Catholics who do not differ from the Ukrainians other than in their religious affiliation. Only farmers belonged to this group whose language and mode of life was that of the Ukrainians, but whose religion was the same as the Poles. Their national consciousness did not become crystallized for a long time. The genesis of the *Latynnyky* is not clear. In all probability, they were, to some extent, descendants of Poles who came from the west long ago. Living among the Ukrainians, they became Ukrainized with respect to language and mode of life, but not with regard to their faith. Some also undoubtedly descended from Ukrainian peasants formerly of Greek Orthodox or, later, of Greek Catholic faith, who, at the time of serfdom, were urged by Polish landlords to convert to the "Polish faith" — Roman Catholicism. During the Austrian period there was little or no national conscious-

ness among the *Latynnyky*, but during the later Polish period, notably in the thirties, they began to identify increasingly with one or the other ethnic group: most often with the Poles, more rarely with the Ukrainians.

Polish-speaking Greek Catholics were not numerous. They lived in the area between the Sian and the Vyslok rivers where Ukrainians once predominated, as well as among several Polish colonies located to the east of the Sian River. Their mode of life was partly Ukrainian, partly Polish, but their national feelings were Ukrainian. Except for the inhabitants of several westernmost villages, these people also knew the Ukrainian language, both spoken and written.

A subgroup of Polish colonists may be distinguished among the Poles. This notion is of a very conditional nature, however, because once the ancestors of all the Poles in Galicia and some of the *Latynnyky* were Polish colonists. In the 1920's, though, this term was applied to the most recent wave of Polish settlers. The Polish authorities, parceling the large land properties in Galicia at that time, did not permit Ukrainian farmers to buy land but sold it to farmers who moved there from Poland proper. This increased the local Polish population but also aggravated the stress between the two nationality groups.

The Jews characteristically had their religious faith and cultural identification. Their language in Galicia was predominantly Yiddish, to a lesser degree Polish — mostly among the intelligentsia. The Jews usually spoke Ukrainian also but used it only in their contacts with Ukrainian population.

The Germans of Galicia were either Evangelists or Roman Catholics; they spoke German.

STATISTICAL SOURCES

The data of the censuses of population provided the principal source for the study of the nationality groups in Galicia. Austrian

censuses were conducted in 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910; Polish censuses in 1921 and 1931; a German census in 1943. Of these censuses, only those of 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1921 present detailed data on ethnic groups in communities; the censuses of 1910 and 1931 give data only for towns and counties. All the Austrian censuses and the Polish censuses of 1931 also indicate the language, and Polish census of 1921 the nationality, of the individuals counted. By "language," the Austrian censuses meant the tongue most commonly spoken by the individual in his daily life. It should be mentioned, however, that Austrian censuses did not recognize Yiddish as a language, and, on the basis of language, placed most of the Jews with the Poles, some with the Germans, fewer with the Ukrainians.

The Polish census of 1921 did not take into account the language, but rather the "nationality" of the individual, and on the basis of this, recognized the existence of the "Jewish nationality."

The census of 1931 again brings information on language. However, this is not the most commonly spoken language recognized in the Austrian censuses, but rather the native language: (Not necessarily the language most used by the individual, but the one he felt most belonged to him; thus the notion of language is very close to that of nationality). The census of 1931 acknowledged the Yiddish and the Hebrew languages.

What is the degree of reliability of statistical data for Galicia with regard to the denomination, nationality, and language of its population? The Austrian censuses present almost accurate data on denomination, but not on language. For one thing, they did not take into account the Yiddish language, and some 600,000 Jews were classified with the Poles. Also, those censuses were conducted under conditions of intense struggle between the nationality groups. Local Polish officials who were involved in conducting the censuses were not objective — they diminished the number of Ukrainians and proportionately increased the number of Poles. The inaccuracy

in these statistics may be illustrated by the following fact: there were more individuals speaking Ukrainian than there were members of the Greek-Catholic denomination because Ukrainian was also spoken by the *Latynnyky*; however, the census of 1900 showed the number of Ukrainians to be 20,000 fewer than the number of Greek-Catholics, and the census of 1910 — 153,000 fewer.

