

УДК: 94:329.15.055.4:323.28](477.8)“192/193”

## **IDEOLOGICAL REASONS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN UKRAINIAN PEASANT-LABOR SOCIALIST UNION AND POLISH LAW ENFORCEMENT STRUCTURES DURING INTERWAR PERIOD**

Ivan FEDYK

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv,  
Chair of of Local History,  
1 Universytetska str., 79000, Lviv, Ukraine

The Ukrainian Peasant-Labour Socialist Union (*Sel-Rob*) was created by the initiative of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, its attitude to the Polish internal policy and law-enforcement bodies did not go beyond the ideological framework established by the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and its superiors. At the same time, the *Sel-Rob*'s ideology concerning both its strategic aim and current political situation was one of the main reasons for investigations and pressure performed by Poland's police and Prosecutor's office. Considering the ideological activity of *Sel-Rob*, there is a need to see the ideological layers in the program documents of this party. If we compare the other Ukrainian parties that profess left views, then there will be a clear difference in the ways of their development and the formation of ideologies as well as different attitude from Polish law enforcement structures. The attitude of *Sel-Rob* to the law enforcement system of Poland was significantly different from the attitude of other Ukrainian parties. However, the activities in Western Ukrainian territories required the assessment of the internal policy of the Polish state from the point of view of national interests. Therefore, the *Sel-Rob* ideology was one of the reasons for internal contradictions within the party.

*Key words:* The Ukrainian Peasant-Labour Socialist Union, *Sel-Rob*, Poland, police, law enforcement, Westren Ukraine

The Ukrainian Peasant-Labour Socialist Union was created by the initiative of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, its attitude to the Polish internal policy and law-enforcement bodies did not go beyond the ideological framework established by the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and its superiors. At the same time, the *Sel-Rob*'s ideology concerning both its strategic aim and current political situation was one of the main reasons for investigations and pressure performed by Poland's police and Prosecutor's office.

Despite the hostile attitude of Western Ukrainian Communists to the policies of the Second Polish Republic and the calls to replace its authorities, they recognized the need to join the legal framework of the Polish state and use it to popularize communist ideas. This recognition was supposed to broaden the communist ideology not only within the Polish political establishment, but also among Western

Ukrainian population. However, the ideology of Ukrainian Peasant-Labor Socialist Union was one of the main reasons of investigations, pressure and even persecutions from Poland's law enforcement structures.

On October 10, 1926, the Ukrainian Socialist Society "Peasant's Union" (leaders: Chuchmay, Vasilchuk, Makivka, Pelechaty) and the People's Liberation Party (leaders: Valnitsky, Zayats, Pelechaty) united, creating a Ukrainian Peasant-Labor Socialist Union (*Sel-Rob*). On this day, a constituent congress of the party was held. It was headed by the member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine Kraykivsky<sup>1</sup>.

The relations between *Sel-Rob* and the Polish law enforcing authorities were determined by the following developments: during the discussion of the speeches at the constituent assembly, the police arrived at the meeting place. They forced the participants of the congress to finish it ahead of time, only allowing to elect the Central Committee of the party<sup>2</sup>. Later, in January 1927, following an order from the Ministry of the Interior, an investigation of *Sel-Rob*'s activity was started<sup>3</sup>.

On February 16, 1927, the project of the party program was adopted. In terms of attitude towards Poland, the project was drafted very carefully not to draw attention of the police. Its authors almost completely avoided assessing the political situation in Western Ukraine and the policy of Polish state, only mentioning that the solution of the national question in Poland "is closely linked to the interests and social movement of the peasants and working masses". The program also said that "the party of *Sel-Rob* believes that the national question in Poland is one of the main problems of the policy concerning the peasant and working masses"<sup>4</sup>. The program was published in 1927, but in its second edition in 1928, the item on national affairs was removed by censorship, because, the police, knowing about the connection between *Sel-Rob* and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, tried to stop the smallest manifestations of hostile attitude towards Poland<sup>5</sup>. In spite of police pressure, *Sel-Rob* openly expressed its attitude to Poland in the publications of the newspaper "Sel-Rob".

