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THE NATIONAL POLICY OF INTERWAR POLISH GOVERNMENTS IN UKRAINIAN PUBLIC OPINION. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PROBLEM.

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None of the historians of the interwar period in the history of Ukraine could not pass the topic of Polish national policy in Ukrainian public opinion as it is an integral part of the political development of Galicia and Western Volhynia at a specified time. Considering the periodization of the study of this part of Polish-Ukrainian relations, it is necessary to distinguish four stages of the development of the historiography of this problem. The first is the historiography of the 1920's and 1930s. The second is Soviet historiography. The third is the historiography of the period of independence of contemporary Ukraine. The fourth is the historiography of the Ukrainian diaspora, which developed during the same time as the aforementioned, but was in another ideological sphere, while being, as well as Soviet historiography, a direct extension of the interwar one.

Historians of the 1920s and 1930s as participants and eyewitnesses of political and cultural life of that time allowed us to understand Ukrainian attitude to Polish national policy through the prism of their views. In this case, their engagement is the primary source for studying the attitude of Ukrainians towards the actions of Polish governments during the mentioned period. Also important for this study are the reports of politicians who expressed the views of members of certain political parties, which reflected the ideological foundations of the parties themselves.

The ideological dependence and censorship of Soviet historiography prevented historians from objectively describing all aspects of political life of the time as well as from publishing relevant conclusions. Therefore, it is right to leave out the ideological sentences imposed by the communist regime and use only factual material. Soviet historiography may also be conditionally divided into certain periods: the period of the 1920s and 1930s, the period after the Second World War, and the period of perestroika in the USSR. This division is due to different levels and methods of ideological pressure on history and historians, as well as censorship of research.

The scientific achievements of the Ukrainian historiography of the period of independence require the most detailed elaboration in the study of this topic, since in their totality, the opinions of Ukrainian community concerning Polish policy of the 1920s and 1930s are comprehensively and objectively investigated and comprehended.

What concerns the historians of the Ukrainian diaspora; the extremely large factual material collected by them is supplemented by an expression of an ideological position in relation to a particular issue of the political, cultural, economic and religious life of that time, which in most cases transmits the position of the political environments of the 1920s and 1930s. This, in turn, provides the reason to study both the assessment of the factual material and the ideological beliefs of the authors.

In addition to Ukrainian historiography, the problem of the opinions of Ukrainian community concerning Polish national policy was also the subject of research for Polish historical science. Therefore, during the work on this topic, one should use the works of Polish historians who often characterize the views of Polish society on the problem of Ukrainian-Polish relations.

Key words: National policy, historiography, research, authors, Poland, Western Ukraine, Galicia

The historiography of this question should be considered, starting with the characterization of the works of the authors who wrote about it, being participants in the then political process and characterizing it as eyewitnesses. The scholarly and journalistic reports of contemporary researchers make it possible to understand the political processes of the 1920s and 1930s through the views of those engaged in the life of that time, which absorbed and opinion of the public, which, in turn, played a major role in shaping the ideology of one or another political force.

Thus, Stepan Tomashivsky in the work “Our Leading Party in its Own Mirror”, published in Lviv in 1929, describes the ideology and opinion of the Ukrainian Christian Organization, as well as the relations of the latter with other Ukrainian forces, the attitude of the public towards the ideology of the conservatives, and the attitude of the rest of the Ukrainian parties towards it¹. In general, the works of Tomashivsky clearly expressed the Ukrainian conservative concept at that time. The historian touches not only the loyalty of the Ukrainian conservatives to the Polish state, but also highlights the attitude of Ukrainian political environments towards this loyalty. The same issue was raised in the open letter of Stepan Tomashivsky to Viacheslav Lypynsky, which was published in 1929 under the title “About ideas, heroes and politics”².

The ideology of the conservative parties and conservative views concerning the state of the Ukrainian nation and the political situation of Ukrainians under Polish rule, the ideological orientation of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia, as well as the role of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in shaping national ideology are described in the writings of Osyp Nazaruk’s works “The Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Liberal Intellectuals”³ and “Vyacheslav Lypynsky – the Restorer of the State Ideology of Ukraine and the Pro-monarchist”⁴.

The opinion of of such a specific political force as the Galician Muscophiles concerning Polish national policy, were presented in the writings of the Muscophiles themselves and published in the period, which is under this study. These include the book by Kaminsky “National Self-Consciousness of Our People”⁵ and the work of Kushnir “An Attempt to Characterize the Ideological foundations of Ukrainian Political Russophilism”⁶. Lozinsky’s study “Ukrainianism and Muscophilism among the Ukrainian-Russian people in Galicia” does not coincide chronologically with this period⁷. However,

¹ Степан Томашівський, *Наша чільна партія у власному дзеркалі*. (Львів: 1929).

