

THE NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN PART OF POLAND (1918 - 1939)

Ascertainment of the real size of the national minorities within Poland's pre-1939 frontiers is a problem hedged with many difficulties. When the 1921 census was carried out, the migratory movement had not yet ceased, so that the reliability of the data is somewhat dubious.¹ When the next census was carried out, in 1931, the objective circumstances were more auspicious, but the data were falsified by the administrative authorities,² so that subsidiary data have to be used to correct the bias.

In the south-eastern part of Poland, comprising the then provinces of Lublin, Cracow, Lwów, Tarnopol, Stanisławów and Wołyń, which were largely inhabited by Ukrainians, questions of nationality were extremely complicated. Apart from Ukrainians, these areas contained Poles, Jews, small colonies of Czechs and Germans, and in the province of Polesie lived Byelorussians and Ukrainians. In some counties, the people still had little feeling of nationality. Polish nationalists sometimes denied the existence of the Ukrainians as a nation, or declared they

¹ J. Tomaszewski, *Z dziejów Polesia 1921 - 1939. Zarys stosunków społeczno-ekonomicznych* [The History of Polesie, 1921 - 1939. Outline of Socio-Economic Conditions], Warszawa 1963, pp. 20 - 22. Vide also A. Krysiński, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Ukraińców w Polsce* [Number and Distribution of Ukrainians in Poland]. Warszawa 1929, *passim*.

² According to E. Szturm de Sztrem, officials of the political departments in the District Offices went over the filled-in census forms and in the column marked "mother tongue" scored out some of the replies and wrote "Polish" Sometimes they acted similarly with regard to the column marked "religion," in which case they wrote "Roman Catholic;" but this happened rarely. Most falsifications of the census data took place in the south-eastern provinces. The census data are also frequently contradicted by other data, e.g. election results (e.g. vide B. Faliński, *Powiat Kamionka Strumillowa* [Kamionka Strumillowa County], Kamionka Strumillowa 1935). Such data, however, cannot properly be used as a basis for estimating the national structure of the population. Nor can such estimates be based on the pre-war Austrian statistics. Vide M. Prószyński, *Powiat lwowski. Ludność i instytucje* [Lwów County. Population and Institutions], Lwów 1911, p. 44.

were inferior.³ In the published results of the 1931 population census one is struck by the use of two terms side by side: "Ukrainian language" and "Ruthenian language." The distinction made here was due to the existence of discrepant political conceptions that strove for power among a people with the same language, traditions, and culture. Sometimes the number of "Ruthenians" was artificially exaggerated to make the number of Ukrainians seem smaller; sometimes it was even said that there were two separate peoples — the Ruthenians and the Ukrainians.⁴ Likewise, the Bojki, the Huculy, and the Łemki (groups of Ukrainian population with different regional traits) are referred to in some publications as separate peoples. The Polish government deliberately aggravated these regional differences, especially in the years immediately preceding the second World War.

As everyone knows, the feeling of nationality (and hence people's willingness to declare their adherence to a certain nation or people) is a subjective one, and liable to change. For example, especially in areas where the population is of mixed nationality, assimilation takes place. In such areas one comes across people who seem to belong to the borderland between two cultures, who feel an affinity with two nations. If assimilation takes place in conditions where every nation has the same rights and is absolutely free to develop its national culture, then it is a perfectly normal process. Where this is so, the national structure of the population can be ascertained merely by asking people which nation they belong to. No other criteria are called for.

But this ideal way cannot be applied to investigation of the national structure of the population in the eastern marches of pre-war Poland, for assimilation there was not based on equal rights for all peoples, it being Polish State policy to strengthen the Polish element. Thus even apart from the falsification of the census data, it would be wrong, taking into consideration the specific circumstances of that census, to base our conclusions on the statements made by people as to their nationality or language, since by so doing we should be condoning the enforced polonisation of the population. In some counties the people whose everyday language was Ukrainian declared themselves to be Poles. They may have done so because of deep-rooted traditions, or perhaps because they identified nationality with citizenship.⁵

³ "Among the great ethnical groups here, the Poles, Ruthenians, and Jews, only the Poles have a distinct national character." E. Romer, S. Zakrzewski, S. Pawłowski, *W obronie Galicji wschodniej* [*In Defence of Eastern Galicia*], Lwów 1919, p. 17.

⁴ A. Bocheński, S. Łoś, W. Bączkowski, *Problem polsko-ukraiński w Ziemi Czerwieńskiej* [*The Polish-Ukrainian Problem in the Czerwień Region*], Warszawa 1938, p. 24; S. Głabiński, *Sprawa ruska w Ziemi Czerwieńskiej* [*The Ruthenian Question in the Czerwień Region*], Warszawa 1937, p. 17.

⁵ See for example O. Czarnowski, *Polacy prawosławni w Polsce* [*Orthodox Poles in Poland*], Warszawa 1930. The author writes that a large number of those who declared themselves to be Poles did not even know Polish (p. 12). Cases where nationality was identified with citizenship were encountered in the western provinces.

The historian who is interested in questions of nationality is faced with a similar problem in Poland under German rule. At that time, attempts were made to deprive people of their own nationality, so in this case, too, the historian is faced with the task of exposing the real national structure of the population. It should be borne in mind that enforced germanisation was often superficial, and proved ephemeral when political conditions changed.

Thus when studying questions of nationality it is not enough to take people's own statements into account. Other criteria must be sought. Above all, one has to accept all sorts of artificial divisions into what are supposed to be independent peoples, so that here should count as Ukrainians all the people whose everyday language was Ukrainian, even if they were not always conscious of a bond with the Ukrainian nation.⁴ The alterations made in the census data by the administrative authorities must also be rectified with the aid of additional criteria.

According to most experts on the question of nationality in the Ukrainian lands which formed part of Russia before 1914, the lines between the nationalities coincided more or less with the lines between the religious faiths. The Poles were Roman Catholics, whereas the Ukrainians were Orthodox.⁷ The Chelm county, forming part of the Kingdom of Poland, seems to have been an exception, for there were a number of Poles there who belonged to the Orthodox church. This question, however, is by no means clear. According to the author of a monographic description of one of the villages of the Hrubieszów county,⁸ in the middle of the 19th century the people there spoke a Ruthenian dialect (that is, according to later terminology, a Ukrainian dialect), although some were Uniates and some were Roman Catholics. When the Tsar forced the Uniates to become Orthodox, the Catholics began to become conscious of their Polish nationality (this bond was conceived primarily as a religious bond), although not all of them knew the Polish language. Some of the "converts" to Orthodoxy also felt themselves to be

⁴ The view that those groups of the population who spoke Ukrainian but did not support the policy of an independent Ukraine, or who did not have any definite feeling of nationality, should not be counted as of Ukrainian nationality (A. Krysiński, *Ludność ukraińska [ruska] w Polsce w świetle spisu 1931 [The Ukrainian [Ruthenian] Population in Poland according to the 1931 Census]*, Warszawa 1938, pp. 6-7) is unacceptable. If we took that standpoint, then to be consistent we should have to reject Polish estimates as to the number of Poles in Germany.

