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## THE AUTHORITY'S POLICY OF THE INTERWAR POLAND CONCERNING ECONOMICAL INITIATIVES OF THE NATIONAL MINORITIES OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN PROVINCES

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The Ukrainians predominated in the south-eastern provinces of the interwar Poland (Eastern Galicia) while the Polish there were remarkable for their political and social influences. The majority of the Ukrainian peasants were greatly interested in the agrarian reforms because of the lack of lands. The authorities resolved this problem in the interests of the Polish and it caused the conflicts between these two nations. In the south-eastern provinces Polish cooperation was inferior to the Ukrainian. At that time the cooperation of Ukrainians was the only possibility to realize their economic initiatives. In the Eastern Galicia the Jews were mainly engaged into trade and commerce and as a rule they live in cities and towns. The Polish law limited their economical rights. The Armenians and Germans of the Eastern Galicia were influenced by the Polish economical organizations and the Armenians lost their economical identity, but the Germans organized a lot of their own cooperations different from the others of that type.

*Keywords:* Eastern Galicia, cooperation, Ukrainians, Polish, Jews, Germans, Armenians.

The south-eastern provinces of the Second Polish Republic (Lviv, Stanislav and Ternopil provinces) are named differently in the historiography. Ukrainian historians called them “Eastern Galicia” and Polish historians named them “Eastern Lesser Poland”. In this publication I'll use the term the “Eastern Galicia”. It means the territories of Stanislav, Ternopil and Eastern part of Lviv provinces of the Second Polish Republic<sup>1</sup>. Up to 1927 Industrial and Commercial Chambers were in Lviv and Brody, and after 1927 Industrial-Commercial Chamber was in Lviv<sup>2</sup>.

The majority of the Ukrainians was typical for the Eastern Galicia: 71% – 1849, 63% – 1910, 61% – 1921, 59% – 1931<sup>3</sup>. The Polish in the Eastern Galicia were

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<sup>1</sup> О. Дудяк, “Динаміка чисельності польського населення Східної Галичини в першій третині ХХ ст. (за матеріалами переписів 1910, 1921 і 1931 рр.)”, *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична*, №35–36, (2000): 286.

<sup>2</sup> Р. Масик, “Промислово-торгова палата у Львові в міжвоєнний період”, *Наукові зошити історичного факультету Львівського університету*, №16, (2015): 208.

<sup>3</sup> О. Дудяк, “Динаміка чисельності польського населення Східної Галичини в першій третині ХХ ст. (за матеріалами переписів 1910, 1921 і 1931 рр.)”, *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична*, № 35–36, (2000): 291–292.

determined by their political and social influence, not by their number<sup>4</sup>. The main reason of the lessening of the Ukrainian population in the Eastern Galicia was the policy of Poland in the Second Polish Republic concerning the native inhabitants. The authorities wanted to assimilate nationalities, to convert them into lawful citizens of the one-national society. The national policy of the Second Polish Republic was caused by social and geopolitical motives. The Poles from overpopulated native Poland were settled to the east, the assimilation of the Ukrainians took place and Polish migrants occupied leading posts in policy, administrative organs, etc.

The majority of the Eastern Galician's population lived in the villages. Mainly they were Ukrainians. Due to the fact that the Ukrainians were the third, after Polish and Jews in the cities, that influenced economic and political situation in Galicia<sup>5</sup>. For example, in Lviv in 1931 the Ukrainians formed only 16, 2% of population. But there were 50, 8% Poles, 31, 9% Jews and 1, 1% other nationalities<sup>6</sup>.

There were few large cities in the Eastern Galicia. And the industry & commerce were highly developed there. Lviv has always been a great center and the largest city. The population of the city had been increasing, it was 207 thousand in 1910, 219 thousand – in 1921, 312 thousand – in 1931, 319 thousand – in 1939. During the interwar period Lviv was the biggest and the most important economical center of the Eastern Galicia. The Industrial-Commercial Chamber worked in Lviv, it was a body of the economical self-management for the whole Eastern Galicia. To show the importance of the Polish industry the Eastern public sale had been regularly organized in Lviv to develop the international trade.