² Степан Томашівський, *Про ідеї, героїв і політику. Відкритий лист до В. Липинського*. (Львів: 1929).

³ Осип Назарук, *Греко-Католицька Церква і українська ліберальна інтелігенція*. (Львів: 1929).

⁴ Осип Назарук, *Вячеслав Липинський – відновитель державницької ідеології України і промонархіст*. (Чикаго: 1926).

⁵ Йосиф Камінський, *Національное самосознание нашего народа*. (Ужгород: 1925).

⁶ Володимир Кушнір, *Спроба характеристики ідейних підстав українського політичного русофільства*. (Прага–Берлін: Нова Україна, 1924).

⁷ Михайло Лозинський, *Українство і москвофільство серед українсько-руського народу в Галичині*. (Львів: Видавництво Бачинського, 1909).

it provides the necessary information on the ideology of Muscophiles and their attitude to the Ukrainian political forces, which was just as determined as the relations between Muscophiles and other Ukrainian parties and their attitude to the Polish authorities.

Despite ideological pressure and censorship, as well as tendentious approaches, Soviet historiography plays an important role in covering the problems of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the 1920s and 1930s. Particularly, many facts were covered in the study of the history of the communist organizations of those times, that is, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the Ukrainian Peasant Labour Union. In addition, despite the existence of the Soviet Union, despite the homogeneity of views, historical approaches to various problems have changed, since science in general was dependent on communist ideology. For example, one can find a difference in the views on the political situation in the writings of Soviet historians of the prewar period, the postwar period, and the period of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Among the works of Soviet historiography of the 1920s and 1930s was the article by Drokobytsky about the Ukrainian Socialist-Radical Party⁸, which, of course, adheres to the ideological subordination of the historical science of the Communist Party, but at the same time it allows us to understand the attitude not only of Soviet historians of that time, to the Ukrainian socialist parties in general and to the USSR, in particular, but also to the attitude of the entire Soviet society, which determined the relations between the communist parties of Western Ukraine and the socialists of Galicia and Western Volhynia.

In the works of the Soviet authors of the postwar period, one can observe less ideological layers and the increase of the scientific criteria in the characterization of certain facts. As already mentioned, among all the political factors of that time, the opinions of Communist Party of Western Ukraine and Ukrainian Peasant Labour Union were most thoroughly investigated by Soviet historians. Therefore, among works devoted to the activities of communist organizations, there are quite objective ones, in which the above-stated facts, scientific conclusions and propagandist maxims are clearly divided. Realizing the impossibility of an objective assessment of events in Soviet historiography, the authors tried to use only the factual material of Soviet publications. In this context, there should be a collection of materials on the views of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and Ukrainian Peasant Labour Union on the national policy of Poland's governments called "Communist Party of Western Ukraine – the Organizer of the Revolutionary Struggle"⁹ and the book by Panchuk "The Fighting of Communist Party of Western Ukraine for the Organizational Strengthening of Party Staff and the Increasing of Influence on the Masses"¹⁰.

⁸ М. Дрохобицкий, "Украинская социалистическо-радикальная партия," в *Политические партии в Польше, Западной Белоруссии и Западной Украине*. ред. М. Скульский. (Москва: 1935).

⁹ КПЗУ – організатор революційної боротьби. (Львів: Книжково-журнальне вид-во, 1958).

¹⁰ Май Панчук, *Боротьба КПЗУ за організаційне зміцнення партійних лав і посилення впливу на маси*. (Київ: Вища школа, 1982).

The monograph of Stepan Makarchuk titled “Ethnic Social Development and National Relations in the Western Ukrainian Lands During the Period of Imperialism”¹¹ contains a wealth of factual material on Polish-Ukrainian relations and Ukrainian attitude to official national policy in the interwar period as well as on the activities of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and its attitude to the problems of the solution of the national questions in the Western Ukrainian lands. Information on the national policy of the Polish authorities in Galicia and in the Western Volhynia region, as well as the attitude of Ukrainian organizations to this policy, is given in the work of Yuri Slivka “Western Ukraine in the Reactionary Politics of the Polish and Ukrainian Bourgeoisie”¹². Both of these monographs have a common feature: the assertion that all Ukrainian parties, apart from the Communist ones, were allies of the Polish authorities in pursuing an occupation policy towards the Ukrainian population. Of course, such a maxim is only a product of ideological pressure on science, not a result of scientific work.

The theme also includes the monograph by Mudry “An Essay on the History of the Church in Ukraine”¹³, which provides some information about the Catholic parties of the 1920s and 1930s and their position in relation to the Polish national policy, and Stakhiv’s “Western Ukraine. An Essay on the History of State Construction and Armed and Diplomatic Defense in 1918–1923”¹⁴, which contains facts about the political situation prevailing in western Ukrainian lands on the eve of the decision of the Council of Ambassadors on April 14, 1923, and the resistance of Western Ukrainians to the Polish policy.