⁷ Vide A. Bocheński, S. Łoś, W. Bączkowski, op. cit., pp. 25-26; A. Krysiński, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Ukraińców...*, pp. 21-23; O. Czarnowski, whose different opinion we have cited above, declared that those so-called Poles did not know Polish. After 1931 A. Krysiński, too, inclined to the opinion that there were Orthodox Poles, too, in Wołyń, but he thought they were not Polish "in spirit." Vide A. Krysiński, *Ludność ukraińska...*, p. 21.

⁸ S. Klembukowski, *Mircze, wieś powiatu hrubieszowskiego [Mircze, a Village in the Hrubieszów County]*, Hrubieszów 1934, pp. 111, 113, 115.

Poles. After the first World War, the Ukrainian language began gradually to fall into disuse.⁹

In view of these facts, it is impossible to reach an accurate estimate of the national structure of the population in the eastern counties of Lublin Province. Every conclusion would carry the risk of serious error.

In the former Austrian Partition, divisions along the lines of nationality were more or less the same as divisions along the lines of religion, but there were greater discrepancies than in the areas under Russian rule. The majority of the Ukrainians were Greek Catholics, whereas most of the Poles belonged to the Roman Catholic church. But these were only two branches of the one religion, and there were no fundamental differences of dogma between them. Owing to this fact mixed marriages were possible, but rigorous ecclesiastical rules governed which kind of religion the children were to be brought up in, and to all practical purposes made it impossible for them to change their religion. Consequently there emerged groups of Poles who were Greek Catholics, and groups of Ukrainians who were Roman Catholics. It is extremely difficult to estimate the numbers in these groups. On the basis of the 1910 census A. Krysiński estimated the number of Greek Catholic Poles at 216,700, whereas A. Bocheński thought they numbered much less than 100,000.¹⁰ At the same time Krysiński argued that the census figures for Roman Catholic Ukrainians (26,000 in 1931) were reliable.¹¹ But considering the fact that there were more Roman Catholic Ukrainians than Greek Catholic Poles in 1890, such a radical change in the ratio of these two population groups within this comparatively short time must be suspected as being due partly to the policy of polonising the population, and partly to false statistics.

Necessity for extreme caution with regard to the rather high official figures for Greek Catholic Poles is also dictated by what we know about some groups of the population. The Poles listed by the census included what were known as the "petty gentry". In some counties there were people who regarded themselves as "Polish gentry" (to distinguish themselves from peasants), although they did

⁹ S. Zakrzewski asserts that "in the Chelm region the Ruthenians became polonised" owing to Tsarist persecution. E. Romer, S. Zakrzewski, S. Pawłowski, op. cit., p. 51. On the other hand, the Ukrainians' feeling of nationality was strengthened by Polish persecution both of the Orthodox churches and of Ukrainian culture. Vide e.g. B. Żukiw, *Nisencja cerkov na Helmśyjni v 1938*, Kraków 1940, *passim*.

¹⁰ A. Krysiński, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Ukraińców...*, p. 29; A. Bocheński, S. Łoś, W. Bączkowski, op. cit., p. 26. After 1931 A. Krysiński was inclined to accept the validity of the census data (480,000 Greek Catholic Poles), but he wrote: "It is possible that many of the Greek Catholic Poles listed in the census have only a potential bond with things Polish..." (*Ludność ukraińska...*, p. 20).

¹¹ A. Krysiński, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Ukraińców...*, p. 32; A. Krysiński, *Ludność ukraińska...*, pp. 17 - 18.

not know Polish.¹² Such people were very numerous in the Byelorussian region. The Greek Catholics also included groups not specially conscious of belonging to any one nationality, who readily submitted to the passing mood, and still more readily to pressure from the authorities.¹³

All things considered, we can take it that in 1931 the number of Greek Catholic Poles was only slightly higher than the number of Roman Catholic Ukrainians. We may, therefore, take the data on the religious structure of the population as our basis for estimating the number of Ukrainians.¹⁴

The most westerly groups of Ukrainian population inhabited the southern counties of Cracow Province. According to the 1931 census data, 59,400 Ukrainians lived there (Table 1). The census showed a light preponderance of

Table 1. National and religious structure of the population in Cracow Province in 1931 (in thous)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 88, Table 10

Religion	Population				
	language				
	total	Polish	Ruthenian and Ukrainian	Yiddish and Hebrew	German
Total	2,078.5	1,926.2	59.4	82.2	8.2
Roman Catholic and Armenian Catholic	1,886.2	1,879.8	0.2	—	4.7
Greek Catholic	50.2	2.1	47.9	—	0.0
Orthodox	11.7	0.3	11.2	—	—
Protestant	5.8	2.6	0.0	—	3.2
Jewish	117.1	34.4	0.0	82.2	0.3

Orthodox and Greek Catholic Poles over Roman Catholic Ukrainians, which corroborates what has been said above.

Nearly all the Ukrainians lived in four counties (Table 2). They formed the minority of the population in the counties but the majority in the villages situated along the southern margin of the counties.

The information in Table 2 can be checked from information about the national structure of the population of school children. In 1926, 2.6% of the children in the entire Province used the Ruthenian or Ukrainian language, while in 1931 2.9% of the entire population of the Province were Ukrainians. At the same time,

¹² Cf. P. Dąbkowski, *Szlachta zaściankowa w Korczynie i Kruszelnicy nad Stryjem* [The Gentry in Korczyn and Kruszelnica upon Stryj River, Lwów 1936, p. 22. This took place on a much larger scale in Polesie.

¹³ *Województwo tarnopolskie* [Tarnopol Province], Tarnopol 1931, p. 70.

¹⁴ Many authors writing before 1914 did so (e. g. M. Prószyński, *Powiat lwowski...*, p. 44), although of course they pointed out that their calculations were only approximations.

Table 2. Distribution of the Ukrainian population (in thous.) in Cracow Province in 1931

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 88, Table 12

Counties	Population			
	language			Yiddish and Hebrew
	total	Polish	Ruthenian and Ukrainian	
All 4 Counties	534.3	452.4	58.6	21.0
Gorlice	104.8	76.3	24.9	3.5
Jaslo	116.1	103.9	7.4	4.6
Nowy Sącz	183.9	148.3	24.2	10.3
Nowy Targ	129.5	123.9	2.1	2.6

however, about 1% of the children were said to be bilingual (this number included children whose languages were Yiddish and Polish).¹⁵ Of course between 1926 and 1931 there may have been changes in the national structure of the population, but it is improbable that they were of any great significance. It can therefore be assumed that the census of children of school age is not at variance with the data from the census of the whole population, although one can see some signs of the slow polonisation of the Ukrainian children.

