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**THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE IN THE POLITICAL STRATEGIES
OF THE POLISH PARTY ENVIRONMENTS OF THE INTERWAR ERA
OF THE XXth CENTURY: THE POLISH VISION**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to present the research results conducted by the Polish scholars on the Polish party circles political strategies in the interwar period of the XXth century concerning the Ukrainian issue, to personify the Polish authors' scientific achievements, to predict the prospects for the further scientific research. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, objectivity as well as the methods of historiographic analysis and synthesis. The scientific novelty is that on the basis of the wide range of historiographical sources, which were created by the Polish researchers, traced the process of accumulation and dissemination in time of historical knowledge about the essence of national programs of the Polish political circles of the interwar period of the XXth century and the ways to solve the Ukrainian issue. The Conclusions. The analyzed problem was studied intensively at the scientific level during the 70 – 80-ies of the XXth century. The researchers managed to clarify the program provisions of the main Polish party and political forces, in particular, the Ukrainian's issue place and role in it. It was proved that there were two concepts of the official Warsaw's policy leading in the interwar XXth century towards the Ukrainians – the national and state assimilation. The supporters of the first concept were the Polish National Democracy representatives and the second backed up the “pilsudzczy”. The Polish socialist activists made numerous attempts towards the idea of imposing the territorial autonomy on the Ukrainians, which failed. According to the Polish Ukrainophiles, whose representatives were in different political circles, imagined that the independent Ukrainian state could form up only behind the Zbruch River. Modern Polish researchers deepened their predecessors' work in all areas of the scientific research, especially in such issues as the Ukrainian issues in the political views of R. Dmowski and in the programmes of the Polish socialists, Christian Democrats, conservatives, the peasant party. It is shown that the visions of solving the national issues in Poland of the last three party groups did not differ in originality and developed in line with the concept of building a national Polish state, implementation during the interwar period of the XXth century.*

Key words: *Polish historiography, historiographical sources, Ukrainian issues, party, party environments, national issue, interwar Poland.*

УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ У ПОЛІТИЧНИХ СТРАТЕГІЯХ ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ПАРТІЙНИХ СЕРЕДОВИЩ МІЖВОЄННОЇ ДОБИ ХХ ст.: ПОЛЬСЬКЕ БАЧЕННЯ

***Анотація. Мета дослідження** – показати здобутки польської історіографії у вивченні ставлення польського політикуму міжвоєнної доби ХХ ст. до українського питання, персоналізувати науковий доробок польських учених, передбачити перспективи подальших наукових пошуків. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, об'єктивності, а також на методи історіографічного аналізу та синтезу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі широкого кола історіографічних джерел, створених польськими дослідниками, простежено процес нагромадження і поширення у часовому вимірі історичних знань про суть національних програм польських політичних середовищ міжвоєнної доби ХХ ст. та шляхів розв'язання ними українського питання. **Висновки.** Аналізована проблема почала інтенсивно вивчатися на науковому рівні у 70–80-х рр. ХХ ст. У цей час дослідники з'ясували програмні положення основних польських партійно-політичних сил, зокрема, місце і роль у них українського питання. Переконливо довели, що провідними у міжвоєнному двадцятилітті були дві концепції політики офіційної Варшави щодо українців – асиміляції національної та державної. Прихильниками першої були представники польської націонал-демократії, а другої – пілсудчики. Спроби діячів польського соціалістичного табору нав'язати владі ідею територіальної автономії для українців зазнали фіаско. Польські українофіли, представники яких були у різних політичних середовищах, виступали за незалежну Українську державу, але тільки за Збручем. Сучасні польські дослідники поглибили напрацювання своїх попередників у всіх напрямках наукового пошуку, особливо у таких, як українська проблематика у політичних поглядах Р. Дмовського та у програмах польських соціалістів, християнських демократів, консервативного середовища, селянської партії. Показано, що візії розв'язання національного питання у Польщі останніх трьох партійних угруповань не вирізнялися оригінальністю й розвивалися в річищі концепції побудови національної польської держави. Наступним кроком для польської історіографії може стати створення узагальнювального дослідження, присвяченого програмним засадам західноукраїнських політичних партій, рухів, організацій та боротьбі за їх реалізацію у міжвоєнний період ХХ ст.*