The book by Sosnovsky “Dmytro Dontsov. Political portrait”¹⁵ describes the impact that Dontsov’s doctrine had on the attitude to Poland’s national policy. As it is well known, the foundations of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the 1920s and 1930s were laid down during and after the First World War, when the conflict in the relations between Ukrainians and Poles was very tangible and reflected in both the social and economic life of Western Ukrainian lands, as well as in the policy of the Polish state. This is precisely the theme of Lysy’s article “Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the First World War”¹⁶, published in the magazine “Free Ukraine”, edited in Scranton.

Despite the fact that in Ukrainian historiography of the period of Ukraine’s independence there was no separate study on this topic, many historians concerned

¹¹ Степан Макаrchук, *Етносоціальне розвиття і національні відносини на Західно-Українських землях в період імперіалізму*. (Львів: Вища школа, 1983).

¹² Юрій Сливка, *Західна Україна в реакційній політиці польської та української буржуазії (1920–1932)*. (Київ: Наукова думка, 1985).

¹³ Софрон Мудрий, *Нарис історії церкви в Україні*. (Рим: 1996).

¹⁴ Матвій Стахів, *Західна Україна. Нарис історії державного будівництва та збройної і дипломатичної оборони в 1918–1923*. 4 (Скрентон: Народна воля, 1960).

¹⁵ Михайло Сосновський, *Дмитро Донцов. Політичний портрет*. (Нью-Йорк–Торонто: Trident International, 1974).

¹⁶ В. Лисий, “Польсько-українські відносини по першій світовій війні,” *Вільна Україна* 1 (1957), 24–34.

this problem in their writings. During the last decade, the political life of Galicia and Western Volhynia in the 1920s and 1930s was rethought both in historical and political science and sociological plans, new concepts were considered, new approaches were found, while ideological layers of the Soviet era were rejected.

In this connection, even the occasional coverage by contemporary Ukrainian historians of the question of the attitude of Ukrainian political environments to Poland's national policy in the 1920s–1930s of the 20th century makes it possible to understand the role of one or another political force in the creation of a national ideology that determined the relations of the Western Ukrainians and Polish authorities. It should be noted that modern historiography as well as the one of interwar period and diaspora, is the part of a unified Ukrainian historical science and enriches it with the help of the multifaceted research.

Ihor Solar in his book “Ukrainian National-Democratic Union: The First Period of Activities (1925–1928)”¹⁷, dwells on the history of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union's activities and ideology in the context of its relations with other Ukrainian parties, with the Polish authorities as well as with the Polish political factors. He argues that the National Democrats' desire not only to respond adequately to the national policy of the Polish authorities but also to be the united in this with other political environments played a role in shaping the relation between Ukrainian National-Democratic Union and Poland.

The history and problems of the ideological development of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party are described in Raikovsky's work “The Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party. 1928–1939”¹⁸. The development of the Muscophilism in the 1920s and 1930s was the subject of the historical study of Nikolayevych, the author of the book “Muscophilism. Its Parents and Children”¹⁹. He suggested that the loyalty to the Polish authorities was caused by their opposition to other Ukrainian parties and the support of Polish politicians. Information on the relations between Ukrainian nationalist organizations and the Polish authorities and Polish political parties is contained in Olexandr Bahan's paper “Nationalism and the Nationalist Movement”²⁰. In order to cover this topic, this book is valuable because in its writing the author used the reports of the participants of the nationalist movements themselves, who later had different views on certain events and personalities.

As far as studies on the interwar period of Ukraine's history are concerned, they also have facts about the attitude of Galician political parties and organizations to the Polish state, to the Polish authorities and its national policies. Such works make it possible to compare the concepts of different political forces, which, in turn, contributes

¹⁷ Ігор Соляр, *Українське національно-демократичне об'єднання: перший період діяльності (1925–1928)*. (Львів: НАН України, Ін-т українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича, 1995).

¹⁸ Ігор Райківський, *Українська соціал-демократична партія. 1928–1939*. (Івано-Франківськ: 1995).

¹⁹ М. Миколаєвич, *Москвофільство. Його батьки і діти*. (Львів: 1936).

²⁰ Олег Баган, *Націоналізм і націоналістичний рух*. (Дрогобич: Відродження, 1994).

to the reproduction of a coherent picture of the relations between Ukrainian and Polish factors, and at the same time, the study of the attitude of each individual party towards Poland's national policy.