According to the official data, there were 1,032,000 Ukrainians in Lwów Province (not including the city of Lwów). This figure is very different from the number of people of Greek Catholic faith (Table 3).

Table 3. National and religious structure of the population of Lwów Province in 1931 (in thous)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 68, Table 10

Religion	Population				German
	language			Yiddish and Hebrew	
	total	Polish	Ruthenian and Ukrainian		
Total	2,815.2	1,606.8	1,032.0	157.6	9.6
in this:					
Roman Catholic and Armenian Catholic	1,291.3	1,279.3	6.4	—	2.6
Greek Catholic	1,255.6	236.9	1,016.4	—	0.0
Orthodox	8.0	0.7	7.0	—	—
Protestant	11.5	2.5	0.1	—	6.7
Jewish	242.2	84.5	0.2	157.6	0.1

¹⁵ M. Falski, *Wyniki spisu dzieci z czerwca 1926 roku w zastosowaniu do badania potrzeb szkolnictwa powszechnego* [Results of the Registration of Children in June 1926 Applied to a Study of the Need for Primary Schools], Warszawa 1928, p. 68.

In the light of what has been said above, these data are suspect. Above all, one is struck by the small number of Roman and Armenian Catholic Ukrainians as compared with the large number of Greek Catholic Poles. It should be taken that the real number of Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians was roughly equal to the number of Greek Catholic non-Ukrainians; the Ukrainian population in Lwów Province, therefore, should be estimated at 1,255,600.

It is much more difficult to determine the territorial distribution of the Ukrainians. For one thing, the tendency to minimise the number of Ukrainians probably differed in strength from one county to another. Another difficulty arises out of the different sizes of the religious groups in the different counties. The assumption that the percentage of Greek Catholics in the various counties was always the same as the percentage of Ukrainians may sometimes be wrong.¹⁶ Therefore one can only say that in general the Ukrainians were in the majority in the eastern counties (Bóbrka, Dobromil, Drohobycz, Gródek Jagielloński, Jaworów, Lesko, Lubaczów, Lwów, Mościska, Przemyśl, Rawa Ruska, Rudki, Sambor, Sanok, Sokal, Turka, Żółkiew), while the Poles predominated in the western counties (Brzozów, Jarosław, Kolbuszowa, Krosno, Łańcut, Nisko, Przeworsk, Rzeszów, Tarnobrzeg). Of course the ethnographic boundaries did not coincide with the administrative ones.

The city of Lwów had a different structure of population as regards nationality (Table 4). In this city, with its preponderance of Polish population, one may conjecture that more of the Greek Catholics were really Poles than was the case in the villages and small towns. There is no proof of this, however. So as long

Table 4. National and religious structure of the population of the city of Lwów in 1931 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 58, Table 10

Religion	Population				
	Total	language			
		Polish	Ruthenian and Ukrainian	Yiddish and Hebrew	German
Total	312.2	198.2	35.1	75.3	2.4
in this:					
Roman Catholic and Armenian Catholic	157.5	156.0	0.5	—	0.6
Greek Catholic	49.7	15.6	34.1	—	0.0
Orthodox	1.1	0.3	0.4	—	—
Protestant	3.6	1.9	0.0	—	1.7
Jewish	99.6	24.0	0.0	75.3	0.1

¹⁶ Krosno County may be cited as an example. There the census showed 14,700 Ukrainians, but 10,900 Greek Catholics; in this county a large percentage of the Ukrainians were Orthodox.

as we realise that there is a risk of error, we may estimate the number of Ukrainians at 49,700. Any inaccuracy will partly be offset by leaving out the Ukrainians of other religions; and so in the total count this lack of precision will not much matter.

In Lwów City and Lwów Province together, the percentage of Ukrainians was 41.8%. The percentage of Ukrainian children in this area was somewhat larger: 42.5%.¹⁷ The smallness of the difference between these two figures would seem to confirm the correctness of our estimate.

According to the official data, the Tarnopol Province was inhabited by 728,100 Ukrainians. There is a big difference between this figure and the number of Greek Catholics (Table 5). As in the preceding provinces, we shall calculate the real

Table 5. National and religious structure of the population in Tarnopol Province in 1931 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," series C, sheet 78, Table 10

Religion	Population			
	total	language		
		Polish	Ruthenian and Ukrainian	Yiddish and Hebrew
Total	1,600.4	789.1	728.1	78.9
in this:				
Roman Catholic and Armenian Catholic	586.6	574.1	11.4	—
Greek Catholic	872.0	157.2	714.2	—
Orthodox	1.9	0.5	1.2	—
Protestant	—	—	—	—
Jewish	134.1	55.0	0.1	78.9

number of the Ukrainian population on the basis of the number of people who were Greek Catholics, that is, 872,000, or 54.5% of the total population. The percentage of Ukrainian children was greater: 59.4%.¹⁸ The difference between these two figures is considerable and is probably only partly due to the fact that on the average Ukrainian peasant families had more children than the Poles. In other words, it is probable that the above estimate of the number of Ukrainians in Tarnopol Province is rather too low.

The Ukrainians were in the majority in nearly all counties, with the exception of Skalat and Tarnopol, where there was a slight preponderance of Poles. There were also many Poles in the districts of Brzeżany, Przemyślany, and Trembowla.

¹⁷ M. Falski, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁸ *Ibidem.*

In Stanisławów Province even the official census data showed an overwhelming preponderance of Ukrainians (Table 6). The number of Ukrainians, calculated in the same way as for the other provinces, may be estimated at 1,079,000, that is, 72.9% of the total population. The number of Ukrainian children was higher: 77.6%.¹⁹ In this case, too, the discrepancy suggests that the official figures are not accurate enough.

Table 6. National and religious structure of the population in Stanisławów Province in 1931 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 65, Table 10

Religion	Population				
	total	language			
		Polish	Ruthenian and Ukrainian	Yiddish and Hebrew	German
Total	1,480.3	332.2	1,018.9	109.4	16.7
in this:					
Roman Catholic and Armenian					
Catholic	245.9	234.9	3.8	—	6.8
Greek Catholic	1,079.0	65.1	1,012.3	—	0.1
Orthodox	0.9	0.2	0.5	—	—
Protestant	12.5	1.6	1.2	—	9.6
Jewish	139.7	30.1	0.1	109.4	0.1

In Wolyń as in Stanisławów Province, the Ukrainians were in the decided majority (Table 7).