Evidently, because of the lack of lands the agrarian reform was very important for the Ukrainian peasants of the Eastern Galicia. At the same time, there were a lot of large farms belonging to the Poles. At the beginning of the XX-th century the authorities of the Eastern Galicia tried to increase Polish ownership in that region. Poles would be leaders in farming and Ukrainians would remain poor peasants.

During the period of the Austro-Hungary in the Eastern Galicia Poles dominated in the parcelling of the lands. In 1901 a special law was established to give privilege to Poles for buying parcelling lands<sup>7</sup>. In general, during 1880–1910 318589 persons of un-Ukrainian nationality immigrated to the Eastern Galicia<sup>8</sup>. Because of the lack of lands, the Ukrainian peasants had to emigrate to America. According to the official

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<sup>4</sup> Б. Гудь, *Загибель Аркадії. Етносоціальні аспекти українсько-польських конфліктів XIX – першої половини XX століття*. (Львів: 2006), 309.

<sup>5</sup> О. Дудяк, “Львівські підприємці за даними перепису 1931 року: чисельність, етноконфесійна структура, галузь зайнятості”, *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична*, №48, (2013): 532.

<sup>6</sup> І. Васюта, *Галицько-Волинське село між двома світовими війнами*. (Львів: 2010), 25–26.

<sup>7</sup> Б. Гудь, *Загибель Аркадії. Етносоціальні аспекти українсько-польських конфліктів XIX – першої половини XX століття...*, 311.

<sup>8</sup> І. Васюта, *Галицько-Волинське село між двома світовими війнами...*, 141.

facts more than 327491 (72,8%) persons left Galicia, but only 122371 (27,2%) persons left the other provinces of Austro-Hungary<sup>9</sup>.

After the World War I, the agrarian problems still existed. The organization of land exploitation of the Second Polish Republic was characterized by great remains of semi-feudal dealings. The problem was that the peasants' landowning had become smaller while the landlords' ones had been preserving<sup>10</sup>.

During the interwar period the tension between Polish owners and Ukrainian peasants still remained. The parcelling was used to increase the Polish ownership in the south-eastern provinces. The Polish politics used a slogan: "Land only for Poles". The agrarian reform of 1919 depressed Ukrainian peasants. The parcelling land was controlled by the Polish authorities, which insisted on giving the land only to Poles<sup>11</sup>.

The land for the Poles was situated in the best regions, for example near Lviv, Drohobych and Boryslav. These lands were rich in different resources, such as oil and coal<sup>12</sup>.

Speaking about the agrarian reform it should be noticed that the Polish government could come to an understanding with the Ukrainian peasants, but it was impossible because of political and economic factors. Poland got its independence and both Ukrainian and Poles still remembered the war for Eastern Galicia. That's why the slogan of the Polish politics – Polish land is only for Poles – was really actual<sup>13</sup>.

Besides, different economic factors influenced the policy of parcelling. The central and eastern parts of Galicia were destroyed because of the World War I. The destruction there was really greater than in the Kingdom of Poland or the Eastern Prussia. After the World War I Eastern Galicia had become the central place for the battles between the Ukrainians and the Poles. The military actions caused the increasing collapse of the economy. After the war the economical crisis was in the country, it was mainly food crisis. The peasants, especially Ukrainians refused to provide cities with food. That's why the government had to organize the support in this part of the country. To my mind because of this the policy of the parcelling in this region differed from the other regions of the Second Polish Republic.

By 1920-s the economy of Poland had been stabilized, so it didn't influence the agrarian policy of the government. The slogan "Polish lands only for the Poles" was actual up to the end of the Second Polish Republic. Poland misappropriated large territories of so-called "thrifless lands", settlers were settled there. In the Eastern

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<sup>9</sup> Б. Янишин, Б. Молчанов, *Економічний розвиток українських земель у складі Австро-Угорщини (1848–1900)*, в книзі *Економічна історія України. Історико-економічне дослідження в двох томах*, т. 1, (Київ: 2011), 680.

<sup>10</sup> І. Васюта, *Галицько-Волинське село між двома світовими війнами*. (Львів: 2010), 154.

<sup>11</sup> Б. Гудь, *Загибель Аркадії. Етносоціальні аспекти українсько-польських конфліктів XIX – першої половини XX століття...*, 313; В. Шевчук, "Політика "осадництва" у контексті інкорпорації Західної України до складу II Речі Посполитої", *Культура і мистецтво у сучасному світі*, №11, (2010): 208–209.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem: 316, 321.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem: 319.

