

This article was downloaded by: [130.132.123.28]

On: 29 September 2014, At: 23:09

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cnap20>

The Ukrainian question between Poland and Czechoslovakia: The Lemko Rusyn republic (1918-1920) and political thought in western Rus'-Ukraine

Paul Robert Magocsi ^a

^a University of Toronto

Published online: 19 Oct 2007.

To cite this article: Paul Robert Magocsi (1993) The Ukrainian question between Poland and Czechoslovakia: The Lemko Rusyn republic (1918-1920) and political thought in western Rus'-Ukraine, *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 21:2, 95-105, DOI: [10.1080/00905999308408278](https://doi.org/10.1080/00905999308408278)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00905999308408278>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

**THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION BETWEEN
POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA:
THE LEMKO RUSYN REPUBLIC (1918-1920)
AND POLITICAL THOUGHT
IN WESTERN RUS'-UKRAINE**

Paul Robert Magocsi

During the closing months of World War I in late 1918 and the break-up of the historic multinational empires that for centuries had ruled most of East Central Europe, it became common practice for the varying ethnolinguistic or national groups to form councils whose goals were to determine their group's political future. These national councils, as they came to be known, seemed to appear everywhere, but perhaps most frequently in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was not only the "large" former minorities like the Czechs, Poles, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, Romanians, or Ukrainians who formed national councils, but many smaller groups acted in the same way. And, like the national councils of the larger groups who very soon created independent republics alone or in cooperation with their immediate neighbors, so, too, did some of these smaller groups proclaim their independence. Thus, in the newspapers of the time and scholarly monographs of today one can still find references to the Baranya, East Slovak, Hutsul, or Przemysl "republics" among others, which during the last few months of 1918 seemed to sprout up like mushrooms after a rainfall, but which for the most part ceased to exist when the borders of East Central Europe began to stabilize as a result of the Paris Peace Conference that opened its deliberations in early 1919.¹

One of the least known, yet ironically perhaps the longest-lasting, of these postwar "republics" was the Lemko Rusyn Republic (*Ruska Lemkivska Respublyka*), which existed for a full sixteen months from December 1918 to March 1920. Despite its relatively long existence in comparison with other post World War I ephemeral "states," the Lemko Rusyn Republic has never been treated in a serious manner in scholarly literature, so that all that exists on the subject are a few small published and unpublished articles or parts of studies that deal with Lemkos in general.² This study will attempt to outline the basic facts concerning the existence of the Lemko Rusyn Republic and, in particular, to determine how the discussions about that republic's orientation shed light on the more general problem of political thought in western Rus'

(Ukrainian) lands during the first half of the twentieth century.

Although it was based in historic Austrian Galicia, which after the war became Polish-ruled territory, the Lemko Republic was closely linked to the fate of fellow Rusyns living south of the Carpathian mountains in the Presov Region of what became Czechoslovakia (see Map 1). Using more modern terminology, the political activity of Lemkos and Rusyns on both sides of the Carpathians in 1918-1920 could be considered part of the larger Ukrainian question in interwar Poland and Czechoslovakia. However, while it is true that scholarly literature since at least World War II generally refers to the Lemkos and Rusyns as Ukrainians, most of the very people that are the subject of this discussion would not in the years 1918-1920 have considered themselves part of a "Ukrainian question" for the simple reason that they did not consider themselves Ukrainians. The explanation for this varies. Some commentators have argued that the Lemkos/Rusyns had not yet reached the stage of becoming nationally conscious, that is they did not identify as Ukrainians. For other commentators, however, the group was already quite conscious of belonging to an historic entity called Rus'. To avoid the potentially confusing and anachronistic use of modern terminology for earlier periods (only since World War II has the group officially been known as Ukrainians), I will use here the historic terms Rus' and Rusyn to describe respectively the territory and the East Slavic population which lived in the former Austrian province of Galicia and in the northeastern counties of Hungary, areas which after World War I became respectively parts of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

As for the term Lemko, it is a local name that had in the early twentieth century been adopted by those Rusyns who lived along the northern slopes of the Carpathians just west of the San River in historic Galicia.³ This area was immediately adjacent to Polish ethnographic territory so that the Lemkos were geographically set off from the mass of Rusyns (Ukrainians) on the other side of the San River in East Galicia. The Lemko Region (Lemkivshchyna) was itself divided into a western and eastern half more or less at the point where the Dukla Pass crosses the Carpathians. The eastern Lemko Region had by the outset of the twentieth century been more influenced by the Ukrainian national revival that had gained strength beyond the San in East Galicia. In contrast, the western Lemko Region retained its sense of association with historic Rus'.