Table 7. National and religious structure of the population in Wolyń Province in 1931 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 70, Table 10

Religion	Population						
	total	language					
		Polish	Ruthenian and Ukrainian	Yiddish and Hebrew	German	Russian	Czech
Total	2,085.6	346.6	1,426.9	205.5	46.9	23.3	31.0
in this:							
Roman Catholic and Armenian Catholic	327.9	317.7	2.0	—	0.2	0.2	7.3
Greek Catholic	11.1	1.2	9.7	—	0.0	0.1	0.0
Orthodox	1,455.9	20.2	1,388.0	—	0.0	22.8	21.6
Protestant	53.4	4.6	5.3	—	42.2	0.1	1.3
Jewish	207.8	2.0	0.1	205.5	0.0	0.0	0.0

¹⁹ *Ibidem.*

The tendency to depress the census figures was slighter here, so that the difference in numbers between the Orthodox and the Ukrainians was not too big. It can therefore be taken that the Ukrainians really numbered approximately 1,445,000, or 69,3% of the total population.²⁰ The percentage of Ukrainian children was 70,3%,²¹ which bears out the accuracy of this estimate.

In the Stanisławów and Wolyń Provinces the Ukrainians were in the majority in all the administrative counties. It was only in the towns that they were in the minority. In the towns the biggest population group were the Jews.

In Polesie Province, questions of nationality were more complicated than in the other Provinces referred to above. During the census a large part of the population referred to their language as the "local" one. This province was inhabited not only by Ukrainians, but also by Byelorussians, and therefore what the people referred to as the "local" language should be taken to mean both the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian languages. Attempts to determine the nationality structure of the population in Polesie Province suggest that altogether there were 219,000 Ukrainians, who lived mostly in the districts of Kamień Koszyrski, Brześć and Kobryń.²²

Some Ukrainians also lived in Lublin Province, in the counties of Biała, Biłgoraj, Chełm, Hrubieszów, Tomaszów and Włodawa, and a small number of them also in Krasnystaw and Zamość. It is difficult to determine their real numbers, however, for in the same area there were also Orthodox Poles. According to the official data, in the whole of Lublin Province there were 73,800 Ukrainians (practically all of them Orthodox), and 134,200 Orthodox Poles.²³ The Ukrainians therefore constituted 3% of the total population in Lublin Province, this figure being in sharp contrast to the percentage of Ukrainian children (5%).²⁴ According to what was said above about problems of nationality in the Chełm area, one would rather have been inclined to expect opposite proportions, for polonisation was more rapid among the children who were subject to the influence of the school,

²⁰ In 1938 A. Krysiński propounded quite the opposite view, namely, that the number of Poles in Wolyń was higher than the number shown in the official statistics. He attributed this to the ukrainisation of the Polish population in the 19th century. Vide A. Krysiński, *Ludność polska na Wołyniu [The Polish Population in Wolyń]*. "Rocznik Ziemi Wschodnich 1929," p. 35. But this seems unlikely to be true, since the Tsarist authorities carried out a policy of russification, not ukrainisation; the Ukrainians, too, were subjected to russification. The argument quoted in Krysiński's paper, that in Wolyń in the thirties there was mass conversion of the population from the Orthodox faith to Catholicism, is not convincing. Since these conversions took place during a time of more intensive nationalistic policy in Poland, it may be doubted if they were voluntary.

²¹ M. Falski, op. cit., p. 68.

²² J. Tomaszewski, *Robotnicy Białorusini w Polsce międzywojennej [Byelorussian Manual Workers in Pre-War Poland. Statistical Outline]*, "Acta Baltico Slavica" 1967, No. 5.

²³ "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 85, Table 10.

²⁴ M. Falski, op. cit., p. 68.

than among the adults. We are therefore justified in supposing that the real percentage of Ukrainians was no smaller than the percentage of Ukrainian children. On these grounds we estimate that the Ukrainians in Lublin Province numbered 123,000.

Thus the total number of Ukrainians in Poland as estimated in Table 8 is higher than the number estimated by Polish authors, but lower than the estimates given by Ukrainian nationalists.²⁵ This calculation is of course only an approx-

Table 8. Estimated number of Ukrainians in Poland in 1931

Provinces	Ukrainian population	
	in thous.	% of the total population
Poland	5,112.8	16.0
Province:		
Stanisławów	1,079.0	72.9
Wolyń	1,445.0	69.3
Tarnopol	872.0	54.5
Lwów	1,255.6	44.6
Lwów City	49.7	15.9
Polesie	219.0	19.3
Lublin	123.0	5.0
Cracow	59.4	2.9
Others	10.1	0.1

imation. One objection that can be raised against it is that it makes no allowance for the known fact that the figures for religion were falsified in the census, although according to Edward Szturm de Sztrem, then head of the Central Statistical Office, not very many data were falsified. On the other hand, one may note the information given by M. Falski, that the average number of children in Ukrainian families was greater than the average for all families generally.²⁶ Following

²⁵ A. Bocheński estimated the number of Ukrainians in eastern Galicia at 3 million (A. Bocheński, S. Łoś, W. Bączkowski, op. cit., p. 26); in 1928 A. Krysiński estimated the Ukrainian population in the Ukraine (including Wolyń and Polesie) at 4.9 million; later, however, he accepted the statistics of the 1931 census as correct, and gave the figure as 4.8 million (A. Krysiński, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Ukraińców...*, p. 59); A. Krysiński, *Ludność polska a mniejszości narodowe w świetle spisów ludności 1921 i 1931 [The Population of Poland, and National Minorities in the Light of the 1921 and 1931 Population Censuses]*, Warszawa 1933, p. 43; A. Krysiński, *Ludność ukraińska...*, p. 7. Most Polish authors accept the figures given by A. Krysiński. W. Kubijowicz's lowest estimate was 5.9 million Ukrainians (after A. Krysiński, *Ludność ukraińska...*, p. 6).

²⁶ M. Falski, op. cit., p. 25.

this train of thought, when comparing the census figures and the data for the number of children we should expect the percentage of Ukrainian children in the various provinces to be higher than the percentage of Ukrainians in the population generally. But the polonisation policy worked in the opposite direction, that is, towards reducing the percentage of Ukrainian children. This view is borne out by the data for Cracow Province, where there was probably no falsification of the census. These proportions cannot of course be applied mechanically to other provinces. But at any rate they entitle us to conclude that the estimate made here was sufficiently cautious, and that the real number of Ukrainians in Poland may even have been a little higher than was calculated.

The estimates given above suggest that the Ukrainian population in pre-war Poland lived in the Wołyń, Tarnopol, and Stanisławów Provinces, in the southern part of Polesie Province, and in the eastern part of Lwów Province. At the same time, however, these areas were also inhabited by other national groups — Poles and Jews, as well as small groups of Czechs, Germans, and Russians; these groups constituted national minorities in the Ukrainian territory. It was impossible to draw a hard and fast line between territory ethnographically Polish and territory ethnographically Ukrainian, since in the border areas the people of these two nationalities were intermixed; this was particularly so of the border counties of Lwów Province. Further, the Ukrainians were a minority inhabiting some counties of the Cracow and Lublin Province and the western part of Lwów Province.