Thus, in the article by V. Marchachuk and S. Makarchuk, "The Time of Social and Political Polarities and Stress"²¹, the authors departed from the traditional description of the facts and went deep into the study of causal relationships in the political and social life of Western Ukrainian lands in the interwar period. M. Kucherpa in the article "National Policy of the Second Republic of Poland concerning Ukrainians (1918–1939)" investigated not only the policy of the Polish authorities, but also the reaction of Ukrainian parties²².

The same was done by Mykhailo Shvahulyak in the book "Pacification"²³, where the author describes not only the events in Galicia and Western Volhynia during the "pacification" but also the internal and external causes of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation, as well as its influence on the Western Ukrainian political life. In this regard, M. Shvahulyak sees the attitude of Ukrainian factors to Poland's national policy as one of the aspects of the confrontation. The monograph of V. Chopovsky "Ukrainian Intelligentsia in the National Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (1918–1939)" differs from previous works²⁴. The author of this work provides information on the attitude of the political, cultural and religious elite to various problems of the development of Western Ukraine. However, the reader feels some outdated presentation, especially in the case of describing facts in the style of Soviet historiography.

The books of general character give an idea of the place of the interwar period in the history of Ukraine, the heredity of the activities of many Ukrainian parties operating in the 1920s and 1930s. Among such works is a monograph by Taras Hunchak "Ukraine. The First Half of the Twentieth Century"²⁵, when it was written, materials from foreign archives were used, enriching the book with new facts; Mykola Kugutiak's monograph "Galicia: History Pages"²⁶, in which the author pays much attention to the relations between Ukrainian political parties and the Polish authorities as certain historical patterns.

Yaroslav Hrytsak in the book "An Essay on the History of Ukraine. The Formation of the Modern Ukrainian Nation of The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries"²⁷ considers the formation of the ideology of Ukrainian factors in the context of external

²¹ Володимир Макарчук, Степан Макарчук, "Доба суспільно-політичних полярностей і напруги", у Львів. Історичні нариси, ред. Ярослав Ісаєвич (Львів, 1996), 389–409.

²² Микола Кучерепа, "Національна політика Другої Речіпосполитої щодо українців (1919–1939 рр.)", в Україна–Польща: важкі питання. (Варшава: Tutta, 1998), 11–28.

²³ Михайло Швагуляк, *Паціфікація. Польська репресивна акція у Галичині 1930 р. і українська суспільність*. (Львів, 1993).

²⁴ Василь Чоповський, *Українська інтелігенція в національно-визвольному русі на Західній Україні (1918–1939)*. (Львів: Край, 1993).

²⁵ Тарас Гунчак, *Україна. Перша половина ХХ століття*. (Київ: Либідь, 1993).

²⁶ Микола Кугутяк, *Галичина: сторінки історії*. (Івано-Франківськ: 1993).

²⁷ Ярослав Грицак, *Нарис історії України. Формування модерної української нації ХІХ–ХХ століття*. (Київ: Генеза, 1996).

influences. Yaroslav Dashkevych in the article “Nation and Nationalism: Theoretical Problems and Historiographical Conclusions”²⁸ highlights the peculiarities of the development of Ukrainian nationalism and its influence on Ukrainian history. He touches the role of personalities and organizations in the development of Ukrainian nationalistic ideology. In the article “The Ways of Overcoming Prejudices. (Obstacles to the Normalization of Polish-Ukrainian Relations)”²⁹ Yaroslav Dashkevych explores the causes and consequences of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation, its ideological basis and historical development.

It should be noted that only authors of the period of Ukraine’s independence approach the problems of illuminating the history of Galicia and Western Volhynia in the interwar period with scientific objectivity, being neither ideologically dependent nor politically motivated. However, the study of this segment of history is impossible without the works of diaspora historians and Soviet era researchers, who, being in different time and information area created an extremely broad factual basis.

The Polish historians of the socialist and post-socialist periods, as well as the historians of the Polish diaspora, demonstrate the difference in presentation. In particular, in the books of the socialist era there was a marked dependence of the Polish historiography on communist ideology. Moreover, the characterization of the Ukrainian nationalist movements is provided not only according to the communist worldview, in which it resembles the characterization of Ukrainian and Russian communist historians, but also according to Polish national interests. Therefore, in some monographs, in addition to the facts, they give a double negative assessment of the Ukrainian political environment.