In the eastern Lemko Region, a meeting was called in early November 1918 by a Greek Catholic priest from about thirty villages who were generally of a Ukrainian orientation, this group formed what came to be called the Komancza Republic.⁴ The formation of the Komancza republic was only a "temporary" measure, however, undertaken until the whole Lemko Region would be united with the West Ukrainian People's Republic, founded on November 1 in L'viv, the administrative center of East Galicia. In fact, the Komancza Lemko Republic lasted only until January 23, 1919, when Polish

troops occupied Komancza as part of their military advance during the Polish-Ukrainian war that, by July, had driven the West Ukrainian People's Republic entirely out of Galicia.

Meanwhile, in the western Lemko Region, councils were formed in several villages, and on November 27, 1918, about 2,000 Lemkos met in the town of Gladyszów (Gorlice county) to discuss their political future and, in particular, the Wilsonian call for "the right of peoples to self-determination." At Gladyszów, Lemko leaders formed a Rusyn Council (Ruska Rada), which rejected the Ukrainian orientation of the Komancza Republic and called instead for union with Russia. The meeting also decided that the various smaller Lemko councils at Czarna (Grybów county), Snietnica, later Binczarowa (Grybów county), and Krynica (Nowy Sacz county) should with Gladyszów be consolidated at an all-Lemko national congress to be convened in the town of Florynka on December 5.

More than 500 Lemko Rusyns representing 130 villages and towns in the western Lemko Region did meet, as planned, at a national congress in Florynka (Grzybów county) on December 5, 1918. Also present were representatives from among Rusyns living south of the mountains in the so-called Presov Region of northeastern Slovakia and from immigrants in the United States (Viktor Hladyk), as well as an official from the new government in Poland at the county seat of Grzybów (Kazimierz Romult).

At Florynka it was decided to form a self-governing entity that would include an executive council (Nachal'nyi Sovit) headed by the Reverend Mykhal Iurchakevych and a central national council (Ruska Rada) headed by Dr. Jaroslav Kachmarchyk. This was the birth of what became known as the Lemko Rusyn Republic whose leading figure remained from beginning to end Dr. Karchmarchyk. Almost immediately, the new Lemko government set up a national guard and organized schools and cooperatives.⁵

Hoping that the Lemko Republic would be opposed to the West Ukrainian People's Republic and, therefore, of use to Polish interests in the area, the Polish official present at the Florynka proceedings offered Lemko leaders the building of the former town hall in Grzybów as its governmental headquarters and provided some arms for the Lemko national guard. However, Polish expectations of Lemko loyalty proved to be misplaced. Whereas the Lemko Republic was ideologically opposed to the West Ukrainian People's Republic, it did not join Poland's efforts to drive that Ukrainian government out of Galicia.⁶ And whereas the Lemko Rusyns welcomed Poland's initial support, they were primarily concerned about implementing for themselves Wilson's precept of self-determination.

For the Lemko republic's national council now based in Grzybów self-determination meant union with a democratic Russian state that would "reunite" all of Galicia with the East as had only recently been the case under

the leadership of the tsarist army during the winter of 1914-1915. Thus, one week after the Florynka meeting, the chairmen of the Lemko national and executive councils, Dr. Karchmarchyk and the Reverend Iurchakevych, joined other pro-Russian Galician leaders at Sanok, where on December 13 they signed a memorandum that rejected all foreign pretensions over their homeland, whether Hungarian, Polish, or "Habsburg-Ukrainian," proclaiming instead that, as "Russians" living in Galicia, they should be incorporated into a "single, great Russian state."⁷ By 1919, however, Russia was plunged into a civil war and it seemed unlikely that any government there, whether Bolshevik or non-Bolshevik, would be able to make its influence felt in the Carpathians. In such circumstances, Lemko leaders began to look for other alternatives.