The authors of the publications believed that there were only nationalists in the power of the Second Polish Republic, and since nationalism was an ally of the bourgeoisie, the Polish authorities directed their chauvinistic policy exclusively, as *Sel-Rob* believed, against the workers and peasants<sup>6</sup>. From this, it could be understood that "the social and economic interests of the Polish bourgeoisie, the Pol-

<sup>1</sup> Май Панчук, *Боротьба КПЗУ за організаційне зміцнення партійних лав і посилення впливу на маси* (Київ: Вища школа, 1982), 162.

<sup>2</sup> "Створення Українського Селянсько-робітничого Об'єднання," *Українська суспільно-політична думка в ХХ столітті. Документи і матеріали*, ред. Тарас Гунчак і Роман Сольчаник (Львів: Сучасність, 1993), т. 3, 159–160.

<sup>3</sup> Панчук, *Боротьба КПЗУ*, 162–163.

<sup>4</sup> *Сель-Роб. Програма і організаційний статут* (Львів, 1927), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Львів (далі – ЦДІА України у Львові), ф. 351 (Центральний комітет Українського селянсько-робітничого об'єднання "Сель-Роб", м. Львів), оп. 1, спр. 1, арк. 1.

<sup>6</sup> "Національна справа", *Сель-роб*, 16 жовтня 1927.

ish capital dictate the polonization of Ukrainian schools and sedimentation of our lands. Polish owners, manufacturers, capitalists are about to establish their rule on the vast land areas of Podillya, on the oil fields of Boryslav, Drohobych and the whole Subcarpathia, as well as over the forests of the northern Ukrainian lands”<sup>7</sup>.

What concerns *Sel-Rob*’s attitude toward Pilsudski’s government, the Central Committee of the party issued a statement, in which it called it nothing but a fascist regime, and one “that in every way tries to deprive workers and peasants of their rights”<sup>8</sup>.

*Sel-Rob*’s evaluation of the of the Polish law enforcement actions in Western Ukrainian territories was, in many cases, identical to that of other Ukrainian parties, despite the antagonism between them. The negative attitude to the Polish police, courts, prosecution offices, and authorities in general was the reason why *Sel-Rob* attempted to cooperate with other Ukrainian organizations, following the political tendencies accepted by vast majority of Galician society. This kind of attitude promoted certain popularity of *Sel-Rob*. That is why, the members of the Polish parliament from *Sel-Rob* were also the members of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club until September 2, 1927. At the same time, the Communists considered the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club to be an ally of the Polish bourgeoisie<sup>9</sup>. Simultaneously, *Sel-Rob*’s MP Kozytsky was present at the church congress.

However, in 1927, a number of *Sel-Rob* members tried to demonstrate that *Sel-Rob* considered the deal with the Polish opposition parties as one of the directions of its policy. This could help to loosen up the police pressure. Therefore, in 1927, the MP members of *Sel-Rob* made a protest against the new press law jointly with the Polish Socialist Party. Simultaneously, other steps were taken to cooperate with Polish socialists, which *Sel-Rob*’s Central Committee later called erroneous in a special statement<sup>10</sup>. The socialist program, the criticism of Polish politics provided *Sel-Rob* with a steady level of popularity in Volhynia, as it was demonstrated by its rather successful performance in the elections to the local authorities in 1927.

According to the reports of police, presented to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Second Polish Republic “from all political parties, *Sel-Rob* had the strongest influence in the Volhynia region during the election campaign”<sup>11</sup>. Being ideologically and organizationally related to the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, *Sel-Rob* acted under the same organizational and ideological slogans that the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, which made it a constant object of police attention as communism was considered to be the ideology, which had led to Russian tries to

<sup>7</sup> “Національна справа”, *Сель-роб*, 16 жовтня 1927.

<sup>8</sup> Там само.