We shall now proceed to study the nationality structure of manual workers in the Lwów, Tarnopol, Stanisławów, and Wołyń Provinces. Unfortunately we are unable, with the material at our disposal, to treat the western part of Lwów Province separately. For this purpose we can only use statistics concerning religion. We shall take the Roman Catholics to be Poles, the Orthodox and Greek Catholics to be Ukrainians, and those of Jewish faith to be Jews. We cannot take other national groups into considerations as we have no data. Of course these assumptions are a simplification, but since the majority of people belonging to these three nationalities declared they adhered to these religions, the final conclusions will be sufficiently accurate.

In 1931 the total number of manual workers with their families in Provinces of Lwów (including the city of Lwów), Stanisławów, Tarnopol, and Wołyń, was 1,422,900, that is, 17.2% of the total population.²⁷ Among them the most numerous group consisted of Roman Catholics (Table 9).

The working class in the Western Ukraine mostly consisted of people employed in agriculture. On the whole, the majority of the farmworkers were Ukrainians, while Jews formed only a very small group. But the nationality structure of the particular categories of farmworkers differed from one category to another. Most

²⁷ Data on the structure of the working class taken from "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheet 58, 65, 68, 70, 78.

Table 9. Religious structure of the working class in the Lwów, Stanisławów, Tarnopol, and Wolyń Provinces in 1931 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheets 68, 58, 78, 65, 70

Sections of the economy	Religion			
	total	Roman Catholic	Orthodox and Greek Catholic	Jewish
Total	1,422.9	651.4	609.5	138.1
Agriculture:	605.8	225.0	359.9	10.3
craftsmen	9.1	6.5	2.3	0.0
farm workers living in houses belonging to employer	76.6	40.0	33.4	1.4
farm workers living together with employers	96.8	33.1	60.5	0.3
farm workers living in own house	158.0	54.1	100.0	1.8
type of employment unknown	265.3	91.3	163.7	6.8
Marketgardening, fishing, forestry	30.7	18.2	11.3	0.7
Mining and industry:	402.9	177.0	134.8	84.2
in firms of Cat. I - III	56.1	28.4	22.2	4.2
in firms of Cat. IV - VII	94.0	52.1	27.8	12.4
in firms of Cat. VIII and unknown Cat.	252.8	96.5	84.8	67.4
Commerce and insurance	54.2	16.3	11.9	25.2
Communications and transport incl.:	129.7	92.6	31.8	3.5
post-office	7.8	6.0	1.6	0.1
railways	102.3	75.4	24.8	0.4
Education, public service, medicine	86.0	59.5	15.6	9.7
Domestic service	90.0	41.7	42.7	3.8
Occupation unknown	23.6	21.1	1.5	0.7

of the farmworkers on estates were Poles (this category more or less corresponds to the category referred to in the census as "living in house belonging to employer"), and, in particular, most of the craftsmen employed on the big estates were Poles (this was the highest earning group among the rural workers). On the other hand Ukrainians were decidedly in the majority among farm workers employed by peasants (they belong to the census category "living together with employers"). Nearly half the Polish workers in this last category lived in Lwów Province, whose western part especially was inhabited by Poles. It should be stressed that the workers employed on the peasant farms were the worst off section of the proletariat. Their wages were extremely low, and they were unprotected by law.

The Ukrainians were also in the majority among workers living in their own homes, as well as among workers living in the rural areas who did not state their occupation. The first of these groups consisted of farmworkers who were casual labourers employed on temporary jobs by various employers. It is possible that

the second group included workers who also took seasonal jobs in industry, such as in the sugar industry or timber industry. These groups, too, were generally in a worse position than the workers permanently employed on the estates. It is a characteristic fact that the Jews who made their living from employment in agriculture usually belonged to these last two groups.

As can be seen from the above, the better situated groups of farmworkers consisted mostly of Poles. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, were in the majority in the worse off groups. Farmworkers constituted 35.6% of the Polish part of the working class, and only 8.7% of the Jewish part of the working class. Among the Ukrainian workers, however, the farmworker group accounted for 59.0%.

In the fairly small group of people who made their living from employment in marketgardening, fishing, and forestry, the decided majority were Poles. Poles also formed the biggest group among workers making their living from industry and mining (43.9%), while the Ukrainians were fewer in number (33.5%), and Jews still fewer (20.9%). Poles were in the decided majority in the bigger firms, whereas Jews formed only a small percentage in them -- this was the rule throughout the whole country. In the middle-sized firms the Poles also numbered more than half the workers, whereas the Jews in this situation formed a bigger percentage. In the smallest firms the percentage of Poles fell to 38.0%, while the percentage of Ukrainians and Jews rose accordingly. This structure of employment was of first-rate importance, since working conditions and wages were least favourable in the small workshops, and the labour laws were infringed most often there, too.

It is also worth having a look at the geographical distribution of the industrial workers (Table 10). Workers of Polish nationality were decidedly in the majority in Lwów Province, but had slightly less preponderance in the city of Lwów. In Stanisławów Province the Ukrainians were in the majority, while in Wołyń Province the Jews formed the biggest group, and in Tarnopol Province the Poles were the most numerous.

In Lwów Province the Poles were in numerical preponderance especially in mining (and particularly oil-production), as well as in the metallurgical industry (mostly connected with mining)²⁸. The Ukrainians did not equal the number of Poles in any branch of production, while the Jews equalled the Poles in number only in the clothing industry. More of the Poles than of other nationalities were employed in skilled jobs, and so were better off financially. It should also be stressed that in Lwów Province in the part of Poland discussed here wages were highest.²⁹

²⁸ Vide Archiwum Akt Nowych [Archive of New Documents, abbrev. AAN], KNP, vol. 721, sheet 4; "Inspekcja Pracy w 1924 roku" [Labour Inspectors' Reports, 1924], p. 277; B. Rzepecki, *Przemysł we Wschodniej połaci Rzeczypospolitej* [Industry in the Eastern Part of Poland], "Rocznik Ziemi Wschodnich i Kalendarz na rok 1937," p. 30.

²⁹ J. Derengowski, *Praca najemna na terenie Ziemi Wschodnich* [Hired Labour in the Eastern Territories], "Rocznik Ziemi Wschodnich i Kalendarz na rok 1937," p. 196.