The Polish censuses are much more unreliable. A comparison of the statistics on nationalities and languages with the statistics on denomination based on their censuses, as well as a comparison of the results of the two censuses — in particular an analysis of 1921 census data on nationalities for individual communities — with reality reveal the fantastic nature of Polish statistics. For example, the census of 1921 recorded 351,000 Poles of Greek Catholic denomination, and that of 1931 475,000 of them, scattered all over the country. Actually no more than 32,000 individuals belonged to this group, which was confined to the western borderland and to some towns. In addition many Jews (195,000 or 32%) were counted as Poles.

It should be noted that several terms were used to designate the language or nationality of the Ukrainians. Austrian censuses used a term: "Rus'ky." The Polish census of 1921 did not accept the term "Ukrainian," although it was widely in use then, but introduced another artificial term: "Rusinski." During the census of 1931, the term "Ukrainian" was used in questionnaires, but the term "Rus'ky" was also used with the understanding that both terms were equivalent. However, the Main Statistical Administration was not consistent in publishing the results of the census: instead of putting into one column those who gave their native language as Ukrainian and those who used the term "Rus'ky," they artificially divided people of Ukrainian nationality into the Ukrainians and "Rusyny," thus falsely distinguishing as two separate languages "Ukrainian" and "Rus'ky." This is more astonishing since the Main Statistical Administration dealt with the Jews quite

differently. They brought into the same group individuals listing Hebrew or Yiddish as their native language, although Hebrew and Yiddish are quite different.

DATA ON NATIONALITIES

The data of the census of 1931, on the basis of native language, indicated on the territory of Eastern Galicia 1,655,000 Ukrainians and 1,119,000 "Rusyny." Its more detailed division into Ukrainians and "Rusyny" in individual counties presents a chaotic picture and demonstrates a complete lack of logic. The total number of all the Ukrainians and "Rusyny" constituted a little more than half the population (51%); when they were considered as two separate groups, as was done in this census, then the 41% of the population counted as Poles constituted the largest national group. Only in the Stanyславiv voievodstvo, on the basis of this type of statistical analysis, did the Ukrainians, who there made up 68.9% of the population, prevail over the Poles; the Poles made up 22.4%.

Another example of inaccuracy is that, for the country as a whole, 13.6% of the Greek Catholics were classified as Poles, 51.6% as Ukrainians, and 34.8% as "Rusyny."

The following table presents data based on Polish governmental statistics for Galicia and for the non-Ukrainian parts of adjacent counties of Yaroslav, Peremyshl, and Sianok, but without Lemkian area. (cf. p. 16).

A divergence is clearly seen between grouping the population on the basis of nationalities and denominations. In the light of what has been said about ethnic groups of Galicia a conclusion may be reached that the number of Greek Catholics should be taken as a minimal number of Ukrainians; the number of Roman Catholics should be taken as a maximal number of Poles together with the *Latynnyky*. However, the statistics on denominations based on the Polish censuses cannot be assumed to be accurate judging by

Nationalities (in %)

	1910	1921	1931
Ukrainians and "Rusyny"	59.7	54.2	51.0
Poles	39.0	38.3	41.2
Jews	—	6.6	7.1
Others	1.3	0.9	0.7

Denominations (in %)

	1880	1900	1910	1921	1931
Greek Catholics (together with not numerous Greek Orthodox — 1931, 0.2%)	64.1	63.5	62.5	61.2	59.0
Roman Catholics	21.3	22.6	24.3	26.9	30.0
Jews	13.4	12.9	12.4	11.2	10.3
Others	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.7

For 1931, the numbers (in thousands) are as follows:

The total population	5,460		
Ukrainians	1,665	Greek Catholics	3,230
"Rusyny"	1,119	Roman Catholics	1,631
Poles	2,246	Judaists	563
Jews	386		

a comparison of them with objective data secured from ecclesiastical institutions of both churches and from parish statistics.

The following table presents a juxtaposition of the ecclesiastical statistics for 1932-1939 (the Roman Catholic on the basis of Roman Catholic schematisms of 1936-1939, and the Greek Catholic on the basis of Greek Catholic schematisms of 1932-38) and the data of governmental statistics.