<sup>9</sup> “За єдність Сель-Роба,” *Українська суспільно-політична думка в ХХ столітті. Документи і матеріали*, ред. Тарас Гунчак і Роман Сольчаник (Львів: Сучасність, 1993), т. 3, 270.

<sup>10</sup> Там само, 271.

<sup>11</sup> Archiwum Akt Nowych, Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych, sygn. 961, str. 105–106.

incorporate newly created Polish state. Because of this *Sel-Rob* experienced similar events as the Communist Party of Western Ukraine.

Therefore, some steps of *Sel-Rob*'s representatives provoked the condemnation of orthodox socialists. This led to the split inside *Sel-Rob*. Former members of the the Communist Party of Western Ukraine Valnytsky, Zayats and Pelehaty believing that the party too closely perceived Ukrainian national idea accused the Central Committee of *Sel-Rob* in tries to cooperate with Ukrainian and Polish bourgeoisie. On September 11, 1927, they left the Central Committee and created a new party *Sel-Rob Left* in October 1927<sup>12</sup>. The split in *Sel-Rob* caused criticism from the leaders of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. In addition, the fracture occurred before parliamentary elections, and since *Sel-Rob* was created to work in favor of communist ideology, using the political system of the Polish state, participation in the elections was a necessary component of the party's activities.

Split in *Sel-Rob* threatened its performance in the elections. Therefore, on January 2, 1928, the Central Committee of the *Seal-Rob Left* appealed to the Central Committee of *Seal-Rob* with a statement-proposal, asking them to hold the unification meeting in January 1928<sup>13</sup>. In response, the Central Committee of *Seal-Rob* once again denying the accusation of nationalism, stated that "the task of the Ukrainian Peasant-Labor Socialist Union is to educate the working masses of Western Ukrainian lands in the spirit of international solidarity of the workers and bring them to social and national liberation in an alliance with the proletariat of the whole of Poland through class struggle" thus, not only presenting its internationalist position, but also showing that *Sel-Rob* had to work in the whole of Poland. This, according to the Central Committee of the *Seal-Rob*, demanded the complete unity of the peasant-workers' movement, so the Central Committee agreed to convene a unifying conference<sup>14</sup>. Certainly, the tries to extrapolate *Sel-Rob*'s activity onto the whole territory of Poland attracted even more attention from police and prosecution offices, which started more investigations as well as more pressure on *Sel-Rob*.

On April 19, 1928, the representatives of both factions organized a uniting meeting. As a result of the unifying initiatives, some representatives of the *Sel-Rob Right* and the *Sel-Rob Left* set up the *Sel-Rob Unity* party and declared the overcoming of the fracture in the party<sup>15</sup>. The leaders of the *Sel-Rob Right* were Chuchmay and Krykivsky, who did not accept the departure of *Sel-Rob* from the national slogans, for

<sup>12</sup> "До членів партії Сель-Роба (Комунікат КЦ в справі виходу з партії Сель-Роба народовольців)," *Українська суспільно-політична думка в XX столітті. Документи і матеріали*, ред. Тарас Гунчак і Роман Сольчаник (Львів: Сучасність, 1993), т. 3, 266.

<sup>13</sup> "За єдність Сель-Роба. До Центрального Комітету Сель-Роб у Львові," *Українська суспільно-політична думка в XX столітті. Документи і матеріали*, ред. Тарас Гунчак і Роман Сольчаник (Львів: Сучасність, 1993), т. 3, 274.

<sup>14</sup> "За єдність Сель-Роба. До Українського Селянсько-Робітничого Об'єднання-Лівиці," *Українська суспільно-політична думка в XX столітті. Документи і матеріали*, ред. Тарас Гунчак і Роман Сольчаник (Львів: Сучасність, 1993), т. 3, 276.