Table 10. Manual workers and their families employed in mining and industry, by religion and provinces, 1931

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheets 68, 58, 78, 65, 70

Province and category of firm	Workers:			
	total	religion		
		Roman and Armenian Catholic	Orthodox and Greek Catholic	Jewish
Lwów:				
workers	144.8	82.3	39.3	22.1
employed in cottage industries	3.5	2.0	0.7	0.8
workers in firms of cat.:				
I - III	18.5	12.0	5.1	1.2
IV - VII	44.7	29.0	11.3	4.0
VIII and unknown categories	81.6	41.3	22.9	16.9
Lwów City:				
workers	55.5	27.6	12.0	15.2
employed in cottage industries	1.7	0.5	0.2	0.9
workers in firms of cat.:				
I - III	5.3	3.5	1.1	0.5
IV - VII	12.9	7.6	2.8	2.3
VIII and unknown categories	37.3	16.5	8.1	12.4
Tarnopol				
workers	50.2	21.8	17.1	11.0
employed in cottage industries	1.6	0.5	0.6	0.5
workers in firms of cat.:				
I - III	2.1	1.4	0.5	0.2
IV - VII	6.8	3.3	2.4	1.0
VIII and unknown categories	41.3	17.1	14.2	9.8
Stanisławów				
workers	87.4	24.6	46.7	14.4
employed in cottage industries	2.0	0.4	0.9	0.7
workers in firms of cat.:				
I - III	21.7	7.1	12.6	1.4
IV - VII	17.1	6.7	7.6	2.3
VIII and unknown categories	48.6	10.8	26.5	10.7
Wołyń				
workers	65.0	20.7	19.7	21.4
employed in cottage industries	2.7	0.3	1.5	0.8
workers in firms of cat.:				
I - III	8.5	4.3	2.8	0.9
IV - VII	12.5	5.5	3.7	2.8
VIII and unknown categories	44.0	10.9	13.2	17.7

In Stanisławów Province too, workers of Polish nationality were in the majority in mining (especially in oil-production). They also formed the biggest group of employers in the metallurgical industry. The biggest number of Poles, it is true, made their living in the timber industry, but even so their number was much smaller than the number of Ukrainians in that industry. Jews were in the majority in the clothing industry, and also formed the biggest group among workers in the food industry.

We have least information about the workers in Tarnopol Province, where as many as 40% of those who gained their living from mining and industry were included in the group of people with no fixed occupation. It may be presumed that not all of them were really industrial workers. Among the remainder the biggest group consisted of people employed in the food industry, while smaller groups were employed in the timber, clothing, and building industries. Poles formed the most numerous group in the food, timber, and building industries. Jews were the biggest group in the clothing industry, although there were also large numbers in the food industry. The Ukrainians were in the minority in all branches of industry.

In Wolyń Province nearly a fifth of the workers made their living from jobs in the timber industry. Second came workers in the mineral industries, and among these the majority were Poles (in this branch of the national economy wages were always on the highest level).³⁰ The Ukrainians formed the most numerous group among workers in the food and building industries, whereas Jews predominated in the clothing industry.

We can see from the above that in the Western Ukraine the Poles on the whole had a better position than others. They worked in the best-paid occupations and were employed in the biggest firms. The Ukrainian workers, on the other hand, were engaged above all in branches of industry connected with the countryside, such as the food or timber industries. This hypothesis is confirmed by the national structure of the remaining groups of the working class (Table 11).

In commerce and insurance Jewish workers were the biggest group. The Poles employed in this sector mostly were resident in the city of Lwów and in the Lwów Province. In communication and transport, on the other hand, the Poles were in the overwhelming majority; the majority of them worked on the railways and in the post-office. The majority of the Ukrainians also worked in these same branches of the economy, although they were less in numbers than the Poles. The Jews, on the other hand, were employed almost exclusively by small private transport firms.

Poles predominated among the workers employed in education, in public service, in the medical services, etc. Among domestic servants, on the other hand, the Ukrainians were in a slight majority.

³⁰ J. Derengowski, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

Table 11. Manual workers and their families employed in commerce, insurance, communication and transport by religion and province, 1931 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Polski," Series C, sheets 58, 65, 68, 70, 78

Province and branch of the economy	Workers			
	total	religion		
		Armenian Catholic and Roman Catholic	Orthodox and Greek Catholic	Jewish
Lwów				
commerce and insurance	11.3	4.4	2.2	4.6
communication and transport	47.5	36.4	10.2	0.7
of which railways and post-office	40.9	31.8	8.8	0.1
Lwów City				
commerce and insurance	20.7	7.1	4.6	8.6
communication and transport	21.1	16.4	3.1	0.9
of which railways and post-office	15.4	12.5	2.2	0.1
Tarnopol				
commerce and insurance	7.5	2.0	1.6	3.9
communication and transport	14.4	9.8	4.2	0.3
of which railways and post-office	12.5	8.8	3.8	0.0
Stanisławów				
commerce and insurance	7.1	1.2	1.9	3.9
communication and transport	25.9	16.1	8.7	0.6
of which railways and post-office	23.4	15.4	7.3	0.2
Wołyń				
commerce and insurance	7.6	1.6	1.6	4.2
communication and transport	20.8	13.9	5.6	1.0
of which railways and post-office	17.9	12.9	4.5	0.1

It can be seen from the above that the Ukrainians formed the minority of the working class, and that they were in a worse position than Polish workers. There were objective reasons for this situation. The Ukrainians were mainly engaged in agriculture, and the process of social differentiation in rural areas and the shifts of rural proletariat to non-agricultural occupations was less advanced among the Ukrainians than among the Poles. In these circumstances even the industrial works situated in the outskirts of towns largely employed Poles and Jews. In particular it was common for small craftsmen to transfer to industry. In the period between the wars most of the Ukrainian farms had been drawn into the orbit of market production, and a stratum of rural semi-proletariat had emerged. These people, however, had only reached the stage of aspiring to be real industrial work-

ers, for they had no qualifications and no occupational traditions as such. It was easier for them to find jobs in agriculture, whereas outside agriculture they could only get unskilled labor. Their work was usually not very productive and so they were paid less. They were content with lower pay because they often still had small farms.³¹ Obviously this group of unskilled workers, sometimes still connected with farming, did not constitute the whole of the Ukrainian working class, but among the Ukrainians this category was more numerous than among the Polish workers. An obvious corollary of all this was that the expansion of industry in the Western Ukraine brought an influx of workers from other parts of Poland. It was more profitable for the employer to bring trained workers from other parts of Poland where there was unemployment, than to train local raw recruits.

The objective conditions already described would in themselves be sufficient to explain the specific national structure of the working class in the Western Ukraine. But in addition to these conditions, there was the added stimulus of Polish state policy, which operated to the same end.³²

In view of the absence of data, it is very difficult to establish what changes took place in the nationality structure of the working class in the Western Ukraine. Likewise owing to insufficient data, it is difficult to determine what changes took place in the total number of manual workers. Fragmentary information can be gleaned from the reports of the Labour Inspectors and from the data of the Central Statistical Office.

