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(Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa
w Chełmie)**The post-WW1 destiny
of Galicia and Bukovina
based on selected polish
archive sources****Słowa kluczowe:** granica; pogranicze; państwo; Galicja; Bukowina; Czerniowce**Keywords:** border; borderland; state; Galicia; Bukovina; Chernivtsi

Scientific research on Eastern Galicia's territorial belonging, and above all, Bukovina after the First World War, is poorly analysed and not properly verified in the Polish literature. Admittedly, by using the desintegration of Austria-Hungary, Romanian activists in Bukovina argued in 1918 for the Romanian occupation of entire Bukovina and announced its incorporation into Romania. However, it was only on the strength of treaties concluded with Austria and Bulgaria in 1919 and with Hungary in 1920 that Romania received the territories of Transylvania, Bukovina.¹ The analysis of Polish sources provides only a basic knowledge of the region. The analysis of Polish sources provides only a basic knowledge of the region. Examples include works by Tomasz Kosik, who in his doctoral thesis deals with the "Ukrainian" national minority in Romanian Maramureş and the problems of its identity, or Michał Klimecki, Ludwik Mroczek,

¹ H. Krasowska, *Górale polscy na Bukowinie Karpackiej. Studium socjolingwistyczne i leksykalne*, Warszawa 2006, p. 30.

or important articles about Galicia by Jarosław Rubacha and Aleksander J. Leinwanda. However, there is no monograph in Poland, apart from the published 46 years ago *Historia Polaków na Bukowinie* by Emil Biedrzycki, devoted entirely to Bukowina. The structure of the title of this article indicates that the analysis of selected archival documents limited only to the scope of a small part of the Romanian-Bukovine-Ukrainian issues has been carried out.

At the same time, it should be explained that the authors referred to in the text deal with so-called thematic areas around the issues and as such are not a source of knowledge about the presented issues.

One can, of course, wonder about the reasons for this state of affairs. In my opinion, this is primarily due to the dispersion of archival records, most of which are kept in the Archives of the Józef Piłsudski Institute in New York. Moreover, there are few Polish scientists who - also taking into account the distance from Romania to the Republic of Poland and the complexity of mutual relations, especially in the 20th century – want to deal with mutual state relations.

It is precisely from the political point of view that the presented issues, as an issue of particular importance, deserve special treatment, at least in the form of a scientific article prepared on the basis of selected Polish archival documents.

The presented article is a partial study. However, taking into account the fact that it applies only to the issues scarcely addressed in the Polish literature, it has become the subject and the scientific goal of this article, and its main intention is to show the history of events related to the territorial belonging of Bukovina after the First World War.

Border areas between countries are the most exposed to the possessive activities of neighbouring countries. Most often two cultures, religions and national minorities meet in these areas, often striving for their own autonomy or even statehood. This leads to the emergence of negative relations between the nationalities on these areas. Such phenomena starts to be visible mainly after the end of warfare. It should be emphasized that the Russian-Austro-Hungarian front-line in 1916 did not miss Bukovina either. Foreign correspondents wrote about it:

The Russians attacked Bukovina on the hills west of the Moldovan valley. Having filled the gaps in the units, which suffered heavy losses in the last battles, made an attack in the vicinity of Łuczyna (vel. Luzina). The most serious bat-

ties took place south-west of Bresza and north-east of Cveanesti, as well as in the Łuczyna area and on Mount Capul. The scope of Russia's losses are huge, although reinforcements are still coming in. The Russians are struggling with unbelievable obstinacy and want to gain land at all costs.²

I mention this, among other things, to make it clear that Bukovina was the area of military fights and then of many political actions aimed at its subjugation. In such a sensitive area, where, in addition, representatives of many nationalities lived, there were disputes between them, and even established state borders did not bring the end to the long-lasting conflicts. Such a situation is characteristic of every border through which a state border passes.

We have to agree with Marek Szczepański, who in such situations calls the areas at the intersection of states "scars of the borderland".³ In this case, he probably means the newly created borders that are considered by one of the parties to be harmful. It should be noted, however, that the scars formed in the process of political wounds' healing, may in the future transform into the source of further negative behaviour.⁴

Bukovina, or at least its northern part, was also an example of the scars which affected Poland after 1918, because of claims that were also raised to not only the area of Bukovina, but Chernivtsi as well by Romania, Russia and non-existent at that time Ukraine, whose politicians were striving to create their own independent state. Though *Poland was not present* in this group of countries, it should be noted that created in 1914 the Supreme National Committee wanted a monument – a shield – dedicated to the fallen during the January Uprising to be erected in this city.⁵ Few correspondence on this matter confirms that the District National Committee in Chernivtsi was interested in this problem. Moreover, there was quite a large group of Poles living in this part of Bukovina – some sources speak of approxi-

² Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (APPozn.), Rada Narodowa w Poznaniu 1913–1921, sign. 128, p. 15.

³ M. Szczepański, *Na peryferiach systemu światowego? Socjologiczna refleksja wokół miejsca pogranicza kulturowego w układzie globalnym*, [w:] *Transgraniczność w perspektywie socjologicznej. Kontynuacje i wyzwania*, red. J. Leszkowicz-Baczyński, t. 2, Lubin 2001, p. 98.

⁴ M. Golka, *Imiona wielokulturowości*, Warszawa 2010, p. 282.