Already in January 1919, Lemko representatives met with their Rusyn brethren south of the mountains in Presov, where under the leadership of a former member of the Hungarian parliament, Dr. Antonii Beskyd, they joined in the creation of a united Carpatho-Rusyn National Council. This council proposed the idea that Galician Lemkos and all Rusyns south of the Carpathians formed one people who would comprise a territory called Carpathian Rus' that would seek union with the new state of Czechoslovakia.⁸ The pro-Czechoslovak orientation was approved by Galician Lemko leaders at several meetings in March (at Florynka, Brunary, Krynica) and a delegation was sent to the Paris Peace Conference to support the idea of union with their Rusyn brethren south of the mountains. This proposal was formalized in a memorandum submitted on April 20 by the chairman of the Carpatho-Rusyn National Council in Presov, Dr. Beskyd, to the Paris Peace Conference.⁹ The 23-page Paris memorandum issued in French and English also included a fold-out map delineating the boundaries of what was called the united state of Carpathian Rus' (Karpatska Rus'), which included not only the Lemko Region in Galicia, but also the Rusyn-inhabited Presov Region in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus' on the southern slopes of the mountains (see Map 2).

At the same time that the Paris memorandum was being presented to diplomatic circles at Versailles, the Lemko Republic's leader, Dr. Karchmarchyk, was meeting with Poland's prime minister, from whom he received assurances that the Polish government would not interfere in the affairs of the Lemko Republic until final decisions were reached at the Paris Peace Conference. Nonetheless, Polish army troops broke up demonstrations in the Lemko Region and by late April arrested and put on trial the Reverend Iurchakevych for his Czechoslovak activity. In the end, when diplomatic decisions finally came, they were not favorable to the Lemkos. On May 8, 1919, Rusyns living south of the Carpathians declared at Uzhhorod their desire for union with

Czechoslovakia. During the following week of talks at the Uzhhorod Central Rusyn National Council, representatives of the Lemkos asked to be included as well, but the Rusyn-American immigrant activist Gregory Zhatkovych, who later became first governor of Czechoslovakia's province of Subcarpathian Rus', opposed any union of the Lemko Region, which he considered would complicate further the yet unresolved border of Galicia.¹⁰ Then, in June, the Paris Peace Conference authorized the Polish government to occupy temporarily all of Galicia, which in theory remained under the ultimate authority of the Allied and Associated Powers.

Rebuffed by their brethren south of the mountains, Karchmarchyk returned for a while to the idea of union with Russia, even if it would be under Bolshevik rule.¹¹ But considering the anarchic conditions in the East, union with a Russia of whatever political orientation seemed as unlikely as ever. Realizing that the international situation was working against them, on March 12, 1920, Karchmarchyk convened a second all-Lemko national congress, once again at Florynka and this time with 600 delegates. At that meeting, a government for the Lemko Rusyn Republic was formerly established, with Dr. Iaroslav Karchmarchyk as president; the Reverend Dmytro Khyliak as minister for internal affairs; the Reverend Vasyl' Kurylo as minister of foreign affairs; and Mykola Hromosiak as minister of agriculture. The Florynka congress also authorized the Lemko government to initiate once again contacts with the government of Czechoslovakia in an effort to be united with their Rusyn brethren south of the mountains.

However, by 1920, Poland and Czechoslovakia had strained relations over other areas along their long common border in Silesia (Cieszyn/Cesin) and Slovakia (Orava-Spís), and neither needed the Lemko Region to be added to their problems. Thus, before the end of March, the Poles arrested Karchmarchyk and the rest of his government, effectively putting an end to the sixteen-month existence of the Lemko Rusyn Republic. More than one year later, on June 10, 1921, Karchmarchyk, Khyliak, and Hromosiak were put on trial. They were accused of trying to separate the Lemko Region from Poland and of promoting internal conflict in the area. Although all three were acquitted of the charges, any hopes for Lemko self-government or union with Czechoslovakia definitely ended. In March 1923, the Allied and Associated Powers made a final decision regarding this part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Galicia in its entirety was recognized as a part of Poland. This meant that the Lemko Region, like Ukrainian-inhabited East Galicia, became integral parts of the Polish administrative system with no provisions for any kind of territorial autonomy.