<sup>15</sup> ЦДА України у Львові, ф. 351, оп. 1, спр. 8, арк. 3.

which they were accused of nationalism and favoring the interests of the Polish bourgeoisie. In general, *Sel-Rob Right* defended the same ideas as the Vasilkiv-Turiansky group in the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, that is, a combination of communist slogans with a national idea<sup>16</sup>. That is why, it was investigated by Polish law enforcement structures in the same way as other Ukrainian political groups and parties.

The effect of the split and overcoming it was quite tangible for both, the political activity of the *Sel-Rob* as a whole, and for its relationship with Poland's law enforcement structures in particular. First, fearing accusations of nationalism, *Sel-Rob* became more irreconcilable to other Ukrainian parties. Second, the *Sel-Rob's* Central Committee tried to avoid any contact with Polish political factors, both oppositional and pro-government, with the exception of the extreme left, continuing to declare themselves an ally of Polish workers and peasants<sup>17</sup>. Third, *Sel-Rob's* activity became more loyal not to start other wave of searches, frisks, arrests, and investigations. In addition, the pro-Soviet trends in Western Ukrainian society began to decline. All this greatly reduced the *Sel-Rob* rating before the 1928 parliamentary elections, which was also facilitated by the fact that *Sel-Rob Unity* and *Sel-Rob Right* had moved their ideological disputes to the campaign, trying to diminish the rivals' chances to win with the help of the Polish authorities mandates. *Sel-Rob Right* appealed to the police and State Election Commission to stop the use of the name of the *Sel-Rob Unity* in the election list, as well as to the District Election Commission of Sambir with the requirement to exclude Kulchitsky and Bunya from the candidate list, providing another reason for the accusations in alliance with the Polish bourgeoisie and state police<sup>18</sup>.

Regarding the slogans presented by *Sel-Rob Unity* during the election campaign, it should be noted that they were determined not by the political situation and not by the policy of the Polish authorities in the western Ukrainian lands, but by the demands presented by the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and its commanders, the Russian Communists. This fact was well known to Polish law enforcement and was the reason of deeper attention from the side of investigators. According to demands of communists, *Sel-Rob Unity* paid more attention to class declarations, to the criticism of Ukrainian parties and to ensuring unity with ideological allies among Polish parties, rather than to assess the political situation in Western Ukrainian lands. Thus, during the election campaign, *Sel-Rob Unity* called for actions not only against the Polish authorities, but also against all political parties of the state, because, "on the territory of Poland, all parties and groups, from monarchists to social-traitors from the Polish Social Party, make one bourgeois camp"<sup>19</sup>. The

<sup>16</sup> ЦДІА України у Львові, ф. 351, оп. 1, спр. 8, арк. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Там само, арк. 18–20.

<sup>18</sup> Державний архів Львівської області (далі – ДАЛО), ф. 11 (Львівський окружний суд), оп. 29, спр. 4600, арк. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Там само.

reaction of police was immediate: due to the fact that this call was considered to be anti-state, *Sel-Rob Unity* suffered more searches and arrests.

Under this pressure *Sel-Rob Unity* started to work with the left wing of Polish Social Party as they both “waged a consistent struggle against the enemies of the workers and peasants”, therefore, *Sel-Rob Unity* and the left wing of Polish Social Party created a joint election bloc<sup>20</sup>. In general, the pre-election campaign of *Sel-Rob Unity* relied on the following points: a) criticism of Ukrainian parties for cooperation with the Polish bourgeoisie and for anti-Soviet positions (here, *Sel-Rob* not only satisfied the demands of the Communists, acting as a defender of the interests of the Soviet Union, but still tried to use sovietophilism to improve its rating); b) criticism of all Polish political environments, authorities and law enforcement as enemies of the working class; c) promotion of social requirements.

Almost imperceptible in *Sel-Rob*'s election campaign was an assessment of the Polish government's policy towards Ukrainians and the situation of Western Ukrainian lands under the rule of the Poland, which was widely covered in the campaigns of other parties and gave them the opportunity to easily win voters. The reason for avoiding the coverage of these issues was the ideological limits for all communist movements defined by the Comintern under the influence of Russian communists, as well as the fears in the face of accusations of nationalism and police pressure.