This is particularly evident in the book by A. Shchesnyak and V. Shota “The Way into Nowhere”³⁰, where the authors characterize almost all Ukrainian parties (apart from communist ones) as bourgeois-nationalist and allies to German imperialism. The same is in the work by G. Batowski “The Thirtieth Anniversary of Soviet Ukraine and Belarus”³¹. However, both of these books contain factual material, drawn primarily from Polish archives, which makes them necessary to use for this theme. The works of A. Khoynowski and T. Pyotrkevich, “Concepts of the National Policy Of Polish Governments in the Years 1921–1939”³² and “The Ukrainian Issue in Pilsudski’s Conceptions”. 1926–1930”³³ are quite different in this regard. In spite of the fact that

²⁸ Ярослав Дашкевич, “Нація та націоналізм: теоретичні проблеми й історіографічні висновки,” в *Україна в минулому IX* (Київ–Львів: Ін-т укр. археографії та джерелознавства ім. М. С. Грушевського, 1996), 177–185.

²⁹ Ярослав Дашкевич, “Шляхи подолання упереджень (перешкоди нормалізації українсько-польських стосунків),” в *Україна-Польща: історична спадщина і суспільна свідомість*. (Київ: Либідь, 1992), 23–28.

³⁰ Antoni Szczeniak, Wieslaw Szota, *Droga do nikad*. (Warszawa: 1973).

³¹ Henryk Batowski, *Trzydziestolecie Ukrainy i Białorusi Radzieckiej*. (Krakow: 1949).

³² Andrzej Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowociowej rządu polskich w latach 1921–1939*. (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979).

³³ Teofil Piotrkiewicz, *Kwestia Ukraińska w koncepcjach Pilsudczyzny. 1926–1930*. (Warszawa: UW, 1981).

they were written and published in the time of the existence of the Polish communist state, the objectivity in assessing the activities of Ukrainian and Polish politicians is observed here. Both monographs analyze in detail the ideological aspect of confrontation and attempts at understanding in the Polish-Ukrainian relations.

As in Ukrainian historiography, in the writings of the historians of the Polish diaspora, one can see some political affiliation, but they have a high level of scientific presentation, and the factual material is drawn from the archives of Western European states. These are the articles of the magazine “Kultura” and collections “Zeszyty historyczne”. Important information is contained in the memoirs of President Roman Dmowski published under the title “Polish Policy and Rebuilding the State”³⁴, which describes the attitude of Polish politicians towards the problem of the eastern borders of the state, which determined the attitude to the Ukrainian question, which in turn determined Ukrainian-Polish relations throughout the interwar years.

Serious research of such problems was made after the political thaw in the Polish state, when historians were able to retreat from the ideological dogmas adopted by the communist regime, and work, guided only by the principles of scholarship and historicism. In this regard, there are the works by R. Torzhetsky “Poles and Ukrainians. Ukrainian Question during the Second World War in the Second Polish Republic”³⁵ and A. Garlitski “The first years of the Second Polish Republic”³⁶, articles by S. Stempen “Poles and Ukrainians in the Second Polish Republic: An Attempted Dialogue”³⁷ and A. Ainenkel “Polish Politics in Relation to Ukrainians in the Interwar Period. Selected Problems”³⁸.

In addition to the collection “Zeszyty Historyczne”³⁹, another collection of articles and materials can be used to study the topic. This is “Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Second Polish Republic”⁴⁰. A lot of information can be found in the collections “Ukraine in the Past”. The problems of Ukrainian-Polish relations are highlighted in the collections “Ukraine-Poland: Historical Heritage and Public Consciousness”⁴¹ and “Ukraine-Poland: Hard Issues”⁴². The facts from the history of the Communist party Of Western Ukraine, the left parties are also presented in the collections of

³⁴ Roman Dmowski, *Polityka Polska i odbudowanie państwa*. (Warszawa: 1988).

³⁵ Ryszard Torzecki, *Polacy i Ukraińcy. Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej*. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993).

³⁶ Andrzej Garlicki, *Pierwsze lata Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*. (Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1989).

³⁷ Станіслав Стемпень, “Поляки й українці в II Речі Посполитій: спроба діалогу,” в *Україна-Польща: історична спадщина і суспільна свідомість*. (Київ: Либідь, 1992), 211–221.

³⁸ Анджей Айненкель, “Політика Польщі відносно українців у міжвоєнний період. Вибрані проблеми,” в *Україна-Польща: важкі питання*. (Варшава: Тутса, 1998), 29–46.

³⁹ *Zeszyty historyczne* 12 (Parys: 1967).

⁴⁰ *Prezydenci i premierzy Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*. (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Instytut literacki, 1992).

⁴¹ *Україна-Польща: історична спадщина і суспільна свідомість*, ред. Ярослав Ісаєвич (Київ: Либідь, 1993).

⁴² *Україна-Польща: важкі питання*, ред. Микола Кучерепа (Варшава: Тутса, 1998).

“The Communist party Of Western Ukraine - the Organizer of the Revolutionary Struggle”⁴³, “Political parties in Poland, Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine”⁴⁴, edited by Sculsky.