	Roman Cath.	Greek Cath.	Among 100 Catholics	
			Greek Cath.	Roman Cath.
Ecclesiastical statistics	3,610,000	1,440,000	71.4	28.6
Governmental census of 1931	3,220,000	1,631,000	66.5	33.5

During 1946-48 this author was engaged in research aimed at elucidating the question of nationalities in Galicia. In these years some 100,000 Ukrainians lived as displaced persons in camps in West Germany. Individuals were found from all parts of Galicia, from nearly all villages. More than 12,000 questionnaires were filled in, and an average of three per community were collected. On the basis of this material, data of all governmental statistics (Austrian, Polish, and those of the German census of 1943), data of all ecclesiastical schematisms, the numerical ethnic relationships in Galicia were worked out in detail and a map was constructed. These data for January 1, 1939 for the territory of Ukrainian Galicia (that is, excluding the Polish section of adjacent counties but including Lemkian area) are as follows:

	in thousands	in %
The total population	5,824	100
including Ukrainians	3,727	64.1
Polish-speaking Ukrainians	16	0.3
Poles	948	16.2
<i>Latynnyky</i>	514	8.8
Jews	570	9.8
Others	49	0.8

Let us compare once more the statistics from several sources for the strictly Ukrainian territory (excluding the Polish section of counties located in the Ukrainian-Polish borderland and joined to the Ukrainian lands in order to increase the percentage of Poles).

Source	Of 100 people of the total population				of 100 Cath.	
	Greek Cath.	Roman Cath.	Jews	Others	Greek Cath.	Rom. Cath.
Austrian census of 1910	63.6	23.1	12.3	1.0	73.2	26.8
Polish census of 1921	62.8	25.6	11.0	0.6	71.0	29.0
Polish census of 1931	60.2	28.6	10.5	0.7	67.8	32.2
This author's data for 1939	64.4	25.0	9.8	0.8	71.9	28.1
Ecclesiastical statistics for 1932-1939	64.8	24.6	9.8	0.8	72.4	27.6

As compared with the governmental statistics, our data indicate a higher percentage of Greek Catholics — i. e. of Ukrainians. Also, on dividing the Roman Catholics into real Poles (including the Polish colonists) and the *Latynnyky*, we discovered that, among 100 Roman Catholics, there are 65 real Poles (including 5 Polish colonists) and 35 *Latynnyky* (the latter even slightly predominate among rural Roman Catholics). Our investigations indicate that of 100 inhabitants of Galicia (without taking into account the Jews and Germans), the Ukrainian language was used by 81.4 and the Polish by 18.6; of 100 persons with a distinct national character either Ukrainian or Polish (that is, not taking into account transitional groups), 80 were Ukrainians and 20 were Poles.

It is interesting to compare our statistics with the results of the

German census of March 1, 1943. The latter statistics cover only 76% of the population of Galicia.

Total population	Ukrainians	Poles	Others
3,584 (100)	2,766 (77.2)	750 (20.9)	68 (1.9)

If we take into account that in 1939-40 the Soviet authorities transported to the East recent Polish colonists, and that under a changed political situation approximately half the *Latynnyky* declared themselves to be Ukrainians, our data generally give an approximately accurate ethnic population picture of this territory.

IV

VOLHYNIA

The picture of ethnic relationships in Volhynia is much simpler than that of Galicia. Up to the mid-nineteenth century non-Ukrainians in Volhynia constituted some 20% of the population. These were Jews, Poles, the *Latynnyky*, and a relatively small number of Russians who lived in the cities. After serfdom was abolished in 1861, some of the land of the large landowners was parcelled among colonists from the outside: Czechs, Germans, and Poles. The percentage of Ukrainians in Volhynia was thus decreased to 70%. According to the Russian census of 1897, the population of western Volhynia was composed of Ukrainians⁴ (70%.) Jews (12.6%), Poles (7%), Russians (3.5%), Germans and Czechs (6.9%). The time of the Polish occupation was marked by an influx of Poles.