After the election, *Sel-Rob* gained wider opportunities to show its negative attitude to the Polish authorities and law enforcement structures. It became possible through the Sejm's activity. It was prompted not only by police pressure and Polish policy in the West Ukrainian lands, but also by the postulates of its ideology. Despite police investigation, *Sel-Rob* continued to claim that Poland is a fascist state. The proof of this was, according to *Sel-Rob*, a new draft constitution presented by the Non-Party Bloc of Cooperation with the Government, where it was proposed to give broad powers to the president<sup>21</sup>. In the general confrontation between the opposition and the government in Sejm, the problems of the Polish authorities and the strengthening of the regime in 1929 were repeatedly the causes of the *Sel-Rob*'s criticism of Polish authorities.

It was illogical in the claims of *Sel-Rob* that Ukrainian parties were supporters of Polish fascism, due to the fact that the same time *Sel-Rob*'s newspaper “*Nashe Slovo*” (Our Word) published a speech of Volhynets on a budget debate in the Sejm, where the Polish police were ambiguously criticized for the disruption of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, which was organized by the groups, which *Sel-Rob* called the supporters of Polish fascism. In addition, *Sel-Rob*, like the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, constantly accused the Polish government of preparing a war with the Soviet Union, in “chauvinistic attempts to rebuild Jagaylon Poland from sea to

<sup>20</sup> ДАЛО, ф. 11, оп. 29, спр. 4600, арк. 1.

<sup>21</sup> “Польща напередодні державного переустрою,” *Сель-Роб*, 17 лютого 1929.

sea”<sup>22</sup>. Volynets concluded that the attempts to stop the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the November breakdown testified that Polish law enforcement opposes any national development of Ukrainians on the territory of Poland, despite the fact that “the government intends to become a “defender” of the Ukrainian people”<sup>23</sup>.

In addition to criticizing the Polish government and the Ukrainian parties, *Sel-Rob* often determined the Polish Socialist Party as “agents of fascism among the working class”<sup>24</sup>. *Sel-Rob* believed that the Polish Socialist Party along with the Ukranina Socialist Party was a part of the state apparatus, aimed at oppression of workers and peasants. These two parties, as well as other Ukrainian, Jewish and Polish parties, were accused of collaborating with the Pilsudski government and in preparing the war against the Soviet Union. These allegations were published in *Obizhnyk* (The Digest) in October 1929 and led to more conflict with Polish authorities as well as with law enforcement. Strengthening contradictions in the relations of the Sejm Opposition and Government, the instability of the government’s policy, and the beginning of the political crisis in the upper echelons of Poland’s power contributed to the fact that the communist organizations increased criticism of the Polish authorities without fear of being closed by the Prosecutor’s Office. In this case, the slogans of the *Sel-Rob* did not concern the real situation, but were dictated by the conditions of subordination in the relations of the Western Ukrainian Communists and their principals in the Comintern and the Communist Party of Soviet Union, which forced the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and *Sel-Rob* to create artificial fronts. This became especially noticeable in 1930 during the intensification of Ukrainian-Polish relations and the hardening of police pressure.

During a sabotage action of 1930, *Sel-Rob* spoke in support of sabotage, considering it to be the beginning of a class struggle. However, due to the participation of the Ukrainian Military Organization and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in a protest campaign in September 1930, *Sel-Rob*, although not criticizing peasant strikes and arson, did not express its broad support. *Sel-Rob* considered these acts spontaneous and detached from participation in them. At the same time, *Sel-Rob* urged the peasants not to give in to provocation, when at the time of arrests the police declared that the perpetrators of arson were Communists<sup>25</sup>. The reason for expressing *Sel-Rob*’s negative attitude to the Polish authorities and law enforcement structures was “pacification”, dissolution of the parliament and new elections.