It is known that in the 1920s and 1930s, political parties published brochures to popularize their ideology, informing the reader of the program of the party, or the history of its origin and activity as well as showing the attitude to certain issues including national policy. These could be the writings of a single author, or even the program documents, which in this case are a source. Among them are the work of O. Cherkavsky “Ukrainian National Democratic Union. Its Program and Tactics”⁴⁵, published in 1927, in which the author explains UNDO’s policy framework and political tactics in order to popularize the party and raise its rating to the local and general election in 1927–1928. Another similar book was the book of the same author “What does UNDO want?”⁴⁶, printed in 1928, which was apparently confined to the Third People’s Congress of UNDO. In this context, one should also mention the transcript of the Third UNDO People’s Congress, issued in the form of a brochure entitled “III National Congress of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union”⁴⁷. The history of the development of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union is highlighted in the book “How the UNDO Rose and Developed”, published in 1936.⁴⁸ Other parties, such as the Ukrainian Socialist-Radical Party, have also published such literature. “Forward, People”⁴⁹, is a brochure, which was the presentation of the program of the USRP. Ukrainian Socialist Peasant Labour Union similarly published its program titled “Ukrainian Socialist Peasant Labour Union’s Program and Organizational Chart”⁵⁰. To understand the policy and tactics of the Ukrainian Labor Party concerning Polish government’s national policy, the work of M. Zachidny “The Struggle Fails” can be used as it is a retelling of the parliament speeches of M. Zachidny spoken in February 1930⁵¹.

In his book “The Prospects for the Ukrainian Revolution”⁵², Stepan Bandera describes the development of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in the context of various political situations in which Ukrainians were in the 1920s and 1940s. In this

⁴³ КПЗУ – організатор революційної боротьби. (Львів: Книжково-журнальне вид-во, 1958).

⁴⁴ Политические партии в Польше, Западной Белоруссии и Западной Украине, ред. М. Скульский (Москва: 1935).

⁴⁵ Олекса Черкавський, Українське Національно-Демократичне Об’єднання. Його програма і тактика. (Львів: 1927).

⁴⁶ Олекса Черкавський, Чого хоче УНДО? (Перемишль: Накладом М. Струтинського, 1928).

⁴⁷ III Народний з’їзд Українського Національно-Демократичного Об’єднання. (Львів: 1929).

⁴⁸ Як повстало і розвивалося УНДО. (Львів: 1936).

⁴⁹ Вперед народу. Пояснення програми Української Соціалістично-Радикальної партії. (Львів: Громада, 1927).

⁵⁰ Сель-Роб. Програм і організаційний статут. (Львів: 1927).

⁵¹ М. Західний, Боротьба не вгаває. Промови, виголошені в Польському сеймі в днях 10–20 липня 1930 року. (Львів: 1930).

⁵² Степан Бандера, Перспективи української революції. (Мюнхен: Видання Організації українських націоналістів, 1978).

regard, one should also mention “Letters of Yevgeny Konovalets to Ukraine,” contained in the collection “Eugene Konovalets and his Time” in which he gives his understanding of the historical and political situation in Ukraine at the beginning. Of 1920s and the connection with international events⁵³.

As for memoirs, it is a source for understanding the attitude of the Polish authorities not only to individual individuals, but also to national groups. The study of memories of the described period, allows us to understand the author’s attitude to a particular problem, which in most cases expressed the general attitude of the national group to which the author of the memoirs belonged.

It is extremely important for the study of this problem to become acquainted with the attitude of the politicians themselves to the national policy of Poland in the western Ukrainian lands. In this sense, memoir literature is very helpful, because it can find not only information about events and facts of those times, but also their interpretation of contemporaries. In this case, the memoir of Yuriy Artyushenko, who was a participant of youth nationalist movements in the second half of the 20th, participated in the creation of the Legion of Ukrainian nationalists and other nationalist organizations will be helpful⁵⁴. Osip Boyuduk was the head of the group of Ukrainian national youth and participated in the creation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists left us his memoir⁵⁵. There are also the memoirs of Stepan Lenkavsky, a member of the Union of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth and participant in the process of creation of the OUN⁵⁶, Osip Navrotsky, who was the chairman of the Initial Board of the Ukrainian Military Organization and participated in the establishment of it⁵⁷, Franz Shtyk, who participated in an assassination attempt on the President of Poland, Stanislaw Wojciechowski⁵⁸, and others.

In the collections there are also journalistic and scientific articles related to the history of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism. Among them are the documents of Hryhoriy Vaskovych⁵⁹, which touches on the relationship between Yevhen Konovalets and the government of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic in the first half of the 20-ies, Osip Navrotsky, who considers inter-party relations in Galicia after the

⁵³ “Листи Коновальця з Відня на Україну 1921 р.,” у *Євген Коновалець і його доба*. (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974), 239–273.