Galicia up to 1923 the Polish state and Polish migrants had misappropriated 200 ha land objects of area of economic significance. The agricultural problem of the Ukrainian peasants was greatly aggravated because of the state agrarian policy conducted in the interests of Polish landowners and settlers. The overpopulation and pauperization of the poorer peasantry side by side with the privileges of landowners and settlers, shortage of arable lands and lack of lands side by side with great landlords latifundiums had been particularly observed in the Eastern Galicia<sup>14</sup>.

The contacts between the Poles and the Ukrainians were tensed. The pacification in 1930 was the culmination of the tensed contacts. In the 1930-s the Ukrainians organized a lot of manifestations against the government's agrarian policy. The Poles didn't want to change their agrarian policy and that caused the conflicts, even military ones, between these nations. Because of the pacification the Ukrainians destroyed landed properties of Polish landlords and settlers. The Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in the Galician village had been kept up to the end of the Second Polish Republic. Ethno-social conflict became stronger and repressive actions of the Polish government couldn't stop it. The Ukrainians couldn't, Polish authorities didn't want to make any progressive steps in the agrarian policy<sup>15</sup>. I consider, that in 1940-s it was a main reason for the increasing the confrontation between two nations and it developed in to a real armed confrontation and caused great losses for both nations, even for the civil population.

The villages were overpopulated and the peasants, especially Ukrainians, couldn't realize their economical possibilities. Cooperation, used in the Eastern Galicia, was the only way to solve this problem. Thanks to the cooperation the economical, social and cultural levels of life of the Ukrainians increased.

Like in other European countries in the Eastern Galicia the cooperation appeared in the urban surroundings. It was initiated by the Polish craftsmen. The first Polish cooperative appeared in 1860 ("The Society of mutual help of the Polish middle class craftsmen"). In 1874 the Poles organized "The Union of paying and economical societies in Lviv" (50 credit and 7 commercial and industrial societies; 17175 members). The Jews followed the Poles. In the years of 1870-s – 1880-s there were a lot of Polish and Jewish cooperatives oriented on the urban inhabitants<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> З. Баран, "До питання про аграрну політику урядів міжвоєнної Польщі стосовно Західної України", *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична*, №33, (1998): 146–148; О. Рубльов, *Господарське становище західноукраїнських земель (1918–1939). Західна Україна*, в книзі *Економічна історія України. Історико-економічне дослідження в двох томах*, т. 1, (Київ: 2011), 275.

<sup>15</sup> З. Баран, "До питання про аграрну політику урядів міжвоєнної Польщі стосовно Західної України", 148–151; Б. Гудь, *Загибель Аркадії. Етносоціальні аспекти українсько-польських конфліктів XIX – першої половини XX століття*, 326–328.

<sup>16</sup> І. Васюта, *Галицько-Волинське село між двома світовими війнами*, 105; *Історія кооперативного руху*, 215

The Ukrainian cooperation was oriented on the peasantry and its pioneers were not weaver-workers (as for example in England), but lower middle class lawyers, rural priests and other representatives of the intelligence. The cooperation for peasants was a defense from exploitation, poverty and downfall. The advantages of the cooperative credits and sales were used mainly by rich landowners. For the Ukrainian rural entrepreneurs the cooperation became not only the institution of guaranty of their farms' profitableness, but also the instrument of struggle against strong competitors of another nationalities<sup>17</sup>.

The law adopted in 1873 promoted the development of the Ukrainian cooperation in Austro-Hungary. Next year the models of cooperative statutes were published in Lviv by the society "Prosvita". So the Ukrainian cooperation began developing in Eastern Galicia<sup>18</sup>.

The Ukrainian Credit Cooperation appeared in 1860–1880-s. The idea of self-defense of the working people had become greatly supported. Different communal and church "pay-offices" and credit cooperatives due to forms were organized. For example, the bank "Dnister" was formed on the expense of the Dnister Society of the mutual securing (1895)<sup>19</sup>.

