

**PROBLEM GALICJI WSCHODNIEJ W POLITYCE
ZAGRANICZNEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ W OKRESIE
MIĘDZYWOJENNYM**

W artykule podjęto próbę wyznaczenia roli problemu przynależności Galicji Wschodniej, jej miejsca w planach zewnątrzpolitycznych oraz w działalności wewnątrzpolitycznej II Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w okresie międzywojennym. Analizie poddano osiągnięcia historiografii polskiej i ukraińskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: Galicja Wschodnia, doktryny zewnątrzpolityczne, okres międzywojenny, koncepcje historiograficzne.

**EASTERN GALICIA PROBLEM IN THE FOREIGN POLICY
ACTIVITY OF THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC DURING THE
INTERWAR PERIOD**

The article attempts to define the role of affiliation of Eastern Galicia and its place in the foreign policy plans and inner policy activity of the Second Polish Republic during the interwar period. The achievements of Ukrainian and Polish historiographies are analyzed.

Keywords: Eastern Galicia, foreign policy doctrine, interwar period, historiographical concept.

**ПРОБЛЕМА СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧНИНИ В ЗОВНІШНІЙ ПОЛІТИЦІ
РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ МІЖВОЄННОГО ПЕРІОДУ**

У статті робиться спроба визначити роль проблеми приналежності Східної Галичини, її місця у зовнішньополітичних планах і внутріполітичній діяльності Другої Речі Посполитої міжвоєнного періоду. Аналізуються здобутки української та польської історіографії.

Ключові слова: Східна Галичина, зовнішньополітичні доктрини, міжвоєнний період, історіографічні концепції.

Ukrainian-Polish relations is a history of interaction between the two peoples, two nations, covering more than ten centuries. Their vector varied depending on complex of various factors of geopolitical, international and inner nature, ranging from cooperation to confrontation and vice versa, but has always been distinguished by its presence. Moreover, the constant presence of Polish or Ukrainian factor to other national actors, in our opinion usually becomes crucial in the critical period of existence of each other.

Eastern Galicia problem was one of the most difficult ones in the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations over the centuries. This applies particularly to the period between 1919 and 1939, and was defined in the national historiography as "interwar". Its main components, in our opinion, should be considered territorial identity, ethnic identity of the indigenous population, the impact of the role of government, public and religious institutions in ideological crystallization process of the population of the region in the context of its national identity.



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In Ukrainian historiography the given problem, we believe, has not fully become the subject of scientific interest and research yet. Scientists tend to consider it in the broader context of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the first half of the twentieth century.

The classic work by I.Lysyak-Rudnytsky "Polish-Ukrainian relations: the burden of history". [10] had a significant impact on Ukrainian historiography of Polish-Ukrainian relations. Looking at them in broad historical perspective, the scientist stressed the paramount importance of this confrontation for the struggle for national independence of Ukraine and Poland, but the main responsibility for it he placed on the latter - the stronger side. The scientist stressed the episode especially of the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918-1919 for Galicia. I.Lysyak-Rudnytsky approached it from a position of "Galician Pyemontyzm": in his opinion, Galicia was the "core" of the Ukrainian nation, because Polish aggression against it meant much more than the loss of the province, but the destruction of most foundations, the independent Ukrainian state could be built on during the postwar period.

These views were generally shared by a Ukrainian conservatism spokesman V.Kuchabsky, who in the early 1930s identified the "territorial" angles of Polish-Ukrainian relations: 1) between Polish and Ukrainian ethnic thorns (especially Eastern Galicia) 2) between Ukrainian and Polish people who lived on Ukrainian territory. [9] The modern scientist Ya. Dashkevych featuring in the history of international relations two research aspects: internal (inside the Ukrainian ethnic territory) and external (with adjacent states and nations), particularly stressed their interdependence [3, p.32]. These sections of ethno-territorial study of Polish-Ukrainian relations with all severity appeared on the historical stage of the 1919-1939 in Galicia, where they were held at two levels: 1) ethno-social - between the Ukrainian majority and Polish minority; 2) the so-called "state - regional": Poland - [Ukrainian] Galicia.

Scientific achievements of these reputable scientists representing different stages and directions of Ukrainian historiography reflect two important concepts of Ukrainian-Polish relations, which are fully typical to the studied problem. The first of these relates to shifting the blame for the misunderstanding between the two peoples to Poland as the stronger side, and Ukrainian image is viewed as oppressed nation and even unfairly hurt that leads just the struggle for independence. The second reflects skepticism about possible alternatives to repair this conflict through mutual unwillingness to lead a constructive dialogue.