⁵⁴ Ю. Артюшенко, “Легія Українських Націоналістів,” у *Євген Коновалець і його доба*. (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974), 380–394.

⁵⁵ Осип Бойдуник, “Як дійшло до створення ОУН,” у *Євген Коновалець і його доба*. (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974), 359–379.

⁵⁶ Степан Ленкавський, “Націоналістичний рух на ЗУЗ та I-ий Конгрес українських націоналістів,” у *Євген Коновалець і його доба*. (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974), 395–425.

⁵⁷ Осип Навроцький, “Початки УВО у Львові,” у *Срібна сурма. Початки УВО в Галичині*, ред. Зиновій Книш (Торонто: Срібна Сурма, 1963), 25–62.

⁵⁸ Ф. Ш. “В перших роках УВО у Львові,” *Срібна сурма. Початки УВО в Галичині*, ред. Зиновій Книш (Торонто: Срібна Сурма, 1963), 63–95.

⁵⁹ Григорій Васькович, “Євген Коновалець і Євген Петрушевич в 1920–1921,” у *Євген Коновалець і його доба*. (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974), 303–315.

occupation of Poland in the context of the treatment of the Polish national policy, as well as the relationship between political parties and the Government of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic⁶⁰. The study of these theme can use the scientific achievements of such famous researchers of the history of Ukrainian nationalist organizations as Zinovy Knysh and Petro Mirchuk. Among works by Zinovy Knysh is the monograph "With Full Sails"⁶¹, "The Case of Eastern Trades in Lviv"⁶², "The Formation of the OUN"⁶³, as well as the article "The Attack on the President of Poland Stanislaw Wojciechowski"⁶⁴ "Stepan Fedak's Attack in Lviv"⁶⁵, "The Army in Civilian Clothing"⁶⁶, "To the Case of Sydor Tverdokhlib"⁶⁷, "Evgen Konovalets in the Views of the Younger Generation of the UMO"⁶⁸, "The Grounds of the UMO"⁶⁹. As for the researches of Petro Mirchuk, his monograph "Essay on the History of the OUN" will be usefull for understandin nationalists' opinions concerning national policy of Poland⁷⁰.

Most of the mentioned materials are placed in collections of documents and materials. Most of them are devoted to the history of nationalist movements. These are, above all, the collections of "Yevhen Konovalets and his Time"⁷¹, which contains memoirs, journalistic, and scientific articles of members of nationalist organizations; "Silver Trumpet. Materials and Memoires about the Activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization"⁷² and "Silver Trumpet. The Beginning of Ukrainian Military Organization in Galicia"⁷³, edited by Z. Knysh, compiled according to the same principle as the

⁶⁰ Осип Навроцький, "УВО, політичні партії і диктатура ЗОУНР та уряд ЗУНР", у *Євген Коновалець і його доба* (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974), 298–302.

⁶¹ Зиновій Книш, *На повні вітрила*. (Торонто: Срібна сурма, 1970).

⁶² Зиновій Книш, *Справа Східних торгів у Львові*. (Торонто: Срібна сурма, 1965).

⁶³ Зиновій Книш, *Становлення ОУН*. (Київ: 1994).

⁶⁴ Зиновій Книш, "Агентат на президента Польщі Станіслава Войцеховського", у *Срібна сурма. Матеріали і спогади до діяння Української Військової Організації*, ред. Зиновій Книш (Торонто: Срібна Сурма, б. р.), 33–38.

⁶⁵ Зиновій Книш, "Агентат Степана Федака у Львові", у *Срібна сурма. Початки УВО в Галичині*. (Торонто: Срібна Сурма, 1963), 96–123.

⁶⁶ Зиновій Книш, "Військо в цивільній одежі", у *Життя і смерть полковника Коновальця*. (Львів: Червона калина, 1993).

⁶⁷ Зиновій Книш, "До справи Сидора Твердохліба", у *Срібна сурма. Матеріали і спогади до діяння Української Військової Організації*, ред. Зиновій Книш (Торонто, Срібна Сурма, б. р.), 13–16.

⁶⁸ Зиновій Книш, "Євген Коновалець в очах молодшої генерації УВО", у *Євген Коновалець і його доба* (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974), 274–287.

⁶⁹ Зиновій Книш, "Підгрунття УВО", у *Срібна сурма. Початки УВО в Галичині*, ред. Зиновій Книш (Торонто: Срібна Сурма, 1963), 9–24.

⁷⁰ Петро Мірчук, *Нарис історії ОУН*. (Мюнхен, Лондон, Нью-Йорк: Українська видавнича спілка, 1968).