⁵ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (ANKrak), Naczelny Komitet Narodowy, seria 2.4 Oddział dla Spraw Delegatów Galicji i Śląska, sign. 288, p. 287.

mately 36 thousand inhabitants of Polish origin⁶ – that were not indifferent to the future fate of the homeland, the memory of its heroes, as well as those who chose Bukovina as their place on earth within the framework of the proposed by the Supreme National Committee of the Austro-Hungarian-Polish federal state.⁷

It is known that due to the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland by Germany and Austria-Hungary, the above assumption was not realized. However, there was no expectation that these lands, at the expense of Romania, should be incorporated into Poland.

It should also be pointed out that the situation of Poles living in Bukovina was not too fortunate. In January 1919, a group of activists of the Polish National Council (PRN) in Bukovina sent a request for help to the British government on behalf of Poles threatened with death and the loss of property to be inflicted by “Russian Bolsheviki”. It was also added that many thousands of representatives of the Polish intelligentsia in the internment camps died of hunger and cold. More to the point, it was written that “Russians force to conscript Poles aged 17–45 and send deep into Ukrainian part of Russia. The defenseless Polish people, saving themselves from oppression, flee into forests and mountains”.⁸ The document also informs about the fact that the Ruthenians, armed in October 1918 by Austria, who are led by Prussian officers, are a great threat to the inhabitants of Bukovina.⁹

The Polish National Council in Bukovina asked for military intervention, begging for the rapid dispatch of coalition troops to this important region.¹⁰

It should be noted that in the above document and other such requests or memoranda, Poles did not complain about Romania or the Romanian population, the fact that testifies to the proper relations between the Romanian nation and the Polish minority living in Bukovina. When discussing this issue, PRN wrote:

Maintaining the Polish element in the Bukovina borderlands is not only in the national interest to give support to the Poles living on these areas – so far com-

⁶ ANKraK, Naczelny Komitet Narodowy, seria 3.1 Biuro Prezydzialne, sign. 509, p. 879.

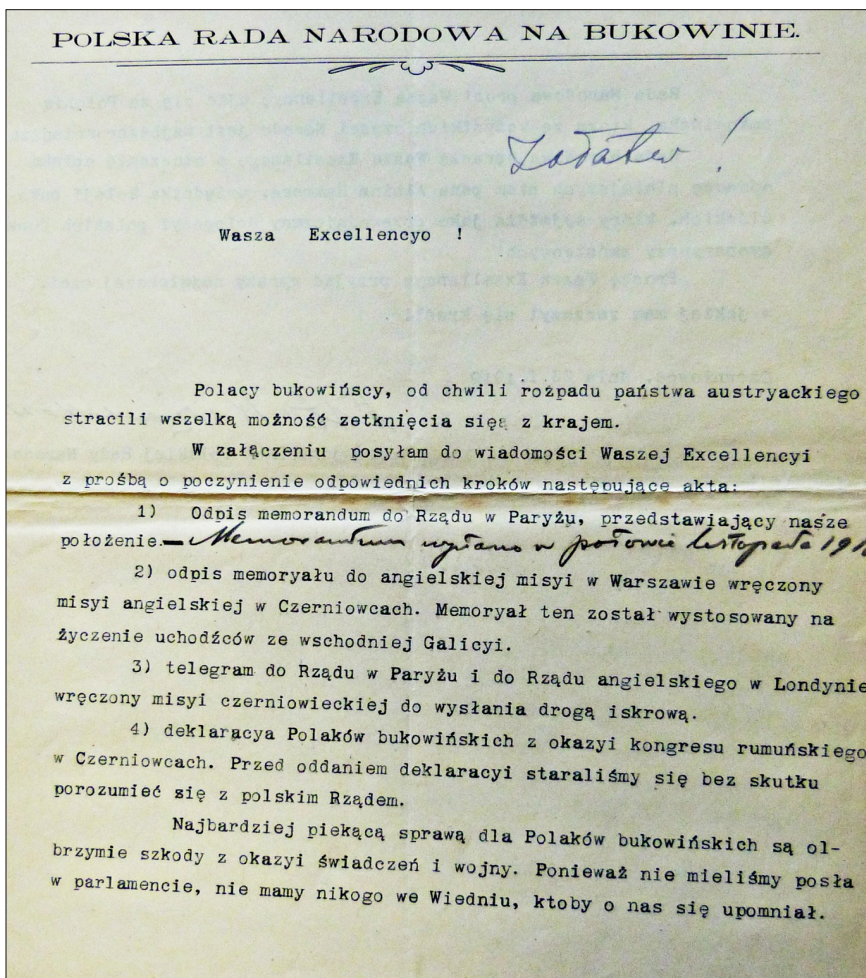
⁷ Ibidem, p. 879–882.

⁸ AAN, GUL Plenipotentiary in Warsaw, sign. 43, p. 1.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

pletely forgotten by the Mother (Homeland) – but also in the Polish state interest, because the strong Polish element in Bukovina will become a link and a banner of Polish statehood with the neighbouring Romanian state. The Polish Bukovina people living in close relations with Romanians will be called in the first line to pave the way for Polish trade and industry to the Black Sea.¹¹



Ill. 1. The first page of the memoir of the Polish National Council in Bukovina. Source: Archive of New Files (Archiwum Akt Nowych – AAN), Pełnomocnik Głównego Urzędu Likwidacyjnego (GUL) w Wiedniu, sign. 43, p. 2

¹¹ Ibidem.