***Ключові слова:** польська історіографія, історіографічні джерела, українське питання, партія, партійні середовища, національне питання, міжвоєнна Польща.*

The Problem Statement. Taking into consideration the relevance of the research topic, it should be highlighted that in Rzeczpospolita II (the Second Commonwealth) a multiparty system was created. First of all, the range of political parties was extremely diverse, with more than sixty Polish political parties, organizations, and inter-party blocs operating there during the interwar period. Second of all, interwar Poland was a multinational state and the national issue's solution became one of the priorities, and at the same time, it was the most difficult task for the Polish political elite of that time. The Ukrainian issue was one of the most problematic, at least because the Western Ukrainians found themselves in the rebirth of Poland against their will. The attitude of the politically ruling class to the largest national minority at that time, which reached 15–16% of the total population, determined not only Poland's eastern policy direction but also the Polish-Ukrainian relations in the long run. Hence, the objective coverage of the difficult relations between the two neighboring nations in the first half of the XXth century by the Polish (as well as the Ukrainian) researchers, in particular in the interwar XXth century, will certainly improve the strategic partnership between Ukraine and Poland in modern geopolitical coordinates.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The declared topic is little studied in the historiographical aspect. The source base comprises only a few articles in which the achievements of Polish historical science from the middle of the XXth to the beginning of the

XXIst century are generalized, concerning the Polish-Ukrainian relations study of the interwar period of the XXth century (Torzecki, 1998; Koko, 2000; Mędrzecki, 2000), as well as a publication on the state of the Polish political thought study in 1864 – 1939 (Wójcik, 2004). A cursory assessment of the scientific literature (which is more like a bibliographic review) devoted to the Ukrainian issue in the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth can also be found in the introductory parts of the monographs that are the subject of the following article. Thus, the Polish historiography representatives managed to identify only the general outlines of the scientific problem study, often leaving behind the historical and historical-political works' leading ideas.

The purpose of the article is to present the research results conducted by the Polish scholars on the Polish party circles political strategies in the interwar period of the XXth century concerning the Ukrainian issue, to personify the Polish authors' scientific achievements, to predict the prospects for the further scientific research.

The Statement of the Basic Material. During the interwar period of the XXth century, the analyzed topic was not scientifically studied yet. The process of creating and enriching the intellectual sources of the Polish socio-political thought took place. The Polish publicists paid attention to the Ukrainian issue whose works were colored by the clear party and political tendencies. In particular, there were the following the Polish National Democracy representatives (endowment) Stanislaw Grabski, Roman Dmowski, Jerzy Gertych, etc. The above-mentioned figures, while designing the nation-state model, proposed and as the politicians sought to implement the incorporation policy, open Polonization, the captured Ukrainian lands colonization (Dmowski, 1925; Gertych, 1932; Grabski, 1923; Grabski, 1925). Instead, the Pilsudski camp activists: Tadeusz Hołówko, Leon Wasilewski and the others advocated for the Ukrainians assimilation and their involvement in the Polish state cooperation by granting them certain rights in the framework of the autonomy in the eastern part of Galicia (Halychynna) and the self-government in Volyn (Hołówko, 1922; Hołówko, 1926; Hołówko, 1924; Wasilewski, 1934). These two paradigms of the national policy of the official Warsaw – “incorporative” and “federal” were the Polish politics nucleus until the outbreak of World War II, these paradigms were shared with certain modifications by other political movements' figures– conservative, socialist, peasant (people's), Christian democratic, etc.

The Ukrainian issues were not studied for a long time after the end of World War II in the Polish People's Republic. Apparently, one of the reasons for this was that the events of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in Volyn and Galicia in the 1940-ies were still fresh in the memory of the generations. On the one hand, a certain historical distance was needed in order to comprehend them at the level of the scientific argumentation, and on the other hand, for the historical legitimization of the communist regime. The qualitative changes occurred in the 1970-ies and 1980-ies, when the Polish historiography reassessed II Rzeczpospolita (the Second Commonwealth) national policy. It was possible to ponder over the situation due to the fact that the methodological pluralism paved its way in the humanities. Hence, along with the official scheme of the historical past, there is a tendency to an unbiased view of the modern history events, taking into account, as far as possible, the diversity of the factors including the national ones. The Ukrainian studies' important segments were the Ukrainians' socio-political, economic, cultural and spiritual life issues in the interwar Poland. The scientific analysis of these problems involved studying the place and role of the Ukrainian issue in the Polish political thought and the programmes of the most influential Polish political circles.