⁷¹ *Євген Коновалець і його доба* (Мюнхен: Видання фундації ім. Євгена Коновальця, 1974).

⁷² *Срібна сурма. Матеріали і спогади до діяння Української Військової Організації*. ч. 1, ред. Зиновій Книш (Торонто: Срібна сурма, б. р.).

⁷³ *Срібна сурма. Початки УВО в Галичині*, ред. Зиновій Книш (Торонто: Срібна сурма, 1963).

previous; “The Life and Death of Colonel Konovalets”⁷⁴ and “OUN: The Past and the Future”⁷⁵, which were published in the time of Ukraine’s independence and which show new approaches to the problems of the establishment and operation of the OUN. In addition, there are two collections on the history of the church: “Martirology of Ukrainian Churches”⁷⁶ and “Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytsky”⁷⁷. The latter, edited by Paul Magochi, contains articles describing the relationship between Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and the Galician political elite around the issue of attitude towards Poland’s national policy, the relations of Metropolitan with the Polish authorities, Ukrainian conservative parties and Polish politicians. The most capacious source is the collection “Ukrainian Social and Political Thought in the Twentieth Century”⁷⁸, edited by T. Hunchak and R. Solchanyk.

НАЦІОНАЛЬНА ПОЛІТИКА УРЯДІВ МІЖВОЄННОЇ ПОЛЬЩІ В ОЦІНЦІ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГРОМАДСЬКОСТІ. ІСТОРИОГРАФІЯ ПРОБЛЕМИ

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Враховуючи періодизацію вивчення цієї частини польсько-українських відносин, необхідно виділити чотири етапи розвитку історіографії цієї проблеми. Перша – історіографія 1920-х і 1930-х років. Друга – радянська історіографія. Третій – історіографія періоду незалежності сучасної України. Четверта – історіографія української діаспори, яка розвивалася в той же час, як і вищезгадана, але перебувала в іншій ідеологічній сфері, будучи, як і радянська історіографія, прямим продовженням міжвоєнної.

Історики 1920-х і 1930-х років як учасники та очевидці політичного та культурного життя того часу дозволили нам зрозуміти українське ставлення до польської національної політики через призму їхніх поглядів. У цьому випадку їхнє залучення є основним джерелом для вивчення ставлення українців до дій польських урядів у зазначений період. Важливими для даного дослідження є також повідомлення політиків, які висловлювали погляди членів окремих політичних партій, що відображало ідеологічні основи самих партій.

Ідеологічна залежність і цензура радянської історіографії заважала історикам об’єктивно описувати всі аспекти політичного життя того часу, а також публікувати відповідні висновки.

⁷⁴ *Життя і смерть полковника Коновальця*. (Львів: Червона калина, 1993).

⁷⁵ *ОУН: минуле і майбуття*. (Київ: Фондація ім. Ольжича, 1993).

⁷⁶ *Мартирологія українських церков. Документи і матеріали 2*, ред. Осип Зінкевич, Олександр Воронин (Торонто: 1985).

⁷⁷ *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrej Sheptyts'kyi*, ed. Paul Magoczi (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989).

⁷⁸ *Українська суспільно-політична думка в XX столітті. Документи і матеріали 3*, ред. Тарас Гунчак, Роман Сольчаник (Львів: Сучасність, 1993).

Тому правильно залишати ідеологічні вироки, введені комуністичним режимом, і використовувати лише фактичний матеріал. Радянську історіографію можна умовно розділити на певні періоди: період 1920-х і 1930-х років, період після Другої світової війни і період перебудови в СРСР. Цей поділ пояснюється різними рівнями і методами ідеологічного тиску на історію та істориків, а також цензурою досліджень.

Наукові досягнення української історіографії періоду незалежності вимагають найбільш детального вивчення цієї теми, оскільки в їхній сукупності думки української громади щодо польської національної політики 1920-х і 1930-х років всебічно і об'єктивно досліджуються і осмислюються.

Що стосується істориків української діаспори, то надзвичайно великий фактичний матеріал, зібраний ними, доповнюється вираженням ідеологічної позиції стосовно того чи іншого питання політичного, культурного, економічного та релігійного життя того часу, яке в більшості випадків передає позицію політичного середовища 1920-х і 1930-х років, що, у свою чергу, є підставою для вивчення як оцінки фактичного матеріалу, так і ідеологічних переконань авторів.

Окрім української історіографії, проблема поглядів української громади на польську національну політику також була предметом дослідження польської історичної науки. Тому під час роботи над цією темою слід використовувати роботи польських істориків, які часто характеризують погляди польського суспільства на проблему українсько-польських відносин.

Ключові слова: національна політика, історіографія, дослідження, автори, Польща, Західна Україна, Галичина.