In non-Soviet Ukrainian historiography, there are two main paradigms to highlight the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations that outline approaches of coverage of our research topics. Their nature and content in a somewhat peculiar form is shown by N.Yakovenko [12]. Speaking of scientific assessments of Ukrainian-Polish relations, the researcher holds this opinion: in militantly anti-Polish Ukrainian historiography there is no hint that the neighboring ethnic groups who were under one "state" must also have a lot in common. Therefore, it entrenched two "aggressive stereotypes" burden caused by old historiographical and philosophical cliches: the first says that the Polish are occupants, who carry out a systematic policy of conquest and Ukrainian denationalization; the second imposes syndrome of "hostile country", according to which Poland and Ukraine - a fundamentally individual, nothing but hostility, not related to political, social, cultural organisms. The scientist, instead, proposes the concept of "open history", which promotes tolerance, focusing on the state of constant dialogue and mutual unlike neighboring "historically hostile" cultures. The road to its implementation is seen in the transition to the "integrated" national history where every modern nation is presented as the work of many alien ethnic influences.

Arguably, among both paradigms of Ukrainian historiography conventionally called as "traditional anti-Polish" and "modernist, polycentric" there are no clear boundaries, as historians of different periods and trends always considered the "legitimate aspirations", "natural interest" not only of Ukrainian, but Polish parties as well. Not leaving the tenets of "Pole-invader" and "humbled Ukrainian" T.Hunchak, M.Demkovich-Dobriansky, I.Lysyak-Rudnytsky M.Stahiva and other researchers of Ukrainian-Polish relations abroad [10, 13] sought to show historically caused motives and actions of both nations who defended their legitimate, in their view, rights and interests, the feeling of own historical justice.

Scientific and theoretical circumstances that led to the establishment of "traditional anti-Polish" paradigm in Ukrainian historiography are outlined in the writings of local scientists L.Zashkilnyak, O.Reyenta, Volodymyr Lytvyn, M. Lytvyn, N.Yakovenko and others [12; 5].

They show that, on the one hand, in modern Ukrainian literature stored (dominated) schemes of old Ukrainian, Russian, Soviet historiography. According to it Ukrainian people are always striving for independence. This methodological setting a priori implies that its enemies were neighbors, especially Poland and the Polish, who prevented regardless of age Ukrainian independence. On the other hand, the establishment of scientific and public facilities contributed to the historical practice of confrontational relations between Ukrainian and Polish. So expansionary image of "evil" neighbor that seeks to enslave the Ukrainian land was rooted, which, incidentally, was not the most characteristic of interwar Western Ukrainian and Soviet historiography.

"Polycentric-modernist" paradigm of study Ukrainian-Polish relations is gaining more expressive form in the works of contemporary Ukrainian historians such as L.Bazhenova, T.Voznyak, V.Velykochyy, Ya.Hrytsak, B.Hudya, D.Dashkevych, L.Zashkilnyak, O.Krasivskiy, V.Lytvyn, M. Lytvyn, S.Makarchuk, O.Reyenta, N.Yakovenko and others [12, 1]. They are marked by the desire to abandon the "burden of history" impartially clarify relations between the Ukrainian and Polish to get rid of unilateral shifting the blame on the latter.

These guidelines and aspirations are determined by unique, although somewhat contradictory situation in modern historiography of Ukrainian-Polish relations, which occurred under the influence of both epistemological and public-political factors. The course of European integration and deepening friendly-neighborly relations between Ukraine and Poland eliminate this problem beyond the purely scientific interests, giving it urgent sound. It encourages dialogue between Polish and Ukrainian historians, manifested in carrying dozens of international and regional scientific-theoretical or public conferences, symposia, roundtables, implementing long-term research projects, etc. [6]. Their result is the emergence of numerous collections of published materials and serial publications, some of which apply to our subject. [4] In parallel flow grew publications, the authors have also claimed to have "easy to understand" and "reach a consensus" in the study of the complex relationships between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples.