In a document to the Most Outstanding Government of the United Poland in Paris (Versailles) it was mentioned that in 1918 there were 50 thousand Poles living in Bukovina.

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Delegat Wojskowy P. K. T. Czerniowce.

Wpłynęło d. 20/3. 1916. Czerniowce, dnia 14. marca 1916

L. 301. -

Zatwierdzone d. 1916

Del. / 15

Raport I.

W odpowiedzi na okólnik L 20 donoszący, że w sprawie
 tworzy legionów powzięto już inicjatywę i tak prawnie-
 podobnie wkrótce zostanie wykonaną. Co do oddo-
 nienia jej, to z uwagi na bliskość frontu takowe nie
 rychło będzie mogło nastąpić.

Obchód styczniowy odbyć się nie mógł z powodu
 lokalnych które na razie uważa się nie być, gdyż
 z powodu bliskości frontu, i epidemii wojskowej za-
 kazyje. Pamięć rocznicy styczniowej uświetniono jedynie
 powstaniem posiedzenia P. K. T. przez Przew. P. Walewskiego,
 który przy zagajeniu posiedzenia wygłosił odpowied-
 nią przemowę.

Dotychczas zorganizowano mi 3 listy straci legionistów pola-
 kich, t. j. od 1. maja do października 1915 i listę IV.
 proszę o uzupełnienie tychże.

Lecie.

Józef Wasylewski

Departament Wojskowy
 N. K. N.

Wpłynęło dnia 19/3 1916.

L. 1627

III. 2. Correspondence with the delegate of the District National Committee in Chernivtsi, National Archive in Krakow (ANKrak), Naczelny Komitet Narodowy, seria 2.4 Oddział dla Spraw Delegatów Galicji i Śląska, series 2.4 Oddział dla Spraw Delegatów Galicji i Śląska, sign. 288, p. 287

The historical and political background to the events taking place also in Bukovina was the so-called the Treaty of Brest concluded in 1918 by Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria (the Central Powers) on the one hand and on the other, the “government” of Ukraine (9 February), which after all was not a party to the First World War, and Russia (3 March 1918).¹² It should also be emphasized that the above-mentioned states, also called the Quadruple Alliance, were the party that suffered defeat in the First World War and as such could not establish a new geopolitical order. The post-war borders of Europe and the world were established during the Versailles negotiations, and the final decision was taken by the Conference of Ambassadors, the executive body of the Treaty of Versailles, set up in 1920 by diplomats from the United Kingdom, Japan, Italy and the United States, and then after the resignation of the US Ambassador, who remained at the Council as an observer, a diplomat from Belgium. It was the committee representing the winners who, on 14 June 1923, decided on the borders of Poland, recognizing that the Vilnius Region and Eastern Galicia, among others, would stay within the borders of the Polish state.¹³ Such decision was announced on 16 March 1923 by Maciej Rataj, Speaker of the Sejm during the 25th session of the Parliament, to be saying among others: “I am happy to inform the Sejm of the official message that I received from the Prime Minister. The Conference of Ambassadors, based on Article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles, recognized our eastern borders without reservations”.¹⁴ This was also the position of the League of Nations Council.¹⁵

This was particularly important in the context of the Ukrainian aspirations to Chełm Land and Podlachia, which were awakened primarily by the Germans, on the basis of the Treaty of Brest of 9 February 1918 informally signed – and today can be assessed. They “granted” these lands to the Ukrainian government, which at that time had neither territory, nor borders

¹² A. R. Kozłowski, *Rok 1918 – niezapomniany pokój brzeski*, [w:] *Problematyka geopolityczna ziem polskich*, red. P. Eberhardt, Warszawa 2008 („Prace Geograficzne” nr 218), p. 171.

¹³ S. Wojtowicz, *Ukraińskie Zjednoczenie Narodowo-Demokratyczne na drodze do porozumienia z władzami II RP*, „Rocznik Stowarzyszenia Naukowców Polaków Litwy” 2015, t. 15, p. 122.

¹⁴ Stenographic report of the 25th session of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 16 March 1923. Printout in the possession of the author of the article.

¹⁵ Cz. Grzelak, *Granica wschodnia Polski w polityce wielkich mocarstw 1939–1945*, „Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne” 1998, t. 1, p. 129.

formed, nor diplomatic skills in establishing relations with other entities of international law. There were also assurances of the Austro-Hungarian about Ukrainian self-governance in Galicia. It should also be marked, and may be regarded as an exception, that the Treaty of Brest enshrined the commitment of the Quadruple Alliance to establish diplomatic relations with the formally non-existent Ukraine.

Meanwhile, Poland, being the country of a long tradition, after 123 years of captivity, regained independence, won recognition of the countries of the world, and became one of the most solid countries in Europe. It should be emphasized that after the First World War, the Republic of Poland was again independent, and did not appear as a new political entity. After all, its pre-partition borders reached far to the east and were accepted by the then governments until the plundering of its territories by Russia, Germany and Austria.

The fate of Eastern Galicia, and thus Bukovina, was decided since the break-up of Austro-Hungarian Empire in autumn 1918.¹⁶ It should also be mentioned that this country never ratified the Treaty of Brest,¹⁷ which made this document legally and politically useless (invalid), but important from the historical point of view.