During the last decades of the XIX-th century the organizations of the Ukrainian cooperatives in Galicia appeared. The first national cooperative "National Commerce" was organized in 1883. In 1903 the first Regional revisionary union plannaly began to build up the net of Ukrainian cooperation<sup>20</sup>.

In the Second Polish Republic the Ukrainian cooperation was highly developed. It was more popular than Polish one in the Eastern Galicia. Polish jurisprudence ensured the importance of the Ukrainian cooperation. In October of 1920 a very liberal law about cooperation was adopted. Afterwards new possibilities of the national cooperative movement had been discussed by the Ukrainian public organizations. First of all, they decided to organize the universal cooperative in every village to increase the economic activity, to inspect the pre-war cooperatives<sup>21</sup>.

In June 1921 the first congress of the Ukrainian cooperatives took place in Lviv. The most important directions for the rebuilding of the Ukrainian cooperation had been discussed there<sup>22</sup>. After the financial stabilization in the Second Polish Republic

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<sup>17</sup> І. Васюта, *Галицько-Волинське село між двома світовими війнами*, 105; *Історія споживчої кооперації України*, 107

<sup>18</sup> *Історія кооперативного руху*, 216, *Історія споживчої кооперації України*, 106.

<sup>19</sup> Б. Янишин, Б. Молчанов, *Економічний розвиток українських земель у складі Австро-Угорщини (1848–1900)...*, 687.

<sup>20</sup> *Історія кооперативного руху*, 219–221, 239.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 297–298; О. Рубльов, *Господарське становище західноукраїнських земель (1918–1939). Західна Україна*, в книзі *Економічна історія України. Історико-економічне дослідження в двох томах*, т. 1, (Київ: 2011), 280–281.

<sup>22</sup> *Історія кооперативного руху*, 298.

the Ukrainian cooperation greatly increased and during the interwar period the Ukrainian cooperation could complete with the strong firms of the Second Polish Republic<sup>23</sup>.

Till 1930 the central authorities of Poland didn't prevent the initiatives of the Ukrainian cooperatives and the Ukrainian cooperatives of different types were able to increase. However, the Ukrainians inhabitants of large cities worked in the Polish economical organizations. But we can see that in the villages and small towns Jews and Poles were very often involved into the Ukrainian cooperatives. That's why the importance of the Polish cooperation decreased during the interwar period.

The greatest number of the cooperatives was in the Western Ukraine in Poland. In the Western Ukrainian village, the cabala of money-lenders and commercial agents was greatly extended, that's why the peasants tried to cheapen the credit and goods exchange between the village and the city. Due to these facts the credit and agricultural-consumers' cooperation was highly developed<sup>24</sup>.

At that time there were a lot of problems between the cooperation and self-management bodies and Polish firms. They competed for the commercial sales. In 1926 the cooperative "Pratsia" in Ranevychi Drohobych district resolved to build their own building (for a shop). For a long time, district didn't allow to use the land for this purpose. Only after the province authorities' interference the plans of the cooperative "Pratsia" were realized<sup>25</sup>.

In 1931 some village authorities in Sokal district didn't allow cooperative shops to be open till 9 p. m., though it was mentioned in the law. Everything was decided positively after the interference of the province authorities<sup>26</sup>.

In the same year (1931) the eggs export was very important for the Eastern Galicia, but the Industrial-Commercial Chamber pointed out that the Ukrainian and Polish firms competed against each other. In many regions the Ukrainians had shops, they bought eggs from the peasants and then sold them to the Ukrainian export storehouses. This scheme enrooted deeply, so the private exporters financed even the eggs purchase from the Ukrainian cooperatives paying them in advance. The previous source for exporting eggs was goods purchased from producers by specially organized buyer ups and buying goods from concrete agricultural cooperatives. The Ukrainians insisted on buying goods from district cooperative unions, especially in the regions where their storehouses were located (Ternopil, Borshchiv etc.). Practically the Ukrainians could be economically consolidated. 40% exported eggs would belong to them<sup>27</sup>.

In the years of 1920–1930 the Eastern Galicia was under influence of the economical crisis and the Polish repression of the Ukrainian cooperation. The Ukrainian

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<sup>23</sup> *Історія кооперативного руху*, 299.

<sup>24</sup> І. Васюта, *Галицько-Волинське село між двома світовими війнами*, 117.