All this created fertile ground for denial of coverage of nationalism in Ukrainian-Polish relations in the twentieth century. However, the inertia of thinking, national and patriotic feelings and, ultimately, a lack of new theoretical and methodological orientations significantly slows down the process. Incidentally, a similar situation, except in a few other dimensions exists among Polish historians. So, on the one hand, Ukrainian scientists have proved to throw their Polish colleagues reluctance to abandon stereotyped, nostalgic clichés associated with the interpretation of Ukrainian lands packs as Eastern "kresy" of the myth of the Polish "civilizing role", etc. [2]. On the other hand, it is recognized that many contemporary Ukrainian historians continue to look at Poland and the Polish in the light of international, as a rule confrontational by character relationships. Desire (duty) to advocate "exclusive right of the Ukrainian side" in the past often push into the background of scientific principles in historical research. The images of Poland and the Polish are still looming "vague" in the works dedicated to the specific problems of their relations with the Ukrainians. In its depiction as a "historic antagonist" of Ukraine an important role plays outdated terminology, which is inconsistent with modern scientific approaches [7].

On 28 June, 1919 after the Versailles Peace Conference the territory of Eastern Galicia was placed under the temporary control of Poland. Instead, the government pledged to ensure that State-level civil rights, freedom to use the Ukrainian language in public life and the possibility of territorial administration of the local population. These conditions were included in the new constitution of Second Polish Republic, but were not met. [11].

It should be noted that the Polish state and political forces saw the solution to the Eastern Galicia problem at least in three angles: the complete annexation of its territory; forming federalist unit and joining supranational proletarian state, which would be the result of export of world socialist revolution.

The origins of the first two concepts date back to the Middle Ages, in which Polish historiography traditionally distinguishes two paradigms of foreign policy named according to the ruling dynasties, respectively - Jagiellonian and Pyastivsk. Pyastivsk Poland is Polish national state of a nation. Jagiellonian Poland is a multinational federal state dominated by Polish nation [8, p.54]. The latter laid the basis for building the Polish foreign policy of the second half of the 1920s of the twentieth century. In accordance with its objectives it was planned to unite under Polish principle three neighboring nations: Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainian.

We can assume that Jagiellonian concept was in the basis of federalist concept - the idea of "Prometeizm." It is, in our opinion, is the basis of foreign policy of the Second Polish Republic. Pyastivsk concept increasingly became the basis for the formation and implementation of domestic policies towards a "united Poland", including annexed territories. Its apologists and leaders was the Democratic political party (endeky).

In this case we consider it necessary to stress and emphasize that despite the radically different approaches in maintaining a foreign policy, national and state factors of the Second Polish Republic Eastern Galicia did not consider it as an object of such activities. The region was considered by them as an integral part of the Polish state body.

In the concept of endeky Ukrainian factor played a minor role and the Ukrainian people were seen as "unhistorical" and "non-state", giving the Polish element the duty to perform a "civilizing" mission. This concept was formulated mainly in works by R. Dmowski "Thoughts of Modern Poland" (1903), "Germany, Russia and the Polish problem" (1908), "Polish politics and the revival of the State" (1925). A striking example of its content may serve, in our opinion, the following statement of the author: "Where we can increase our strength and our civilized work by absorbing other elements - no law can prohibit us that, and to act this way is even our duty"[15, S.42].

According to endeky concept they should incorporate as many "eastern", including the Ukrainian lands, as they can "swallow" and as many as they can completely polonize gradually turning Poland into multinational state. These areas were considered Eastern Galicia, Volyn and outskirts. Other Ukrainian land, to their view, had to be withdrawn to Russia, which they saw as opposed to German hegemony.

On the arms the strategy of Ukrainian assimilation was taken. "Poland for the Polish" - so you can briefly define national policies of Democratic camp. Endeky famous politician and writer Stanisław Grabski wrote that "now it is necessary to remain current borders by transforming the state territory of the Commonwealth into the national Polish territory" [14, S.108.].

The main leader of federalist direction of foreign policy was an outstanding statesman and political leader Jozef Pilsudski. Being the head of the Polish state, he has tried to implement the tasks outlined before World War I: to weaken Russia by merging with sister nations uniting them after the "dismemberment of Bolshevik Russia" [8, p.74]. According to Pilsudski the program had to include incorporation of the territories of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus. Guided by this strategy, he tried to regain leadership in Russia in Eastern Europe. States allies, according to a policy would create a kind of "buffer zone" that Poland secured on the territorial and ideological attacks from Russia and Germany.

Thus, the problem of Eastern Galicia in the policy of the Second Polish Republic passed entirely from external to internal. In this case we consider it necessary to stress and emphasize that despite the radically different approaches in shaping foreign policy principles, the Polish national and state officials initially did not consider eastern Galicia as the object of such activities. The region was considered an integral part of their own state body which "demanded" assimilation, economic colonization and full political incorporation.

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