In 1920-39 western Volhynia, which was within the boundaries

⁴ The Russian census of 1897 divided the population on the basis of native language, and subdivided the groups of Russians into Little Russian, Great Russians and Belorussians for provinces and counties.

of Poland, existed in the form of the Volhynian voievodstvo, its capital in the city of Lutsk. The Polish regime applied an unusual policy there, initiated by Voievoda (Governor) Jozefski, which aimed at encouraging Ukrainians to be loyal to the regime. As a result, the data for the Volhynian voievodstvo acquired in the census of 1931 are more accurate than that for Galicia. It is worth mentioning that only 9,000 persons in Volhynian voievodstvo indicated their native language as "Rus'ky."

The census of 1931 showed the structure of the population of Volhynian voievodstvo on the basis of native language as follows:

	in thousands	in %
Native language:	2,086	100.0
The total population		
Ukrainian	1,427	68.4
Polish	347	16.6
Yiddish and Hebrew	206	9.9
German	47	2.3
Czech	31	1.5
Russian	23	1.1
Others	5	0.2

Of eleven counties of Volhynian voievodstvo Poles comprised more than 20% of the population only in two: in Volodymyr county they made up 26.6% of the population to the Ukrainians 58%, and in Kostopil county they constituted 21.9% of the population to the Ukrainians 65.1%.

V

POLISIA

Polisia is a Ukrainian and Belorussian frontier territory. Its population does not possess a high national consciousness. The ethnic

ways and language are mixed; this is a zone of transitional dialects.

In addition to the Ukrainians and Belorussians, Polisia is populated by more Jews than other Ukrainian lands. According to the Russian census of 1897, among every 100 inhabitants of southern Ukrainian Polisia there were 73 Ukrainians, 18 Jews, 5 Russians, 3 Poles, 1 others. The poor country did not attract Polish colonists; consequently only a small number of Poles came during the Polish occupation.

The Polisian voievodstvo was formed from the part of Polisia that came under Polish rule; Berestia was its administrative center. The policy employed by the Polish regime in Polisia differed from that in Galicia and Volhynia. To exploit the low level of national consciousness of the inhabitants of the area the authorities created a unique case in Europe by using the term "Local people" to embrace both Ukrainians and Belorussians. As a consequence the Polish censuses of 1921 and 1931 do not have any useful data with respect to the nationality or language of the population there. A deliberate error of the administration is revealed by the fact that, in the census of 1921, the population of Kobryn county, on the basis of the decision of county authorities (sic!), were listed as Poles, and this was so indicated on ethnic maps. Actually, no Polish island existed in the Kobryn area and this inaccuracy was not perpetuated in the next census of 1931. To make things worse the census of 1931 applied the term "local people" to most of the inhabitants of Polisia, thereby minimizing the number of Ukrainians and Belorussians living there. This was used as a basis for a new governmental language policy throughout the region: since almost no Ukrainians and Belorussians were recorded living there, the order was given to use the Polish language in the schools and churches. In a locality, Bereza Kartuzka, on Polisia territory, the first Polish modern concentration camp was established. Suspect Ukrainians from all of Poland were imprisoned there.

Official statistics give a distribution of the Polisian population

on the basis of nationality (1921) or native language (1931) as follows:

	Nationality (1921)		Language (1931)	
	in thousands	in %	in thousands	in %
Ukrainian	73.4	9.8	54.0	4.8
Belorussian	361.5	48.4	75.4	6.6
Polish	191.5	25.6	164.4	14.5
Jewish	80.4	10.7	113.0	10.0
Russian	3.6	0.5	16.2	1.4
Local	36.8	4.9	707.1	62.5
Others	0.3	0.1	2.1	0.2
Total	747.5	100.0	1,132.2	100.0

Actually, a per cent of Poles (together with the "Latynnyky") equaled to the per cent of Roman Catholics, i. e. 11.0 per cent. As a matter of fact, the ethnic groups in the Ukrainian part of Polisia were in 1931 as follows:

	in thousands	in %
Ukrainians	708	76.6
Jews	99	10.8
Poles	102	11.0
Russians	13	1.4
Others	2	0.2
Total	924	100.0

VI

KHOLM AREA AND PODLACHIA

In 1920-39, while under Polish domination, these two areas were included in the Liublin voievodstvo, except for a small section

north of the Bug River — Bilsk county — which was joined to the Bilostok voievodstvo.