There remain several aspects of the Lemko Rusyn Republic that still need to be clarified. The basic chronology of events has not yet been established, and in existing secondary accounts they are related in a contradictory manner.¹² Furthermore, what did the texts of the Florynka national council's

memoranda actually say? When and how did the change from a pro-Russian to pro-Czechoslovak political orientation actually take place? How did the Lemko government administer its territory? What territory did it actually claim and what did it effectively administer? These are only some of the basic questions that await scholarly research. Yet, as interesting as the Lemko Republic may be in and of itself, what does it tell us about the broader subject under consideration, namely, the Ukrainian question between Poland and Czechoslovakia during the interwar years?

Perhaps the issue that the story of the Lemko Republic most effectively illuminates is the evolution of political thought among the East Slavic population of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, specifically territory in East Galicia, northern Bukovina, and northeastern Hungary. For the sake of discussion, these three regions will be referred to as a single unit called western Rus', whose population was then known as Rusyns and today as Ukrainians.

Modern political thought in western Rus' could be said to date from 1848, when the revolution that began in that year in Austria-Hungary opened up new possibilities for the many nationalities of the empire. The Rusyn/Ukrainians of western Rus' also took an active role in what became known throughout much of East Central Europe as the Spring of Nations. Two basic principles were initiated in 1848, and they were to remain the cornerstones of western Rus' political thought for the rest of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century until the final collapse of Austria-Hungary in late 1918. These principles were: (1) that western Rus'—East Galicia, northern Bukovina, and northeastern Hungary—should be united, because the East Slavic inhabitants who lived there were on linguistic and cultural grounds the same people who called themselves Rusyns (*rusyny*); and (2) that since these Rusyns of Austria-Hungary were linguistically and culturally related to other East Slavs in what was at the time the Russian Empire, they should maintain at the very least cultural relations with their brethren in the East if not, as some leaders would later propose, be united with them in one state.¹³

Whereas most western Rus' spokespersons would, without exception, agree with these two basic principles, a problem arose as to the extent of the relationship to the rest of the East Slavic world. Concern with defining the specifics of the eastern relationship increased already during the last decades of the nineteenth century, but this became particularly crucial with the end of Austro-Hungarian rule in late 1918.

In short, that relationship could be visualized as consisting of three concentric circles. The first and largest circle comprised the former Austro-Hungarian or western Rus' lands together with the entire East Slavic world, referred to as Russia. This was commonly called the Russophile view. The second circle was smaller, including the western Rus' lands joined only to the southern branch of the East Slavs, namely the Ukrainians. This was called the Ukrainophile view. The third and last circle was narrower still, comprising

only part of the western Rus' lands specifically, the Lemko Region (the East Slavic lands of Galicia west of the San River) together with the Presov Region and Subcarpathian Rus' (the former northeastern counties of Hungary). This last approach, which retained a sense of cultural affinity with the East but which was satisfied with a reduced territorial base, was known as the Carpatho-Rusyn view.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that all three political orientations in western Rus' adapted to the new political reality of the immediate post-World War I era. For instance, the traditionally conservative and pro-tsarist Russophile orientation included some leaders who were willing to accept the idea of union with Russia even if under Bolshevik rule. For their part, Ukrainophiles were willing to sacrifice the idea of a united Ukrainian state (*Soborna Ukraina*) if they could be assured of wide-ranging autonomy or independence for at least a western Ukrainian (East Galician) state.¹⁵ Rusynophiles both north and south of the Carpathian mountains moved from the idea of some kind of vague unity with the East to the more realistic possibility of union with a democratic Czechoslovakia from whom they expected guarantees of autonomy. No orientation, however, ever considered association with Poland as an acceptable option.

The Lemko Region, which was examined above in some detail during the immediate postwar era, experienced all three western Rus' political orientations. Of the two national councils and Lemko republics which evolved in late 1918, the short-lived one in the eastern Lemko village of Komancza was clearly Ukrainian in orientation; the longer lasting republic in the western Lemko centers of Florynka/Grzybów moved between the Russian and Carpatho-Rusyn orientation.