There were numerous scientists, who worked fruitfully in this research field, for instance, Andrzej Chojnowski, Roman Wapiński, Ryszard Tozecki, Myroslava Papierzyńska-Turek, Vladyslav Kulesha and the others. The authors gave a general assessment of the National Democracy (Polish: Narodowa Demokracja, also known from its abbreviation ND as “Endecja”) concept of the national policy of the rebirth of Poland. In particular, they pointed out that, according to the party’s program provisions, the role of a true sovereign in this state was to be performed by the Polish people, other nationalities had to submit to the political, economic and cultural domination of the Poles. Therefore, the above-mentioned programme denied the right of the non-Polish population to free national development, sought to make those citizens of the lower category. As for the Ukrainian population, it was a question of its complete denationalization, because, according to the National Democrats leaders, the Ukrainian population did not have its own language, was small and deprived of the national consciousness (Wapiński, 1974, p. 303; Chojnowski, 1979, p. 18; Papierzyńska-Turek, 1979, p. 46).

The researcher M. Papierzyńska-Turek gave the clear explanation – the National Democracy program was formulated at the beginning of the XXth century, and gained new prospects for the implementation when Józef Piłsudski’s and his supporters federalist plans failed as a result of the Soviet-Polish War of 1920. The Peace of Ryga or the Treaty of Ryga meant the victory of the postulate of the territorial program of the Endeks (Papierzyńska-Turek, 1979, p. 45). A. Chojnowski made the generalizing conclusion, which is also noteworthy. According to the researcher, the National Democracy program was based on two erroneous provisions – the belief in the exclusivity and assimilation force of the Polish culture and the belief in the national movements of the Slavic minorities weakness inhabiting Poland (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 21).

The concept of federalism was in opposition to the Polish National Democrats incorporation programme, which was formed among the judges during World War I and its foreign policy vector was directed against the Russian tsarism. The theorists from Józef Piłsudski’s camp proposed to restore Rzeczpospolita (the Commonwealth) in the form of a superpower owing to its federation with Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. The researcher Józef Lewandowski was the first, who managed to make the successful attempt of scientific analysis on Józef Piłsudski’s eastern policy (Lewandowski, 1967). Later on, the above-mentioned topic was widely discussed in the Polish historiography. According to A. Chojnowski, the “piłsudzczy” proceeded from the conviction concerning the permanent identity of the interests of the peoples inhabiting the ancient Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, so they considered it possible to restore the former state connection in a new, conditioned by the spirit of the modern era, federal form (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 19). It was assumed that joining the federation would be voluntary, and the federal system, combined with the democratization of relations within the future state, would guarantee the equality of all nationalities. At the heart of the Federalists’ views was the certainty that ethnographic boundaries could not be delineated in Eastern Europe, and the right to self-identification also applied to the Poles living in the eastern territories of the rivers Sian and Buh. Based on the above-mentioned foundation, the federalist program was presented as the nations self-determination principle implementation (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 19).

According to Teofil Piotrkiewicz’s observations, the attempts to develop the most general principles of the national minorities state assimilation government policy were made only in August 1926. Moreover, these principles were not a mandatory directive for the public institutions, they became only a starting point for the further program work (Piotrkiewicz,

1981, p. 151). In addition, the researcher depicted Stanisław Srokowski, a well-known scientist and politician close to the ruling circles, Volyn voyevoda during 1923 – 1924, as part of his project on the administrative-territorial division of Poland at the beginning of the 1930-ies, proposed to form a single administrative and political unit in which a single policy would be pursued for all the Ukrainians out of Volyn western lands, some parts of Polissya, Lviv, Ternopil and Stanislaviv voyevodstva. Piotr Dunin-Borkowski, the first rehabilitated Lviv voyevoda (1927 – 1928), heralded the similar concept. However, these projects of the Ukrainian autonomy did not come true, because after the parliamentary elections in autumn of the 1930-ies, Józef Piłsudski formed an increasingly authoritarian model of the state, which provided for the local self-government restriction, opposition to decentralization and power monopolization (Piotrkiewicz, 1981, p. 152).