In the mid-nineteenth century the population in this territory was predominantly Ukrainian (some 60%); Poles composed 25% of the population, Jews 15%.

The Ukrainians belonged to the Greek Catholic Church. In 1875 the Tsarist government abolished this Church and forced the people to join the Greek Orthodox Church. However, a large number of Ukrainians remained faithful to Catholicism. After the Tsarist decree of April 17, 1905, granted the people permission to change their religious affiliation although still forbidding the Greek Catholic Church, these Ukrainians turned to Roman Catholicism and became subject to Polish ecclesiastical and cultural influences. There were 450,000 members of the Greek Orthodox Church in 1905, but only 280,000 members in 1908. In 1912 the Russian administration organized the Kholm Province which, in 1918, on the basis of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, was included in the Ukrainian State. World War I hit Kholm area hard, for a majority of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox inhabitants were evacuated eastward with the retreating Russian Army. Only some of the evacuees later returned to their homeland; approximately 120,000 of them never returned. These events, as well as an influx of Polish colonists, resulted in an increase in the percentage of Poles in the area and in the appearance of a group of Polonized Ukrainians (called "turn-coats" by the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians). These Polonized Ukrainians spoke Ukrainian and continued the Ukrainian mode of life; politically, however, they identified with the Poles. Some 150,000 of them were in Podlachia, and some 50,000 in Kholm area. In the years preceding World War II, Ukrainians were predominant only in a narrow strip along the Bug River.

The Polish policy in Kholm area and Podlachia was aimed at a rapid Polonization of the population. To this end statistics were used irresponsibly as a tool by the administration. For example.

the census of 1931 recorded on the territory of the Liublin voievodstvo 210,000 Greek Orthodox and 3,000 Greek Catholics, but only 74,000 Ukrainians and 11,000 "Rusyny." It is clear that two thirds of the Ukrainians were listed as Poles. Actual data on ethnic groups in Kholm area and Podlachia (without the western Polonized section) in 1931 are as follows:

	in thousands	in %
Ukrainians	205	30.4
Poles	188	27.8
Roman Catholics speaking Ukrainian	180	26.7
Jews	87	12.9
Others	15	2.2
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 675	<hr/> 100.0

VII

SUMMARY

1. Western Ukraine is historically and ethnically a Ukrainian land. Polish elements began to come to Galicia towards the end of the fourteenth century and to Volhynia beginning with the seventeenth century. The Polish influx began to increase in Galicia and in Kholm area in mid-nineteenth century; it became stronger in the 1920's and 1930's.

2. Polish policy in general was aimed at dividing the Ukrainians into regional groups. As presented in the foregoing discussion, it took different forms in each of the lands comprising Western Ukraine. The purpose was to Polonize the Ukrainian population. To

help accomplish this, the Polish Governmental leaned on falsified statistics on ethnic groups in order to present Western Ukraine to the world as a mixed territory. This was done as follows:

a) The Ukrainians were divided into Ukrainians and "Rusyny."

b) A "new" ethnic group — "local people" — which actually consisted of Ukrainians and Belorussians, was created in Polisia.

c) Some Ukrainians were falsely listed as Poles: a large group of Greek-Catholic Poles was invented in Galicia, and a group of Greek-Orthodox Poles mainly in Kholm area.

d) The number of Poles was increased as a consequence of (c) and because some Jews (mainly in Galicia) were also falsely recorded as Poles.

e) The actual number of Greek Catholic in Galicia was decreased by some 150,000.

3. Numerically these operations resulted in the presentation by Polish statistics of 5,902,000 Ukrainians living in Western Ukraine, artificially categorized as follows: Ukrainians, 3,203,000; "Rusyny," 1,179,000; Poles, roughly 840,000; "local people," about 580,000, others approximately 100,000.