The Labour Inspectors' reports deal with the Lwów, Stanisławów, and Tarnopol Provinces as one group; Wolyń Province was combined with Lublin Province as another area. In the south-eastern provinces in 1937, the total number of employed, as shown by the evidence collected by the Labour Inspectors, remained more or less on the same level as in 1924—1927 (Table 12).

Between 1930 and 1933, however, there was a tremendous reduction in the number of employed persons, owing to the depression. About half the workers noted in the Labour Inspectors' records were employed in firms with less than 50 workers. This does not give us an entirely true picture of the distribution of the working class, however, as a large proportion of the small workshops did not

³¹ Report by representatives of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, of a visit to Kesów on 18th August, 1930, published by M. Ciecocińska, *Położenie klasy robotniczej w Polsce 1929 - 1939. Studia i materiały* [Situation of the Working Class in Poland, 1929 - 1939], Warszawa 1955, p. 158.

³² Vide J. Tomaszewski, *Robotnicy żydowscy w Polsce w latach 1921 - 1939 (szkieletystyczny)* [Jewish Manual Workers in Poland 1921 - 1939. Statistical Outline], "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 1964, No. 51, pp. 28 - 29. In 1937 the local authorities in Lwów paid 100 Ukrainians employed as street sweepers. At the same time the County Office of the State Railways in Lwów gave orders that only Poles were to be employed on the maintenance and building of railway lines. A. Bocheński, S. Łoś, W. Bączkowski, op. cit., pp. 130 - 131.

Table 12. Number of non-agricultural workers in the south-eastern province in 1924 - 1937, according to the records of the Labour Inspectors (in thous.)

Source: "Inspekcja Pracy," 1924 - 1937

Year	Total	In firms with over 50 manual workers	Mining	Mineral industry	Metallurgical industry	Engin. industry	Timber industry	Food industry
1924	124.0	63.2	20.3	6.7	6.0	2.7	28.8	13.1
1925	119.9	60.0	17.4	6.5	6.0	2.3	29.0	13.0
1926	121.1	60.3	17.3	6.6	5.8	2.8	29.2	13.8
1927	107.3 ^a	60.0 ^a	17.3	6.4	4.4	2.5	27.8	12.4
1928	101.0 ^b	54.8 ^c	12.3	12.2	2.6	5.8	25.2	18.9
1929	101.8	53.2	12.4	12.4	2.9	5.5	26.7	18.5
1930	83.9	44.0	11.4	10.0	1.7	4.6	19.2	16.9
1931	69.0	34.9	10.6	7.0	1.5	3.4	13.2	15.9
1932	68.1	35.3	9.5	6.9	1.4	3.3	13.0	17.2
1933	76.6	38.3	9.1	7.8	2.1	2.9	15.9	17.8
1934	81.5	41.2	9.1	8.3	2.2	2.9	17.2	19.9
1935	84.2	42.2	10.4	7.9	2.7	3.1	17.9	19.4
1936	89.8	44.9	10.4	8.7	2.6	3.4	18.5	20.4
1937	111.5	61.9	11.4	11.4	2.2	5.0	21.6	22.6

^a Workshops with no machinery were struck off the records; ^b some changes were made in the classification; ^c from this year onwards, firms employing 50 and more workers.

come under the supervision of Labour Inspectors. The only thing that can be said from these figures is that throughout this period there were probably no important changes in the structure of employment from the point view of size of firm. Certain changes did take place, however, in the occupational structure. Employment fell somewhat in mining and in the metallurgical, mineral, engineering, and timber industries, and increased somewhat in the food industry.

The data taken from the Central Statistical Office give the figures only for employment in large-scale and medium-sized concerns in the processing industries (Table 13). As we can see from these figures, there was some increase in employment in the Lwów and Tarnopol Provinces in 1938 as compared with 1928. In Stanisławów Province the level of employment underwent little change.

If we take into account the fact that there was a tendency to eliminate Jewish and Ukrainian workers from firms run by the State or local authorities, we may suppose that by 1935 certain changes had taken place in the nationality structure of the working class, and that there was a growing proportion of Poles in it. But throughout the country, and in this area too, there was a slight tendency for more Jewish workers to be employed in the big private firms.³³ We have no data about

³³ J. Tomaszewski, *Robotnicy żydowscy...*, pp. 33 - 35.

Table 13. Employment figures in large-scale and medium-sized concerns of the processing industries in the south-eastern provinces in 1928, 1932, 1936, and 1938 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Pracy," 1937, No. 2, p. 91 - 92; 1938 No. 3, p. 131; 1939 No. 1, p. 27

Province and year	Persons employed in:				
	total	mineral industry	metallurgical and electro- techn. industry	timber industry	food industry
Lwów					
1928	25.2	2.4	7.6	4.5	4.3
1932	17.9	1.9	5.1	2.2	3.5
1936	22.7	2.7	5.5	3.9	4.1
1938 VI	32.7	4.8	8.1	5.2	4.2
1938 XII	28.3	2.3	9.0	3.4	4.1
Stanisławów					
1928	14.1	0.8	2.9	7.9	1.0
1932	7.7	0.2	2.2	3.5	0.9
1936	11.6	0.5	1.9	7.1	0.8
1938 VI	15.3	0.9	2.7	9.1	0.8
1938 XII	13.5	0.8	2.8	7.6	0.8
Tarnopol					
1928	2.5	0.3	0.2	0.4	1.3
1932	2.4	0.3	0.1	0.3	1.5
1936	3.6	0.4	0.1	0.7	2.2
1938 VI	4.1	0.7	0.1	0.8	2.0
1938 XII	4.7	0.3	0.1	0.6	3.3

Note: The figures given for 1928, 1932, and 1936 are the average number of persons employed in the given year, whereas the figures given for 1938 are the figures for the end of the month.

the Ukrainians; no doubt their numbers increased in Ukrainian firms and co-operatives of various kinds, but they were of little importance in the labour market.

After 1935 the situation changed. First and foremost, employment increased owing to the expansion of State firms (especially those supplying the army), which engaged almost exclusively Poles. Secondly, all possible methods were brought to bear to polonise eastern Galicia.³⁴ In the labour market, the Polish authorities endeavoured to increase the employment of Poles, and to keep other nationalities out of all kinds of hired labour. Under the influence of these two factors, the nationality structure of the working class probably began to alter. The proportion of Poles rose, and, what is more, the differences between them and the workers of other nationalities became more marked. Working conditions

³⁴ For documents on this matter, vide AAN, *Prezydium Rady Ministrów*, vol. 148 - 264.

and wages were better in the State firms and on the railways than in private firms.

The employment figures for the Lublin and Wolyń Provinces are different (Table 14) from the figures for the Tarnopol, Lwów, and Stanisławów Provinces.