For the rest of the interwar period, all three of the traditional political orientations remained options for the Rusyn population whether in Poland or Czechoslovakia. Russophilism was propagated by local conservatives, who together with newly-arrived Russian émigrés hoped for a phoenix-like rebirth of a democratic, even a tsarist Russia, as well as by left-wing Communist activists who hoped some day to be included in a Bolshevik Russia that, at most, might pay lip-service to the national distinctions among the East Slavs.¹⁶ As for Ukrainophilism, it seemed the dominant force in Polish East Galicia and was a growing movement in Czechoslovakia's Subcarpathian Rus' as well. Through both legal political movements and undergroup conspiratorial activity, Ukrainians awaited the day when Europe's boundaries would be revised and the western Rus' lands would finally end up where they belong—in an independent, non-Bolshevik Ukrainian state.¹⁷ Finally, the Rusynophile orientation flourished primarily south of the Carpathians, where its leaders hoped to reach a permanent settlement with Czechoslovak authorities that would grant them political and cultural autonomy as an East Slavic people

somehow distinct from both Ukrainians and Russians. Such attitudes also remained alive among the Lemko Rusyns in Poland during the interwar years and were expressed through cultural and educational activity, including the creation of a distinct Lemko Greek Catholic jurisdiction.¹⁸ It is, therefore, not surprising that during the wide ranging political changes that took place both on the eve of (1939) and toward the close of (1944) World War II, the Lemko Rusyns issued feelers calling for unification with their brethren south of the mountains into a single entity called Carpathian Rus'.¹⁹

Thus, at least in the realm of political thought, the Ukrainian question in Poland and Czechoslovakia during the interwar years reflected patterns that had been established already during the second half of the nineteenth century. With the close of World War II and the dominant presence of Soviet power in the region, the old three-fold.

Russophile-Ukrainophile-Rusynophile political options seemed to have little validity, since most of the western Rus' lands were united with the rest of the East Slavic world, albeit within the context of a Soviet state and its politically subordinate allies, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In such a situation, the traditional tripartite debates within western Rus' political thought were suppressed in favor of an administratively-imposed Ukrainian orientation. However, with the political changes instigated after 1985 by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and the revolution of 1989 in East Central Europe, the old debates in the western Rus' world about national and, therefore, political identity have been revived once again. But that is a subject for another essay.²⁰

NOTES

1. For information on some of these smaller and often ephemeral "republics," see C.A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences, 1919-1937* (Oxford, 1937); and Ladislav Tajták, *Národnodemokratická revolúcia na východnom Slovensku v roku 1918* (Bratislava, 1972).
2. V.R. Vavrim, "Russkaia Norodnaia Respublika 'Lemkov'" (unpublished 11-page manuscript); P. Kohutov, "Lemkivshchyna u borot'bi za vozz'iednannia" (unpublished 11-page manuscript); Andrzej Kwilecki, "Fragmenty najnowszej historii Lemków," *Rocznik Sadecki*, VIII (Nowy Sacz, 1967), esp. pp. 254-257; and Bohdan Horbal', "Lemkivska Narodna Respublyka," *Holos Vatry*, No. 5 (Bortne, 1988), pp. 5 and 12, as well as his more comprehensive "Dzialalnosc polityczna Lemkow na Lemkowszczyznie Zachodniej i Srodkowej w latach 1918-1921" (unpublished manuscript). See also below, note 4.
3. On the origin of the term Lemko and its introduction as an ethnonym among the populace, see Bohdan Struminsky, "The Name of the Lemkos and Their Territory," in Jacob P. Hursky, *Studies in Ukrainian Linguistics in Honor of George Y. Shevelov; Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XV (New York, 1981-83), pp. 301-3078.
4. The literature on the more ephemeral Komancza republic is slightly better than that