It was one of the few cases since 1928, when *Sel-Rob* really appreciated the situation, instead of promoting the theme of the war against the Soviet Union and

<sup>22</sup> ДАЛО, ф. 11, оп. 29, спр. 4891, арк. 8.

<sup>23</sup> “Політика польського уряду і його бюджет. Промова посла Волинця Степана, висловлена в часі генеральної дискусії над бюджетом у польському сеймі дня 31 січня 1929 року,” *Наше слово*, 24 лютого 1929.

<sup>24</sup> “Проти нового наступу і нових маневрів фашизму і соціал-фашизму,” *Сель-Роб*, 24 вересня 1930.

<sup>25</sup> Там само.

the union of the Ukrainian and Polish bourgeoisie. Regarding the “pacification”, *Sel-Rob* unequivocally condemned the actions of the Polish police, supported by the authorities, believing that in the relations with Ukrainian peasants, the Polish authorities “went to terror to secure their further domination with its help”<sup>26</sup>. The publications of the newspaper “*Sel-Rob*” directly linked the beginning of “pacification” to the dissolution of the parliament and the appointment of new elections. *Sel-Rob* believed that Polish Sejm did not play any role in the political life of the state and was only an instrument of consolidation of power for the government. Therefore, after the government decided to establish itself with other methods, the Sejm was unnecessary, and its dissolution turned into a slogan about the need to set the constitutional order. According to the newspaper “*Sel-Rob*”, the new Sejm would be even more subordinate to the government, as the preparation for the elections was carried out with the help of police terror<sup>27</sup>. It followed that “pacification” and dissolution of the parliament were two sides of a government policy aimed at establishing a “fascist dictatorship”<sup>28</sup>.

Obviously, the position of *Sel-Rob* made a certain danger to the state system, as the police began to arrest members of the party, search and seal their premises, confiscate of literature<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, despite the statements about the full support of *Sel-Rob* by peasants, its election campaign was rather weak, especially because during the election campaign *Sel-Rob* returned to the critique of Ukrainian parties, not only creating artificial fronts, but also provoking anti-agitation.

Prior to the election, less attention was paid to the propaganda of *Sel-Rob*, and more – to statements against other Ukrainian political factors and criticism of Polish authorities. The latter could have contributed to the rise of the popularity of *Sel-Rob*, as well as to more pressure from law enforcement structures. However, in its political conception it went to the background, as under the influence of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine *Sel-Rob* took on the mission “to lead the struggle of Ukrainian workers and peasants against the union of Ukrainian and Polish fascists”<sup>30</sup>. Despite the unrealisticity of the slogans of *Sel-Rob*, the Polish police still considered it dangerous for the state, so in most districts, the *Sel-Rob* election lists were canceled by the Prosecutor’s Office<sup>31</sup>.

Describing the elections, *Sel-Rob* called them “fascist ones” because, in their opinion, they provided victory to the “fascist” parties, both Polish and Ukrainian<sup>32</sup>. According to *Sel-Rob*, Pilsudski won a complete victory over the opposition forces.

---

<sup>26</sup> “Проти нового наступу і нових маневрів фашизму і соціал-фашизму,” *Сель-Роб*, 24 вересня 1930

<sup>27</sup> “Перед виборами,” *Сель-Роб*, 7 вересня 1930.

<sup>28</sup> Там само.

<sup>29</sup> Там само.

<sup>30</sup> “Українські фашисти в єдиному фронті з польськими,” *Сель-Роб*, 12 жовтня 1930.

<sup>31</sup> “Працюючі західноукраїнських земель!,” *Сель-Роб*, 22 листопада 1930.

<sup>32</sup> Там само.



Among the reasons for this success, the newspaper “Sel-Rob” called the conducting of an election campaign the act of terrorism<sup>33</sup>. *Sel-Rob* supported the unpopularity of the Polish government among Ukrainian peasants and workers who, through sabotage, proved their negation to Polish occupation. *Sel-Rob* also believed that after the elections of 1930, Pilsudski would have even more control over the Sejm, which would become only an instrument of “fascist” policy<sup>34</sup>. Continuing the previous ideological line, *Sel-Rob* stated that, since both the Sejm, and political parties fell under the control of the Pilsudski government, the latter “will more and more oppress the “working masses” and prepare a war against the Soviet Union”<sup>35</sup>.