Whereas the depression years caused a tremendous fall in employment throughout the whole country, including eastern Galicia (southern Poland), the decrease in the numbers of employed workers in the Lublin and Wolyń Provinces was only slight, and lasted only a short time; by 1932 the level of employment was already higher than before the crisis. It should be stressed that the decrease in employment was so slight that it might even be attributed to changes in the level of accuracy of the data collected by the Labour Inspectors.

Table 14. Number of non-agricultural workers in the Lublin and Wolyń Provinces in 1924—1937, according to the records of the Labour Inspectors (in thous.)

Source: "Inspekcja Pracy", 1924 - 1937

Year	Workers							
	total	in firms with over 50 workers	mining	mineral industry	metallurgical industry	engin. industry	Timber industry	food industry
1924	25.5	13.7	0.0	2.6	0.8	3.1	3.7	11.9
1925	34.3	19.9	0.1	4.2	0.8	3.6	3.6	17.2
1926	36.0	21.6	0.2	3.3	1.7	3.8	3.4	17.5
1927	35.6	20.0	0.2	3.7	2.2	4.0	4.3	15.0
1928	35.3 ^a	21.3 ^b	0.6	4.6	1.2	3.9	4.6	14.7
1929	32.4	22.1	0.9	4.9	0.0	3.9	4.2	12.9
1930	33.7	22.8	1.9	5.1	0.0	3.0	5.9	14.9
1931	33.0	22.2	2.1	5.0	0.0	2.6	4.3	15.3
1932	38.0	25.7	2.4	4.6	0.0	2.2	6.2	18.2
1933	41.0	29.4	3.3	4.5	0.1	2.4	5.7	19.3
1934	47.4	35.3	4.8	4.3	0.1	2.9	8.1	21.7
1935	48.7	36.8	8.2	4.7	0.1	3.3	7.9	20.1
1936	44.0	33.4	8.1	5.2	0.1	2.7	7.3	16.7
1937	48.9	36.9	8.8	5.5	0.1	3.2	7.7	19.5

^a Certain changes were made in classification; ^b from this year onwards, firms employing 50 or more workers.

If we take only the numbers of employed in the bigger firms into consideration, the peculiar features of these two provinces come out even more clearly. A decline in employment due to the depression did not occur until 1931, and after that there was a steady increase in the numbers of employed. To find out

what was happening in Wołyń, we must refer to the Central Statistical Office's data on employment in big and medium-sized industrial firms (Table 15).

The data show that in Wołyń Province there was a steady and marked growth in employment during the thirties. The absolute figures for the number of employed workers were not high, it is true, but they show an exceptionally steep rise, particularly compared with all the other provinces in Poland.

Table 15. Employment in big and medium-sized processing industries in Wołyń Province in 1928, 1932, 1936 and 1938 (in thous.)

Source: "Statystyka Pracy," 1937, No. 2, p. 91 - 92; 1938, No. 3, p. 129; 1939, No. 1, p. 25

Year	Persons employed in:				
	total	mineral industry	metallurgical and electro-technical industry	timber industry	food industry
1928	6.3	1.4	0.8	2.1	1.8
1932	6.7	3.4	0.6	1.5	1.2
1936	12.2	6.5	0.5	2.8	2.2
1938 VI	16.4	9.4	0.6	4.3	1.8
1938 XII	12.3	6.0	0.6	3.0	2.4

Note: The figures for 1928, 1932 and 1936 are the average numbers of persons employed in the given year, whereas the figures given for 1938 are the figures for the end of the month.

It will be seen from a comparison of Tables 14 and 15 that the growth in the number of workers was confined to the mineral industry and to mining (the figures for mining are given only in Table 14). The rise in employment in the timber and food industries was much slower, and showed less fluctuation than the others during the crisis years. As a matter of fact the only branch of industry that developed rapidly in Wołyń was quarrying,³⁵ whose development was connected with the efforts to combat unemployment. The public works put into operation by the State and the local authorities largely consisted of road-building and other civil engineering projects where stone was needed. Thus we encounter the paradox that in Wołyń during the thirties there was economic growth, connected with unemployment in the rest of the country.

The increased employment of workers was due above all to their immigration from other provinces. Between 1921 and 1931 there was an influx of Polish skilled workers.³⁶ During the depression, the quarries gave work in the first instance to

³⁵ B. Rzepecki, op. cit., p. 29; A. S. Boryssowicz, *Teraźniejszość i przyszłość gospodarcza Wołynia* [The Present and Future Economic Situation of Wołyń], "Rocznik Ziemi Wschodnich 1939", pp. 124 - 125; J. Hoffmann, *Województwo wołyńskie* (The Wołyń Province), "Kalendarz Ziemi Wschodnich na rok 1936," pp. 288 - 294; *Inspekcja Pracy w 1929 roku* [Labour Inspectors' Reports for 1929], p. 81.

³⁶ A. Krysiński, *Ludność polska na Wołyniu...*, pp. 50 - 51; Z. Boryssowicz, op. cit., p. 124.

the unemployed. But since the province was almost devoid of industry, there was not much unemployment (taken to mean people who had been at one time employed but were now out of work); so the unemployed arrived here in droves from all over the country. They found employment especially in the biggest concerns belonging to the State and to the local authorities. There were fewer Jews employed in the quarries.

It may be concluded from the above that the increase in the number of workers employed in Wolyń Province was connected with a rise in the percentage of workers of Polish nationality.

Analysis of changes in the national structure of the working class in the Western Ukraine leads to the conclusion that the percentage of Poles was on the increase, and that differences were becoming more marked between the Poles and the Ukrainian and Jewish workers. This was particularly noticeable in Wolyń Province, where in the thirties there was a great increase in non-agricultural employment. In this connection it is interesting to note the problems that ensued from the specific forms of immigration of Polish workers into Western Ukraine. These people were of two types — either fairly highly skilled workers, or, in the years of the depression, unemployed persons who, because they were afraid of being thrown out of work again, were more likely to submit to various kinds of pressure from the state authorities.

The migration of workers within the frontiers of one country is of course a normal, and often a desirable process, for it helps to solve the problem of surplus labour in areas where unemployment is high; moreover, the influx of skilled men helps to speed up the development of industry in backward regions which do not have their own supplies of skilled men. Thus the processes described in the article may be regarded as normal, and even desirable, from the point of view of the national economy. But it must not be forgotten that the influx of Polish workers to the Western Ukraine, and their treatment as privileged persons, were all part of the polonisation policy of the state. Moreover, the immigration of these workers made it difficult for the surplus population in the Ukrainian villages to leave the land and go in for nonagricultural occupations, and prolonged the life of the specific occupational and social structure of the Ukrainian population.

(Translated by Krystyna Kozłowska)