on the Lemko Rusyn Republic. The most detailed survey is a chapter on the Komancza republic in Tadeusz Andrzej Olszanski, *Bieszczady 1918-19* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 41-52. Other descriptions of the Komancza republic, which also include brief and usually critical appraisals of the Lemko Rusyn Republic, are: Frants Kokovs'kyi, "Lemkivs'ki republyky v 1918-1919 rokakh," in *Istorychnyi kaliendar-al'manakh Chervonoï kalyny na rik 1935* (L'viv, 1934), pp. 115-117; Iulian Tarnovych, *Iliustrovana istoriia Lemkivshchyny* (L'viv, 1936), esp. pp. 246-258; and Ivan Hvat, "Istoriia pivnichnoi Lemkivshchyny do vyhnannia lemki," in Bohdan O. Strumins'kyi, ed. *Lemkivshchyna*, Vol. I, *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, Vol. 206 (New York, Paris, Sydney, and Toronto, 1988), esp. pp. 179-186.

5. On the background to the Florynka meeting and its actions, see Ivan Krasovs'kyi, "Zakhidno-Lemkivs'ka Respublyka," *Nashe slovo* (Warsaw), November 30, 1980, p. 4; and Horbal, "Dzialalnosc polityczna Lemkow," pp. 2-7.

6. The pro-Ukrainian Kokovs'kyi, "Lemkivs'ki republyky," p. 117, who otherwise had little sympathy for the Lemko Rusyn Republic, nonetheless concluded that "the leadership of 'this republic' conducted itself in a completely loyal manner toward the Ukrainians, and although there were efforts to divide Muscophiles [Russophile Lemkos] from Ukrainians, both sides took the position that this was only an internal matter which would be resolved among the two orientations."

7. "Memorandum Narodnago Sovieta Russkago Prikarpat'ia," reprinted in Zdenek Peska and Josef Markov, "Príspevek k ústavním dejinám Podkarpatské Rusi," Bratislava, V (Bratislava, 1931), pp. 528-531.

8. See the memorandum, dated Presov, January 31, 1919, in *ibid.*, pp. 531-532.

9. The 23-page memorandum that included a fold-out map delineating the boundaries of a united Carpathian Rus' (the Galician Lemko Region up to the San River as well as the Presov Region and Subcarpathian Rus' south of the Carpathians) was issued in French and English: *The Origin of the Lems, Slavs of Danubian Provenance: Memorandum to the Peace Conference Concerning Their National Claims* [Paris, 1919].

10. *Protokoly obshchago sobraniia podkarpatskikh russkikh rad i pervykh 5-ti zasiedanii Tsentral'noi Russkoi Narodnoi Rady* (Uzhhorod, 1919). The question of territorial unity with the Lemko Region was discussed at Uzhhorod during the second day (May 9). It was raised by Dmytro Vislots'kyi, secretary of the Presov National Council and native of the Lemko Region. The Rusyn-American Zhatkovych, who at the time had the greatest political influence, expressed dismay over those Galician leaders (Russophiles who sometimes spoke on behalf of the Lemkos) who called for union with "Great Russia"; this, he felt, would undermine the efforts of Carpatho-Rusyns to find an advantageous political position within Czechoslovakia.

11. Ever since the Lemko leaders Karchmarchyk and Iurkachevych joined Galician Russophiles at Sanok (December 13, 1918) in calling for union with Russia (see above, note 6), the leading prewar Galician Russophile spokesman, former Austrian parliamentary deputy Dmitrii Markov, was empowered to speak on behalf of Lemkos. For instance, he presented the Lemko declaration made at the Florynka national congress to Clemenceau. Markov was clearly anti-Bolshevik and preferred to see some kind of democratic Russian state or even a return to tsarism. See his *Mémoire sur les aspirations nationales des Petits-Russiens de l'ancien empire austro-hongrois* [Paris, 1919] and *Belgium of the East: An Interview with Dr. Dimitri A. Markoff*

Nationalities Papers

(Wilkes-Barrie, PA, 1920).

According to Kohutov, "Lemkivshchyna," p. 6, the Lemko republic also dispatched two representatives to the "Soviet Union" in the spring of 1919.

12. For instance, most authors mentioned above in note 2 refer to the Lemko Republic existing sixteen months and ending with the arrest of its leaders in March 1920, yet Kohutov, "Lemkivshchyna," pp. 7-8, states the arrest and end of the republic did not come until January 1921. Similarly, Kohutov states the whole movement began with the meeting at Gladyszów on October 30, 1918, while Horbal', "Lemkivs'ka respublika," p. 5, states that meeting took place on October 9. These are some examples of the many inconsistencies in the existing accounts.