Moreover, it is historical significance, that as early as 31 December 1918, Bukovina proclaimed its accession to the Kingdom of Romania,¹⁸ the fact that seemed to be sufficient to recognise the will of this region, largely inhabited by Romanians.

The fate of Bukovina and the Eastern Galicia bordering was a theatre of Ukrainian-Romanian struggle, political actions and the subject of diplomatic notes submitted mainly by Ukrainian diplomacy. The first one describes the event of March 12, 1919, when a Ukrainian military police station in Kozaczówka, Boszczkówka County in Galicia was shot at by Romanian artillery, causing large material losses and casualties among the

¹⁶ G. Baziur, *Między federalizmem a wspólnotą państwową: narody Austro-Węgier wobec rządu dualistycznej monarchii habsburskiej w latach 1918–1919*, „Przegląd Geopolityczny” 2015, t. 11, p. 55.

¹⁷ A. Kozłowski, *Geopolityczne położenie granicy pokoju brzeskiego (marzec 1918)*, „Studia Europejskie” 1999, t. IV, p. 129.

¹⁸ M. Sobczyński, M. Barwiński, *Wpływ przemian terytorialnych i struktury wewnętrznej ziem ukraińskich na położenie geopolityczne Rzeczypospolitej*, [w:] *Od Zborowa do NATO (1649–2009). Studia z dziejów stosunków polsko-ukraińskich od XVII do XXI wieku*, red. M. Franz, K. Pietkiewicz, Toruń, 2009, p. 30.

inhabitants. Michał Cymbaluk was killed and Rejza Sperberg, seriously injured. In addition, on April 8, 1919, two Romanian soldiers were to attack Theodore Hryciak and his wife Maria, who worked outside Romania. According to this note, similar cases have already taken place several times “on the Romanian occupation line and that the protests of the Ukrainian government have been so far left without any result”.¹⁹

Another unfriendly event concerned the diplomatic courier of the Ukrainian Republic, who was passing through Romania from Odessa to Vienna with all documents required by law. Moreover, George Gassenko, a member of the Extraordinary Ukrainian Mission in Romania, stressed that his compatriots are fighting together with allied troops against the Bolsheviks, withholding the front in Tiraspol and Rozdilna, thus holding back the Bolshevik attack on Bessarabia. The diplomat also drew attention to the detention of Ukrainians who wanted to get through Galicia to Ukraine – the document mentions several names. In the final part of the note, the Member added that he had informed the Paris Peace Conference about the above events, which he meant “could cause certain complications”.²⁰

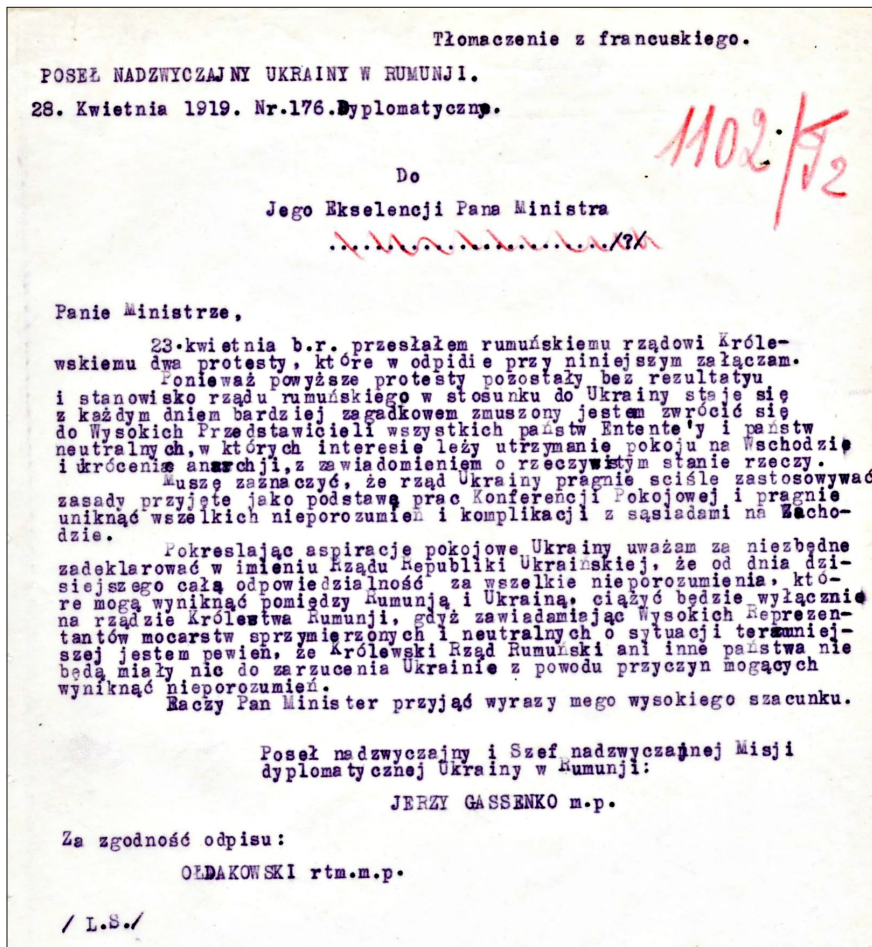
28 April 1919 Mr Gassenko sent diplomatic note 176 to the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Its content is particularly important if it is assumed that the fight for the shape of the borders is not yet over and that any violation of peace, even if presented in the form of a document, could have been important for the decisions concerning the lands democracy.