As it is known, the year 1931 in the Polish-Ukrainian relations is considered to be post-pacification time because the resonance of the pacification dictated the nature of these relations and was the reason for the strengthening of anti-police speeches. This factor also influenced *Sel-Rob*'s ideology. In addition to criticizing the Polish authorities for failing to end the economic crisis in the country, *Sel-Rob* joined the protests of the Ukrainian parties against pacification in a specific way. They stated that only *Sel-Rob* sincerely continues to protest against a violent actions of Polish police, while the Ukrainian National Democratic Union and other Ukrainian parties that have representation in parliament, protesting against “pacification”, offer cooperation with the Polish authorities, to catch “the confidence of workers and drag them into the camp of Polish fascism”<sup>36</sup>.

In general, statements against Polish-Ukrainian agreements became the main aspect of the speeches of *Sel-Rob* members in 1931<sup>37</sup>. *Sel-Rob* believed that attempts by Ukrainian parties to sign an agreement with the Polish authorities were caused not only by the crisis of Ukrainian political societies, but also by their previous goal of “starting the war against the Soviet Union”. In this regard, *Sel-Rob* stated that he would not allow the involvement of Ukrainian workers and peasants in the process of prosecution<sup>38</sup>.

Being aware of the links between the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the Communists of the Soviet Union, in 1931, the Polish police drew attention to the connection between *Sel-Rob* and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. For the first time their relationship was seriously discussed in the Lviv trial of the farmers who participated in the 1930 sabotage, in which *Sel-Rob* tried to separate itself from participation in the strikes and arson of 1930<sup>39</sup>. In the summer of 1932, peasant riots broke out in the Lviv district and the Communists were accused in starting it. At the same time, the connection between the *Sel-Rob* and the Commu-

<sup>33</sup> “Фашистівські вибори,” *Сель-Роб*, 30 листопада 1930.

<sup>34</sup> Там само.

<sup>35</sup> Там само.

<sup>36</sup> “Синьо-жовті пацифікатори,” *Сель-Роб*, 8 лютого 1931.

<sup>37</sup> “Угода польських і українських фашистів,” *Сель-Роб*, 22 березня 1931.

<sup>38</sup> “Єдиний національний фронт в справі угоди,” *Сель-Роб*, 19 квітня 1931.

<sup>39</sup> “Великий процес Сель-Роб-Єдності,” *Сель-Роб*, 8 березня 1931.

nist Party of Western Ukraine, which the Polish police began to consider dangerous to the state system<sup>40</sup>, was investigated again. In connection with this, the following document was sent to the Department of Public Security of the Lviv Provincial Department from the Ministry of the Interior: “To the Investigations Department of the Polish police, into the hands of Commissioner Miki in Lviv.

On September 15, 1932, the Ministry of the Interior Affairs decided to recognize the party *Sel-Rob* Unity illegal and to begin the liquidation of this party, which was being managed and held by the communist organization throughout its activities, that is, since November 1926, it spread communist slogans, called for the overthrow of the state and the social structure of the Polish state through the revolution, or the rupture of the state’s integrity”<sup>41</sup>.

Thus, having been banned and having lost the opportunity to realize the purpose of its creation and its activities, which was the popularization of communist slogans through legal activity, *Sel-Rob* descended from the political arena of Western Ukraine as a political factor. Due to the fact that this party was created on the initiative of the CPU, its attitude toward state and police did not go beyond the ideological framework established by the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and its superiors. Due to its legal status, *Sel-Rob* had the opportunity to publicize its ideas about the internal policy of the Polish state and the actions of Polish police more extensively, especially in the early years of its activities, when the pro-Soviet tendencies were rather strong among Western Ukrainian people.