13. For the details on western Rus' political thought in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), pp. 42-75; Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, "Obopil'ni stosunki mizh Velykoiu Ukraïnoiu i Halychynoiu v istorii rozvytku Ukraïns'koï politychnoi dumky XIX i XX v.," *Ukraïna*, V, 2 (Kiev, 1928), pp. 83-90; O.A. Monchalovskii, *Sviataia Rus'* (L'viv, 1903).

14. An expanded variant of the third circle existed as long as the Austro-Hungarian Empire existed. It encompassed all the western Rus' lands whose Old Ruthenian leaders, as they were known, maintained a political vision that basically was encompassed by the borders of the Habsburg Empire. The viability of such a territory, which was called Carpathian Rus', ended in 1918, after which the narrower third circle described here became a concrete and, as some thought, feasible political goal. Cf. Paul Robert Magocsi, "Old Ruthenianism and Russophilism: A New Conceptual Framework for Analyzing National Ideologies in Late 19th Century Eastern Galicia," in Paul Debreczyn, ed., *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists*, Vol. II (Columbus, OH, 1983), pp. 305-324.

15. Such an orientation, which looked for a revival of the medieval Galician-Volhynian Kingdom through the establishment of an independent West Ukrainian Republic was not completely eliminated as a political option until the 1923 decision of the Allied and Associated Powers. Cf. Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Za derzhavnu nezalezhnist' Halychyny: chomu Ukraïns'ka Halychyna ne mozhe pryity pid Pol'shchu* (Vienna, 1921); *Nekhai zhyve Nezalezhna Nalyts'ka Derzhava: zbirka statei* (Vienna, 1922); *The Case for the Independence of Galicia* (London, 1922).

16 For the conservative view, see N. Pavolovich, *Russkaia kul'tura i Podkarpatskaia Rus'*, *Izdanie Obshchestva im. A. Dukhnovicha*, No. 23 (Uzhhorod, 1926); Antonii Lukovich, *Natsional'naiia i iazykovaia prynadlezhnost' russkago naseleniia Podkarpatskoi Rusi*, *Izdanie Obshchestva im. A. Dukhnovicha*, No. 40 (Uzhhorod, 1929); and Ivan Teodorovich, "Lemkovskaia Rus'," *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-russkoi Matitsy*, VIII (L'viv, 1934), pp. 10-21. For the Communist view, see I.K. Vasiuta and Iu. Iu. Slyvka, "Borot'ba trudiashchykh Zakhidnoi Ukraïny, Bukovyny i Zakarpattia...za vozz'iednannia z Radians'koiu Ukraïnoiu," in M.M. Oleksiuk et al., eds. *Torzhestvo istorichnoi spravedyvosti* (L'viv, 1968), pp. 434-479.

17. Bohdan Budurowycz, "Poland and the Ukrainian Problem, 1921-1939," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXV, 4 (Toronto, 1983), pp. 473-500; Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929* (Boulder, CO and New York, 1930), esp. pp. 129-161; Magocsi, *Shaping of A National Identity*, esp. pp. 227-233.

Magosci: The Lemko Rusyn Republic

18. Jan Husek, "Rodí se podkarpatorusky národ?" Podkarpato-ruská revue, I, 7-8 (Bratislava, 1936), pp. 6-8; Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, esp. pp. 106-110 and 221-224; I.F. Lemkin, *Y storyia Lemkovyny* (Yonkers, NY, 1969), pp. 154-175.
19. Ivan Vanat, *Narysy novitn'oi istorii ukrainstiv Skhidnoi Slovaichyny*, Vol. II (Bratislava and Presov, 1985), p. 220.
20. Cf. Paul Robert Magocsi, "Nation-Building or Nation Destroying: Poles, Lemkos and Ukrainians in Present-Day Poland," *Polish Review*, forthcoming 1990; "[Rusyns and] the Revolution of 1989," *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, XII, 4 (Fairview, NJ, 1989), pp. 5-9.