The following translation of the diplomatic note confirms that the then Ukrainian-Romanian relations were very unfriendly and at any time an open armed conflict could have occurred in this border region, the consequences of which could have had a disastrous effect.

The development of the situation on the borderline between Bukovina and Galicia became more and more acute every day. According to another letter of George Gassenko, the Romanian Headquarters on 28 May 1919 informed him that “in order to prevent the Bolsheviks from attacking the north-western border of the Bukovina, our units went to Galicia and took over the lines of the Nadvirna – Otynia – Niewiska”. The Ukrainian diplomat in harsh words criticized Romania’s actions, stating that the fact that the Romanian army crossed the Bukovina border on 24 May 1919 was

¹⁹ Józef Piłsudski Institute of America (IJPUSA), *Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza*, sign. 701/2/19, p. 360.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, sign. 701/2/17, p. 249.



III. 3. A copy of the protest sent to the Romanian Prime Minister by George Gassenko, head of the Ukrainian Extraordinary Mission in Romania, IJPUSA, Adiuturta Generalna Naczelnego Wodza, sign. 701/2/17, p. 248

contrary to the decision of Entente and forces him to make a firm protest to the Government of the Kingdom of Romania against the violation of Ukrainian territory and imperialist intentions of its management. It is written down in the document: "If I do not receive a satisfactory response within 48 hours, my government will have the right to regard this as a failure on the part of the Romanian government to recognise the decision of

the Peace Conference and a refusal of friendly coexistence with the democratic Republic of Ukraine, fighting side by side [!] Entente against the Bolsheviks”.²¹

On 2 June 1919, Mr Gassenko sent note 202 to the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, informing him that he had sent a protest to the President of the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of Romania and awaiting a satisfactory response. If he did not receive such a reply, he threatened that “my mission would be forced to leave Romania”.²²

Seeing the complicated military situation, on 12 June 1919, the Romanian authorities placed in Chernivtsi the headquarters of the 8th Infantry Division, commanded by General Alexandru Lupescu (temporarily replaced by General Zadik), whose troops occupied part of Galicia and Bukovina.²³

The General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Polish Army in a communiqué dated 14 November 1919 stated that at that time the Ukrainian army was divided into 5 front groups, the first of which was the Bukovinian Group, formed by 8 infantry divisions, operating at the front from Jablonica along Cheremosh through Horodenka and along the Dniester to Rosteul. The second group – Bessarabian – carried out activities on the front from Rosteul along the Dniester to Akerman. In addition, Romanian troops fought on the Transylvanian Front divided into three sections: northern, central and southern. The active and significant participation of Romanian troops on these fronts meant that none of the potential opponents could consider an attack aimed at capturing Bessarabia. It should be noted that, in 1919, the Romanian military forces had sixteen infantry divisions (numbers 1, 2, 4–10, 16, 18–21), two mountain rifle divisions and two cavalry divisions.²⁴

It is also worth pointing out that at that time the Orthodox magazine of Ukrainian Bukowińcy “Hołos Bukowyny” issued by the Romanian government and the 8th division, edited by the Romanian professor Zoppe²⁵ issued an appeal to the population to sign a protest against the accession

²¹ Ibidem, p. 247.

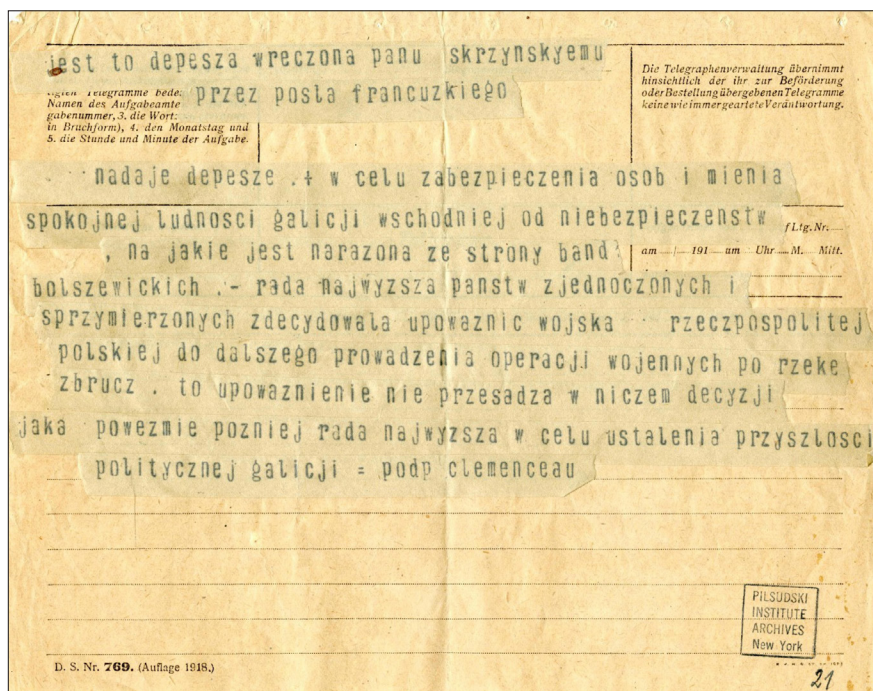
²² Ibidem, p. 246.