Therefore, *Sel-Rob* was more known among the Galician and Volhynian peasants. Its attitude to police was based not on abstract phrases derived from the program documents of various communist organizations and on the works of communist ideologists, as was the case with the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. It was based on slogans relating to the specific parts of life under the authority of Poland, which also played the role of a preventive factor in the creation of ideological fronts and ensured the existence of the support of *Sel-Rob* among peasants. Inner controversies, the Soviet dictatorship in relations with the Galician Communists and the split in connection with it, the repression and establishment of a dictatorial regime in Soviet Ukraine changed the attitude of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the *Sel-Rob* to Poland and its law enforcement structures, as well as extremely reduced its popularity.

<sup>40</sup> “Урядовий комунікат,” *Сель-Роб*, 10 липня 1932.

<sup>41</sup> ДАЛО, ф. 243 (Львівське міське управління державної поліції), оп. 1, спр. 135, арк. 5.

## ІДЕОЛОГІЧНІ ПРИЧИНИ КОНФЛІКТУ МІЖ УКРАЇНСЬКИМ СЕЛЯНСЬКО-РОБІТНИЧИМ СОЦІАЛІСТИЧНИМ ОБ'ЄДНАННЯМ І ПОЛЬСЬКИМИ ПРАВООХОРОННИМИ СТРУКТУРАМИ У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД

Іван ФЕДИК

Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка,  
кафедра історичного краєзнавства,  
вул. Університетська 1, 79000, Львів, Україна

Українське селянсько-робітничє соціалістичне об'єднання було створене з ініціативи КПЗУ, його ставлення до польських органів правопорядку не виходило за ідеологічні рамки, встановлені КПЗУ та її зверхниками. Водночас, ідеологія Сель-Робу була однією з основних причин розслідувань, тиску і навіть переслідувань із боку правоохоронних структур Польщі.

Незважаючи на вороже ставлення західноукраїнських комуністів до політики Речі Посполитої і заклики замінити її, вони визнали за необхідність влитися в правове поле Польської держави і використати його для популяризації комуністичних ідей. Це повинно було ширше представити комуністичну ідеологію не тільки перед польським політичним істеблішментом, але і перед західноукраїнським громадянством.

Через свій легальний статус Сель-Роб мав можливість ширше популяризувати свої ідеї стосовно політики Польської держави, особливо в перших роках своєї діяльності, коли радянськфільські тенденції були досить сильними серед західноукраїнського громадянства. Сель-Роб був більше знаний серед галицьких і волинських селян та його ставлення до органів правопорядку базувалося не на абстрактних фразах, почерпнутих із програмних документів різних комуністичних організацій і з праць ідеологів комунізму, як це було з КПЗУ, а на гаслах, які стосувалися конкретних сторін діяльності поліції та прокуратури Речі Посполитої, що також відіграло роль превентивного фактора при створенні ідеологічних фронтів і забезпечувало існування підтримки Сель-Робу на селі.

Ставлення до Сель-Робу до правоохоронної системи Польщі було істотно відмінним від ставлення решти українських партій. Партійна діяльність вимагала оцінки внутрішньої політики Польської держави з точки зору національних інтересів, до чого підштовхувала не тільки думка громадськості, але і безперевний поліційний тиск. Тому ідеологія Сель-Робу була однією із причин внутрішніх суперечок у середовищі партії.

Внутрішньопартійні дискусії, диктатура більшовиків у відносинах із галицькими комуністами, репресії і встановлення диктаторського режиму у Радянській Україні не тільки змінили ставлення Сель-Робу до внутрішньої політики, але і знизили його популярність і привели обидві ліві партії до занепаду.

*Ключові слова:* Українське селянсько-робітничє соціалістичне об'єднання, Комуністична партія Західної України, польські правоохоронні структури, міжвоєнний період, політичні партії та об'єднання.

Стаття надійшла до редколегії 12.10.2018

Прийнята до друку 27.10.2018