Ethnic Composition of the Population of Western Ukraine in 1931

Ethnic groups	Galicia		Volhynia		Polisia		Kholm Land ¹⁾ and Podlachia		Western Ukraine	
	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %
a) on the basis of the Polish census of December 9, 1931										
Ukrainians	1,667	30,7	1,418	68,0	54	5,8	64	8,4	3,203	34,9
"Rusyns"	1,159	21,3	9	0,4	—	—	11	1,5	1,179	12,8
Poles	2,193	40,4	347	16,6	135	14,6	547	72,6	3,322	36,3
Jews	381	7,0	206	9,9	99	10,7	69	9,1	655	7,0
"Local" people	—	—	—	—	578	62,6	—	—	578	6,3
Others	35	0,6	106	5,1	58	6,3	63	8,4	262	2,8
Total	5,435	100,0	2,086	100,0	924	100,0	754	100,0	9,199	100,0
b) actual data										
Ukrainians	3,488	64,2	1,445	69,2	708	76,6	261 ²⁾	34,6	5,902 ²⁾	64,1
Poles	871	16,0	327 ³⁾	15,7	102 ³⁾	11,0	205	27,2	1,505 ³⁾	16,4
Roman Cath. speaking Ukr.	478	8,8	—	—	—	—	180	23,9	658 ⁴⁾	7,3
Jews	555	10,2	208	10,0	99	10,8	92	12,2	954	10,4
Others	43	0,8	106	5,1	15	1,6	16	2,1	180	1,9
Total	5,435	100,0	2,086	100,0	924	100,0	754	100,0	9,199	100,0
Territory in km. sq.	55,700		35,800		27,800		12,900		132,200	

1) Together with Bilsk county. 2) Including a small number of Polish speaking Ukrainians, in total some 40,000. 3) Including some Latynnyky. 4) Probably 750 together with Volhynia and Polisia.

VIII

CHANGES IN WESTERN UKRAINE RESULTING FROM WORLD WAR II.

In accordance with the Soviet-Polish Treaty of 1945, 70% of the Western Ukrainian territory (the former Volhynian, Stany-slaviv and Ternopil voievodstvos in their entirety, a great part of the Lviv voievodstvo, and a small part of the Polish voievodstvo) were incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR; Kholm area, Podlachia, and the western and northwestern borderlands of Galicia remained within Poland.

The shifting of boundaries was accompanied by an exchange of population. Events associated with the war and treaty resulted in great changes in the picture of ethnic relations of the lands under discussion. The German occupation had annihilated the Jewish population; few Germans or Czechs remained in Volhynia for most chose to return to their homelands; Galicians of Polish nationality were exchanged for Ukrainians living on those Ukrainian ethnic lands which remained within Poland.

Since the exchange of population, the parts of Western Ukraine now under the Polish rule are inhabited almost entirely by Poles, and the parts in the Ukrainian SSR by Ukrainians. This is confirmed by the numerical data for that part of Western Ukraine within the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR secured by the Soviet census of January 15, 1951.⁵

⁵ It should be noted that an increase in population after the census of 1931 was balanced by losses of the Ukrainian and Polish population during World War II, and losses of the Ukrainian population during the famine of 1932-33.

	Galicia		Volhynia		Western Ukraine	
	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %
The total population including	4,288	100,0	1,817	100,0	6,105	100,0
Ukrainians	3,888	90,6	1,709	94,0	5,597	91,6
Russians	247	5,8	75	4,2	322	5,3
Poles	93	2,2	7	0,4	100	1,6
Jews	35	0,8	5	0,3	40	0,7
Others	25	0,6	21	1,1	46	0,8