²³ Ibidem, sign. 701/2/16, p. 250.

²⁴ Ibidem, sign. 701/2/105, p. 316, 317.

²⁵ The original spelling of the surname has been preserved.

to Poland, advocating for the accession to Romania. This was probably related to the decisions taken in Paris, as evidenced by the following documents.²⁶



III. 4. Telegram on the Authorization of the Polish Army by the Supreme Council of the Allied powers to establish order in Galicia. IJPUSA, Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza, sign. 701/2/57, p. 21

The above telegram dates back to 27 June, 1919. It was written by French general Georges Clemenceau and addressed to Władysław Skrzyński. The content of the telegram – In the original French – In translation into Polish reads as follows:

In order to protect people and property of the peaceful population of Eastern Galicia from the dangers to which it is exposed by the Bolshevik bands – the

²⁶ IJPUSA, Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza, sign. 701/2/19, p. 318.

Supreme Council of the United and Allied States decided to authorize the army of the Republic of Poland to continue war operations on the Zbrucz river. This authorization does not prejudice in any way any decision to be taken later by the Supreme Council in order to determine the political future of Galicia.²⁷

Węgierski sztab 30/6 1919

<p>Die Daten im dienstlichen Eingange der mittels Typendruckapparates ausgefertigten Telegramme bedeuten: 1. den Namen des Aufgabebesetztes, 2. die Aufgabennummer, 3. die Wortzahl (eventuell in Bruchform), 4. den Monatsstag und 5. die Stunde und Minute der Aufgabe.</p>	<p>Gattung: _____ Eingangsnummer: _____</p> <p>do WODZA NACZELNEGO LWOW =</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PILSUDSKI INSTITUTE ARCHIVES New York</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>1078/194</i> <i>Baranow</i></p>	<p>Die Telegraphenverwaltung übernimmt hinsichtlich der ihr zur Beförderung oder Bestellung übergebenen Telegramme keine wie immer geartete Verantwortung.</p>
<p>Dienstliche Angaben: _____</p>	<p>Aufgenommen von _____ auf Lit. Nr. _____</p> <p>191... um ... Uhr ... M. ... Min.</p>	

Z WARSZAWY SZTAB GEN BAZ NR 30/6 15 50 =

GENERAŁ HENPYS KOMUNIKUJE , ŻE ZOSTAŁ POWIADOMIONY PRZEZ PADA CZTERECH O POZWOLENIU UŻYCIA WOJSK GEN . HALLERA PRZECIW UKRAJNCOM W GALICJI I ZAJĘCIU GALICJI DO ZBRUCZA . JEDNOCZEŚNIE PADA CZTERECH W TYM ZAWIADOMIENIU POBĘCA GEN . HENPYSOWI ZAKOMUNIKOWAĆ DOWODZTWU ARMII UKRAJNIAKÓW . O POWZIĘTAJ DECYZJI . OFICJALNE PISMIELNE ZAWIADOMIENIE . POTWIERDZAJĄCE ZAKOMUNIKOWANA PRZEZ GEN . HENPYSY DECYZJE PADY CZTERECH . NADJĘDZIE KURJEREM Z PARYŻA . - GEN HENPYS ZAPYTUJE . CZY NIE MOŻEBY POSŁAĆ TEGO ZAWIADOMIENIA PRZEZ DELEGACJE UKRAJNIAKÓW . BĘDĄCĄ WE LWOWIE I CZY NIE NALEŻAŁOBY JĄJ DODAĆ OFICEROM FRANCUSKIM = _____

D. S. Nr. 769. (Aufgabe 1618.) NR - 1512/3- PZYM +

55

III. 5. Telegram from the commander-in-chief – permission for General Haller’s army to use the army in Galicia. IJPUSA, Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza, sign. 701/2/57, p. 55

The presented telegram is dated 30 June 1919. Also in this case its author is General Georges Clemenceau. General Rozwadowski, referring to the above document in report no. 44, stated: “We should [...] exploit our currently free hand in Eastern Galicia vigorously, settle thoroughly Ukrainian conflicts, in which we can only count on our own strength”.²⁸ Moreover, the

²⁷ Ibidem, sign. 701/2/57, p. 21.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 57.

general wrote: “Germans like Czechs and Hungarians, even friendly Romanians and Eastern Bolsheviks as well will show us respect and reckon with us only as much as the real power we are able to present now”.²⁹

Meanwhile, the military attaché to the Polish Parliament in Bucharest informed that on 30 August 1919 the Bolshevik army under the command of Anton Denikin occupied Kiev. Polish diplomats received information from the head of the Military Mission of Ukraine in Bucharest, General Serhiy Delvig.³⁰

No wonder that on 20 November 1919 General Rozwadowski from the Polish Military Mission in Paris wrote another report: “In view of the need to treat our eastern borders right now, the Galician issue ceases to exist, and we no longer should return to it. Its belonging to Poland cannot be questioned anymore”.³¹

It is obvious that both the civil and military authorities of Poland saw the danger of uprisings from the non-Polish population living in Eastern Galicia. Apart from the actions of the Ukrainians, there was also a real threat from the Bolsheviks, who tried to win over opponents of both Poland and Romania employing various ways of propaganda. For these reasons, among others, at the Romanian 8th Infantry Division, whose headquarters were stationed in Chernivtsi, there was a liaison officer of the Polish Army, who was on the spot there to gather valuable information, including intelligence. One of his reports (intelligence report) important for the complicated issue of Bukovina is presented below.