<sup>25</sup> Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО), ф. 1, оп. 3, спр. 343, арк. 1–19.

<sup>26</sup> Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО), ф. 1, оп. 25, спр. 1171, арк. 55–56.

<sup>27</sup> Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО), ф. 1, оп. 18, спр. 1924, арк. 2–3.

cooperation struggled against the intentions of the Polish authorities to nationalize<sup>28</sup>. Due to the fact the Ukrainian cooperatives had been properly organized and famous in Europe, they lost nearly nothing, in spite of the actions of the Polish authorities.

But under the slogan of the pacification the police and horse divisions devastated the Ukrainian cooperatives. These actions could be stopped only thanks to the interference of the international organizations. The leaders of the Ukrainian cooperation presented the information about the destruction of the cooperatives to the International Cooperative Union. At the meeting of the Polish cooperators' society in Warsaw O. Lutskij pointed out the facts of "pacification" and statistical information concerning the destruction of the cooperatives. In 1930 during the Polish repression the half of the Ukrainian cooperatives' storehouses were destroyed. The Polish Bank forbade to take bills from the Ukrainian cooperatives<sup>29</sup> but the cooperation began to rebuild thanks to the discipline and public solidarity.

After the pacification and the economical crisis, the Polish cooperation had great losses and the Ukrainian cooperation increased. It took place in spite of the fact that in 1934 a new cooperative law was adopted in Poland. According to this law the minister of finances had a right to influence the forming of the organization and the amount of the revisionary union's activities. These laws were very dangerous because they normed the national character of the cooperative unions by changing them only by the territorial principle. New regional and state incorporations should be created instead of national cooperative unions. The influence and the domination of the state nation could be ensured. But the Ukrainian cooperation had been well-organized and it continued to develop. Only in 1934 238 new cooperatives appeared in Galicia. The membership of the cooperatives increased too. In 1935 there were 536508 members, and in 1936 – 587 thousand members, in 1939 – 709 thousand members. At that time 50% of population of Galicia were involved into cooperative activities<sup>30</sup>.

The Ukrainians were really kept down. Though they took part in the economical self-management (industrial-commercial, manufactural and agricultural chambers) their nationality was an obstacle in the way of career. If to speak about the location of the post-departments the state authorities payed a great attention to the number of the Poles inhabited in the region.

One more problem should be considered here. Speaking about the economical history of the Second Polish Republic Ukrainian historians speculated about the understanding of Poland A and Poland B. In general, this economical partition of the country was very negative. The boundary of Poland A and Poland B were really moved to the East: Poland A – the territory inhabited by the Poles; Poland B – the

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<sup>28</sup> І. Васюта, *Галицько-Волинське село між двома світовими війнами*, 104; *Історія кооперативного руху*, 302, 305

<sup>29</sup> *Історія кооперативного руху*, 306

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 306–307

territory inhabited the Ukrainian and Byelorussians<sup>31</sup>. To my mind it is not correct. To confirm this, you should take into the consideration the economical plans of the Polish government of Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski in the second part of the 1930-s. They wanted to increase the industrial development of the agricultural regions and equate the country's economical structure. Because of the World War II their plans failed and the Eastern Galicia remained an agricultural region.

The Jews of the Eastern Galicia were mainly sellers and manufacturers. They lived in cities and towns and during the interwar period the Jews of Eastern Galicia dealt in different spheres, they acted as a go-between the village and the city, agricultural and industrial products. The Jews were engaged into different trades, such as tavern-keeping, barber's shopping etc. During the interwar period the Jews' social structure didn't change. Only 5,7% in 1921 were busy in the agriculture, the rest of them were in commercial and industrial branches<sup>32</sup>.

The Jews were considered to be only sellers or usurers and they were greatly kept down by the authorities. It should be noticed that Ukrainians and Poles were partners in the struggle against the Jews. A lot of Jews lost their living sources because of veto on the street trade. The laws of the Second Polish Republic about the time work of the shops decreased the economical positions of the Jews. They were not allowed to work on Sundays, so they lost one day more because they never worked on Saturdays due to their religious views. All requests and attempts of the Jews to change the law, even partly, failed. The Poles and the Ukrainians wanted to delate their economical; competitor – the Jews<sup>33</sup>. It was really disloyal competition.