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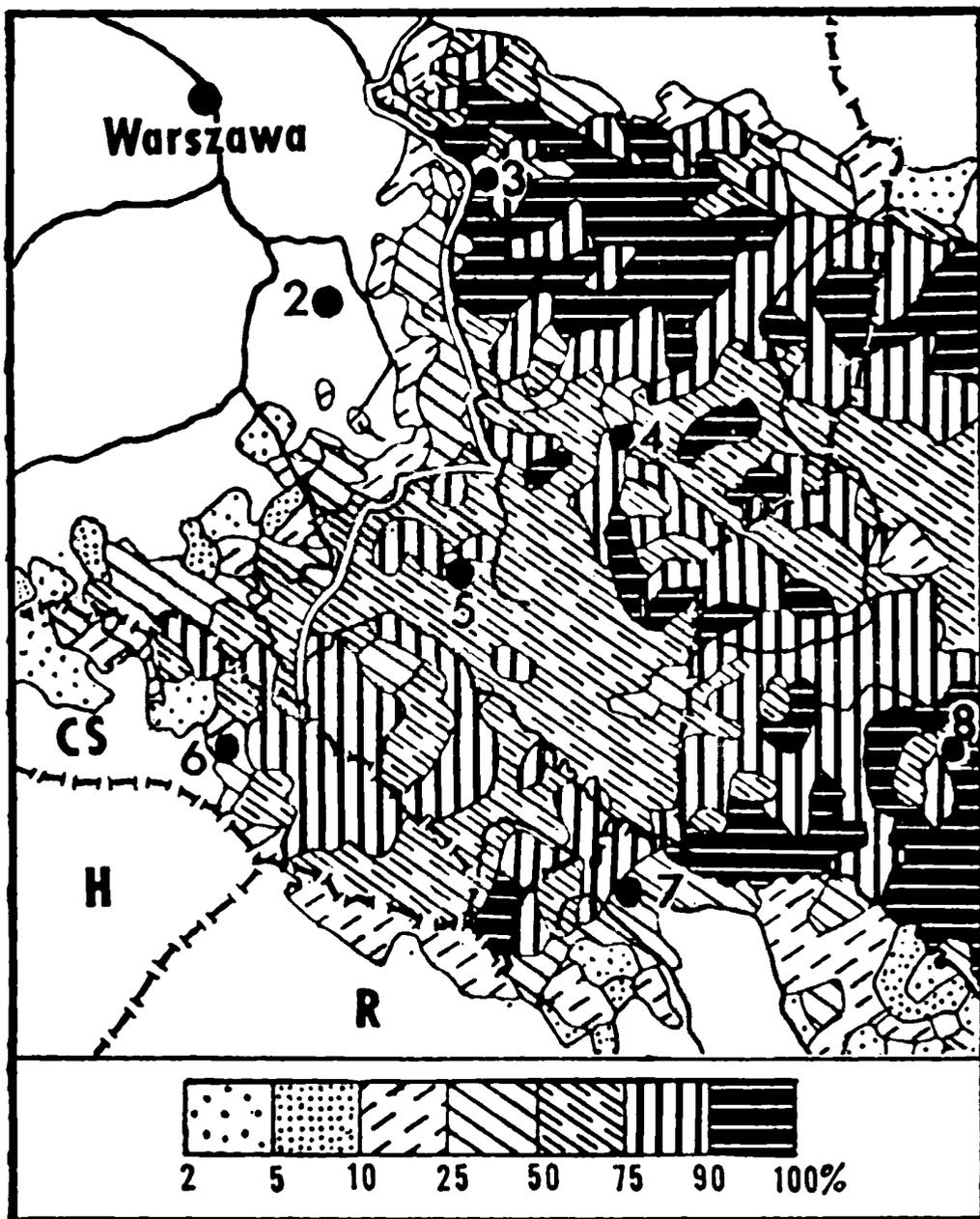
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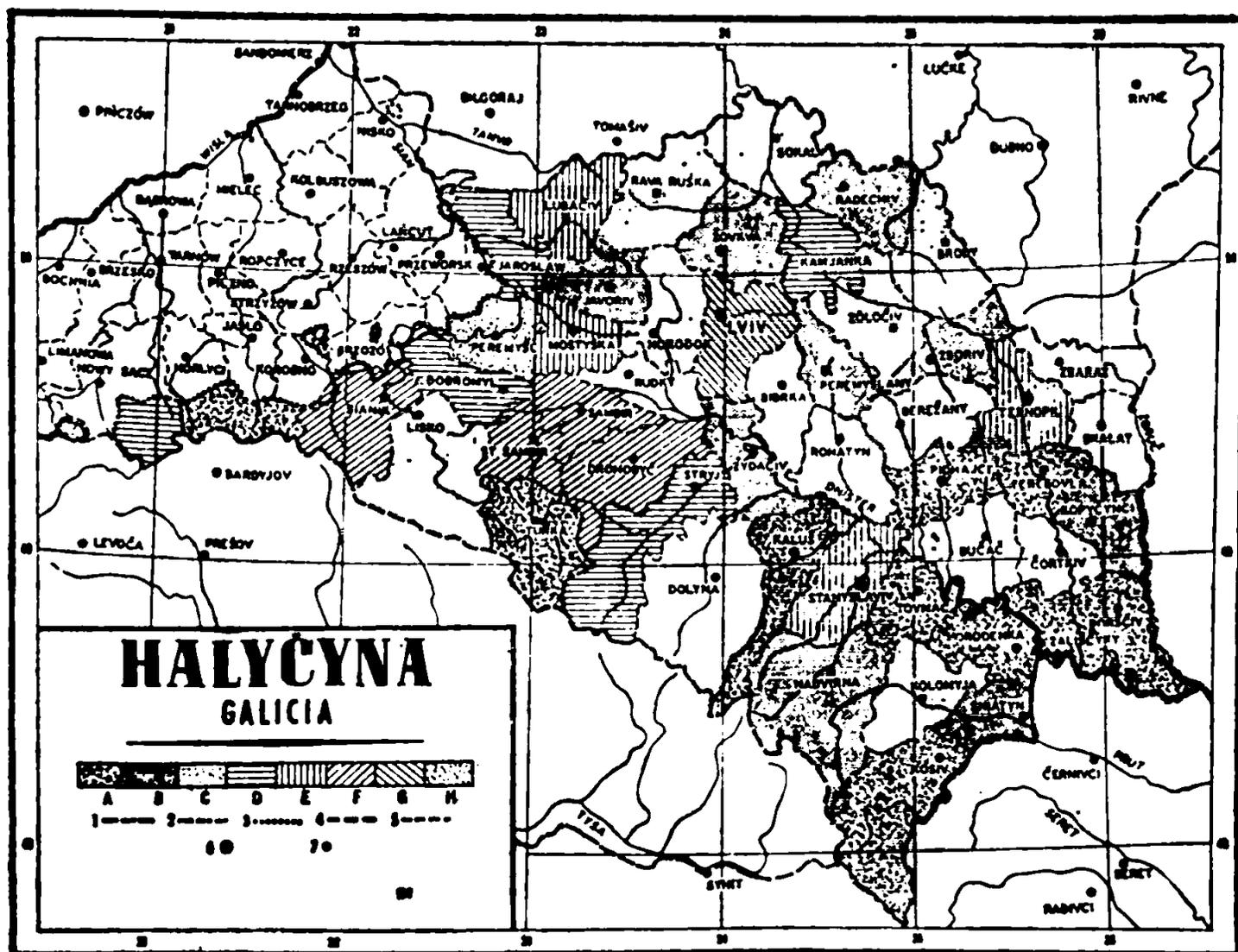
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PERCENTAGE OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION
IN POLAND (1920-1939)

LEGEND: 2. — Lublin, 3 — Berestia, 4 — Lutsk, 5 — Lviv,
6 — Uzhhorod, 7 — Chernivtsi, 8 — Vynnytsia,
CS. — Czechoslovakia, H — Hungary, R. — Rumania.
White curve — Curson line.



PERCENTAGE OF UKRAINIAN SPEAKING POPULATION
IN GALICIA.

LEGEND: I. A: over 85%, B: 80-84.9%, C: 75-79.9%, D: 70-74.9%,
E: 65-69.9%, F: 60-64.9% G: 55-59.9%, H: 50-54.9%.

II. 1. Boundaries of the states, 2. Boundaries of Galicia, 3. Ukrainian-Polish ethnic limits, 4, Boundaries of the Polish voievodstvo, 5. Counties' limits, 6. Capital of voievodstvo, 7. County center.

Vol. I. № 1.

The Ukrainian Republic of January 22 25 c.

Vol. I. № 2

Western Ukraine within Poland 1920-1939
(Ethnic relationships) by V. Kubijovyč 50 c.

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