Second lieutenant Wielogłowski, the author of the report, in another part of the document informs that Romania supported the Ukrainian uprising led by Symon Petliura, and the possible government of Yevgeny Petrushevich had a negative attitude to it. Wielowiejski adds that according to unofficial information J. Petrushevich and Metropolitan, Andrey Sheptytsky went to Geneva to present the demands of the Ruthenians to the League of Nations.³²

According to the Polish Military Attaché in Vienna, in 1921, the Ukrainians are to work most intensively in Bukovina, where in Chernivtsi and

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 58.

³⁰ Ibidem, sign. 701/2/19, p. 360.

³¹ Ibidem, sign. 701/2/57, p. 300.

³² Ibidem, sign. 701/2/34, p. 139.

OFICER ŁACZNIKOWY WOJSK POLSKICH
 W CZERNIOWCACH. - Czerniowce, 14. grudnia 1920 r.

Nr. 252. O D P I S I 6460

MELDUNEK WYWIADOWCZY Z DNIA 14. GRUDNIA 1920.

SPRAWY RUSIŃSKIE I RZĄD UKR.-GAL. WE WIEDNIU. -

Stowarzyszenie rusińskie akademickie w Czerniowcach p.n. "Sojusz" o nastroju czysto bolszewickim rozwinęło w ostatnich czasach intensywną działalność nie tylko pośród rusinów czerniowieckich, lecz wysyła swoich agitatorów na prowincję, celem uświadamiania ludności rusińskiej, zamieszkałej na wsi. Hasłem ich jest zdobycie niepodległości przez bolszewizm. Ludność ruska na Bukowinie uznaje jedynie Petruszewicza i całą swą uwagę skierowała na rząd Ukr.-Gal. we Wiedniu. Informatorem ludności ruskiej o działaniu i prądach politycznych rządu Ukr.-Gal. we Wiedniu prócz "Sojuszu", jest stowarzyszenie rusińskie "Zaporożec" w Czerniowcach. Organem tego stowarzyszenia jest "Wola Naroda". Jak już poprzednio meldowałem, robota tych stowarzyszeń jest przychylnie widziana i popierana przez tut. misje czeskie. -

III. 6. A copy of the report of Second Lieutenant Wielogłowski of 14.12.1920 on the activity of Ukrainians in exile. IJPUSA, Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza, sign. 701/2/34, p. 137

many cities in the province there are numerous committees of Ukrainians, which publish high-circulation magazines and agitation brochures. The propaganda office in Chernivtsi was headed by Zolkovych, who was subordinate to the Ukrainian Central Committee in Bukovina. The above mentioned Committee consisted of local Ukrainian parties of higher importance, among them: Radical Party, leader [!] Dr. Theodor Halip, press publisher "Hromadjanyń"; National Democratic Party, leader M. Vasylo,

**POSELSTWO POLSKIE
w WIEDNIU.
ATTACHE WOJSKOWY!**

Report Nr.4.

Wiedeń, dn. 20 marca 1921.

U K R A I N A.

Propaganda ukraińskiej zachodniej republiki.

Rząd ukraińskiej zachodniej republiki, widząc niekorzystne dla niego załatwienie sprawy przynależności Galicji wschodniej i Bukowiny, usilnie czyni starania, by jeszcze w ostatniej chwili przekonać państwa koalicyjne o konieczności utworzenia niezawisłego państwa zachodniej Ukrainy. W tym też celu prowadzi tak zagranicą, jak w Bukowinie i Galicji wschodniej ożywioną propagandę zmierzającą bądźto do wywołania powstania w obszarach, które rząd zachodnio ukraiński za swoje uważa, bądźto do zyskania dla sprawy niezawisłości zachodniej Ukrainy w poszczególnych państwach jak najwięcej przyjaciół.

Kierownictwo propagandy ~~leży~~ ma leżeć ma w rękach ukraińskiego komitetu centralnego w Wiedniu i podlegać mu mają szefowie propagandy w poszczególnych krajach.

W Wiedniu Dr. Petruszewicz i Dr. Grotter,
" Londynie Dr. Petrewij,
" Pradze Solowiński,
" Paryżu Rozalewskij,
" w Bukowinie Kość Krakalja i Żelkowycz,
" w Polsce Walewskij w Warszawie.

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Ill. 7. First page of the report of the Military Attaché in Vienna for No. 4 of 20.03.1921, concerning Ukrainian operations to take over Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. IJPUSA, Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza, sign. 701/2/36, p. 201

press publisher “Bukowyna” and “Narodnyi Holos”; Social Democratic Party, leader Bezpalka, press publisher “Bordba”.³³

Strong propaganda campaign of Ukrainians in Bukovina met with official or secret countermeasures. It was even said that an Ukrainian, Lukashovich, who was to work for the Romanian government, carried out liaison missions all over Bukowina, obviously in conjunction with Romania. The Ukrainian daily “Holos Bukowyny” was also at Romania’s service.