The Germans and the Armenians should be mentioned among the national minorities of the Eastern Galicia. During the interwar period the Armenians had been greatly polonized and their national peculiarities were lost (if to speak about economics).

The historian Petro Siredzuk believes that nearly 50 thousand Germans lived in the Eastern Galicia. Official census shows another less results: 1921 – 30209, 1931 – 31561. Before the World War II there were 42842 Germans<sup>34</sup>.

The German-peasants in Eastern Galicia were poorer than those in Poznan' and Pomorsk provinces<sup>35</sup>. German settlers saved their economical originality. For example, their own agricultural associations worked perfectly and those ones led by the Poles declined<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> О. Рубльов, *Господарське становище західноукраїнських земель (1918–1939)*. *Західна Україна...*, 275.

<sup>32</sup> П. Чорній, “Соціальне становище єврейської етнічної групи української Галичини в міжвоєнний період (1919–1939)”, *Народознавчі зошити*, №1–2, (2008): 28–39.

<sup>33</sup> Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО), ф. 1, оп. 18, спр. 2346, арк. 33–33 зв.

<sup>34</sup> П. Сіреджук, *Соціально-економічне становище і культурне життя німецької меншини Східної Галичини (20-30-і роки XX ст.)*. (Тернопіль: 2008), 88, 93, 100.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, 165.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, 180.



The Germans of the Eastern Galicia were busy with animal feeding and they organized a lot of communities for horses' feeding. Horse breeding was well-developed in Eastern Galicia. The horses of colonists differed not only by the race but the perfect care. Also Germans cultivated pigs, they were engaged into milk trade. In the Eastern Galicia there were a lot of German communities specialized on hunting<sup>37</sup>.

Besides, the Germans organized their national and financial cooperatives. In the 1925 there were 48 German cooperatives 1926 – 49, 1928 – 48, 1930 – 55, 1932 – 64, 1933 – 68, 1937 – 63. In 1930 to widen the results of the technical progress the society “German agriculture” was organized in Lviv. The German cooperation collaborated with the Polish cooperatives<sup>38</sup>.

In conclusion I'd like to say that the policy of the Second Polish Republic concerning national minorities caused the continuation of the struggle between the Poles and the Ukrainians after the state's fall. The Polish government didn't confess its responsibility for the tragic pages in the Ukrainian-Polish history. First of all it was caused by the unsolved agrarian problems and attempting to increase the Polish-ethnic element in the Eastern Galicia. The confrontation between the Ukrainians and Poles became stronger. At the same time, other nationalities either lost their peculiarities in the economical sphere (Armenians), or depended fully on the Polish economical organizations (Jews, Germans).

## **ПОЛІТИКА ВЛАДИ МІЖВОЄННОЇ ПОЛЬЩІ ЩОДО ГОСПОДАРСЬКИХ ІНІЦІАТИВ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ МЕНШИН ПІВДЕННО-СХІДНИХ ВОЄВОДСТВ**

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У південно-східних воєводствах міжвоєнної Польщі (Східній Галичині) переважали українці. Поляків тут вирізняло не їх число, а політичні й суспільні впливи. Українське населення переважало у селах Східної Галичини. Для більшості селян-українців, яким бракувало землі, найважливішою була справа земельної реформи. Влада її вирішувала на користь поляків, що спричинило до багатьох конфліктів між двома народами. У південно-східних воєводствах польська кооперація поступалася українській. В той час для українців кооперація була чи не єдиною можливістю реалізувати свої господарські ініціативи. Євреї у Східній Галичині здебільшого займалися торгівлею й ремеслом. Вони переважно мешкали в містах і містечках. Польське право обмежувало їх господарські можливості (наприклад законодавство про час праці в промисловості і торгівлі). Вірмени і німці, що мешкали в Східній Галичині, перебували під впливом польських господарських

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<sup>37</sup> П. Сіреджук, *Соціально-економічне становище і культурне життя німецької меншини Східної Галичини (20-30-і роки XX ст.)*, 181–202.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, 222–233.

організацій. Вірмени втратили свою господарську ідентичність, натомість німці організували чимало своїх кооперативів, які відрізнялися від інших організацій такого типу.

*Ключові слова:* Східна Галичина, кооперація, українці, поляки, євреї, німці, вірмени.

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