Romania did not remain indifferent to the Bukovina education that existed at that time, and it was therefore decided that from 1 January 1921 all schools in the region were to have Romanian as the language of instruction. This fact was severely criticized by Ukrainian teachers working in the area, who set up a secret organisation – the Self-Defense of Ukrainian Teachers of Galicia and Bukovina, whose members were supposed to oppose the above decisions made by Romania.³⁴

Noticing the increasing influence of Romania on Bukovina, Professor Zurkanowycz, secretary of the Ukrainian propaganda office in Bukovina and at the same time the editor-in-chief of Robitnyk magazine (before “Will of the Nation”) was to lead more intensive propaganda, and was to be helped by associations of the Ukrainian School, “Narodnyj Dien” and Ukrainian “Besida”. In addition, it was decided that Vasyl Dmitrovsky, identified with the aforementioned associations, was to become the second secretary of the already mentioned secret Central Committee. One of the first propaganda decisions was to print a brochure Ukraine for Ukrainians, secretly distributed since February 1921.³⁵

Radical decisions of the Romanian government in Bukovina caused Dr. Grotter, a member of the Ukrainian Central Council during its congress in Vienna, to ask the Romanian government to ease the decisions issued in this region, which indirectly confirms that Bukovina belonged to Romania.³⁶

In addition to probolshevik actions, as reported by Second Lieutenant Wielogłowski, the communist party was also to play a special role in Galicia and Bukovina. Its main activists included Porajec Levitsky (Stefan Baranov?), who during the Russian and Ukrainian revolutions was at the disposal of the Kharkiv Sovnarkom and Diatlov, Krasny, Czerwiakov and

³³ Ibidem, sign. 701/2/36, p. 203.

³⁴ Ibidem, sign. 701/2/36, p. 204.

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ IJPUSA, Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza, sign. 701/2/36, p. 203, 204.

Graciarsk – members of the communist party in Vienna. It can be assumed that from Soviet Ukraine, apart from propaganda support, assistance was provided by specialists of various professions. It is strange that both Levitsky and other activists of the communist party operating illegally in Galicia and Bukovina managed to get to Soviet Ukraine without any major obstacles.³⁷

Many other documents prove that Soviet Russia was keenly interested in joining for e.g. both Eastern Galicia and Bukovina to Soviet Ukraine. The peace negotiations in Riga and the Treaty of Riga of 18 March 1921, which established the border between Poland, Russia and Ukraine, put an end to such opportunities.

Decisions concerning Eastern Galicia were taken by the Conference of Ambassadors on 14 March 1923, granting this region to Poland.³⁸



III. 8. On the Polish-Romanian-Czechoslovakian border on the slope of Stoh (Czywczyński Mountains). Border sign with dating: 10 August 1920. National Digital Archive (NAC), sign. 1-G-6416

³⁷ AAN, Komenda Wojewódzka Policji Państwowej we Lwowie [Archive of New Files, Lviv Regional Police Headquarters], sign. 7, p. 2.

³⁸ A. M. Cienciala, T. Komarnicki, *From Versailles to Locarno. Keys to Polish Goering Policy 1919–1925*, Lawrence 1984, p. 148.

As far as the affiliation of Bukovina is concerned, this problem was resolved by the Treaty of 10 September 1919 in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, when it became a part of Romania. In addition, by virtue of the same treaty, the Kingdom of Romania included Bessarabia, Transylvania, Maramureș and Crisana.³⁹

Streszczenie

Przynależność Galicji i Bukowiny po I wojnie światowej w świetle wybranych polskich źródeł archiwalnych

Tematyka pogranicza szczególnie w latach powojennych jest jednym z kluczowych problemów, z którymi przychodzi się zmierzyć elitom politycznym. Dodatkowym utrudnieniem dla rozwiązania ewentualnych problemów są kwestie związane z zamieszkałymi po obu stronach granicy mniejszościami narodowymi. Problemem o dużym znaczeniu politycznym po I wojnie światowej była przynależność państwowa Galicji Wschodniej i Bukowiny – terytoriów historycznie należących do Polski i Rumunii. Od początku XX w. wysiłki polityczne i wojskowe na tych terytoriach wskazują na ich wartości gospodarcze, kulturowe i polityczne. Próba omówienia tej kwestii, a także kwestii etnicznych, została podjęta w tym artykule, z zastrzeżeniem – co jest oczywiste – że nie wyczerpuje wszystkich poruszonych kwestii. Trudności w realizacji zadania stanowią rozproszone zapisy archiwalne, w tym w archiwach Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Rumunii, Niemiec i Austro-Węgier.

Summary

The post-WWI destiny of Galicia and Bukovina based on selected polish archive sources

The issue of the borderland, especially in the post-war years, is one of the key problems faced by the political elites. An additional difficulty for solving possible issues are national minorities living on both sides of the border. A problem of great political significance after World War I was the territories of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina – historically belonging to Poland and Romania. Since the beginning of the 20th century, political and military efforts on these territories indicate their

³⁹ T. Kosiek, *Ukraińska mniejszość narodowa w rumuńskim Maramureszu i problemy jej tożsamości*, Poznań 2014, p. 84.

economic, cultural and political values. An attempt to discuss this issue, as well as ethnic issues, was attempted to be presented in this article, with the reservation – which is obvious – that it does not discuss all the issues raised. Difficulties in its realization pose scattered archival records, including those in the archives of the United States of America, the Republic of Poland, Romania, Germany and Austria-Hungary.

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