Vladislav Kulesza, the researcher, while developing his predecessors' views, came to the conclusion that the reorganization camp was not the only one, it coexisted in three political groups: the Liberals, led by Kazimierz Bartel, the Conservatives and a group of "colonels". The state was the most important element of the "Piłsudchyks" political thought and was the most pronounced in the concepts (Kulesza, 1985, pp. 116–232). Presenting Piłsudski's supporters ideological and political doctrine against the broad comparative background of other ideologies and political trends that prevailed in Europe at the time, the author made the most important conclusion: the rehabilitation system was not fascist, but authoritarian (Kulesza, 1985, pp. 253–286).

There was the circle of Polish intellectuals, who were sympathetic to the Ukrainians, or at least understood the importance of the Ukrainian issue. These people were surrounded by the left party, the Socialists, Ludovtsi (the members of village parties), the Conservatives. Lots of them could also be found in Józef Piłsudski's camp. The researcher R. Torzecki drew attention to such figures as Count Stanislav Los, Stanislav Stempovsky, Professor Marcelli Handelsman, Leon Wasilewski, Tadeusz Hołówko, Henryk Józewski, Walery Sławek and the others. According to Torzecki, the above-mentioned figures were supporters of the federal idea and later on they focused on the concept of Prometheanism, foresaw the Ukrainian state emergence, which could territorially form up behind the Zbruch River. "None of those people, concluded R. Tożeczki, "could agree with the idea of losing the eastern frontiers, and each acted in the direction of the integration of these lands within the Polish state" (Torzecki, 1989, p. 132).

Taking as a basis the classification of party-political forces the criterion of the Polish government's attitude to the Ukrainians, T. Piotrkiewicz singled out two far unequal groups in terms of number and influence in the camp – piłsudczycy «miarodajni» and the "Ukrainophiles". The latter were characterized by the fact that, unlike the "moral" politicians, they offered to give the Ukrainians, if possible, more rights and privileges, just to calm down the anti-Polish sentiments among them and to connect them with the Polish state for a long time (Piotrkiewicz, 1981, p. 154). The most famous among the "Ukrainophiles" were Leon Wasilewski, Tadeusz Hołówko. Leon Wasilewski consistently defended his program of reforming the national relations on the eastern outskirts of Poland, but only until the coup d'état carried out by Józef Piłsudski. After May 1926, realizing the unpopularity of his ideas, Leon Wasilewski no longer promoted them in public. Instead, Tadeusz Hołówko, although forced to somewhat muffle his political rhetoric under the pressure of the Piłsudczyk right, by the end of his life (he passed away in August of 1931) sought to radically change the Ukrainian-Polish relations in the "eastern frontiers" (kresach wschodnich) (Piotrkiewicz, 1981, pp. 154–155).

The problem of the Polish Socialist Party's attitude (Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej, PPS) towards the Ukrainian issue also played an important role in the Polish historiography of the Polish period. According to A. Chojnowski, the PPS's meticulous attention to the problem of the Slavic minorities was due to the difficult internal situation in Poland during 1922 – 1924 (Chojnowski, 1979, p. 25). The researchers found that the PPP first officially put forward the idea of autonomy for the Eastern Galicia in May 1922, when it became clear that Piłsudski's federal plans lost their chance of being realized (Torzecki, 1989, p. 114). The Socialists delivered a speech and heralded a draft law on the territorial autonomy of the lands inhabited by the Ukrainians after the Polish pacification of the eastern part of Galicia in 1930 in the Sejm. However, there was no unity among the party members concerning this issue. Mechyslav Niedzialkowski initiated the autonomous status granting to all Ukrainian lands that were part of Rzeczpospolita II (the Second Commonwealth). Some politicians, led by Zygmunt Żuławski, raised the question of separating Lviv, Boryslav and Drohobych from the autonomous territory and annexing the rest of the eastern Galician lands from Volyn to a single territorial autonomy. Among the Polish Socialist Party (Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej, PPS) there were those, who categorically opposed the territorial autonomy. There were Poland's southeastern voyevodstva representatives, who feared the loss of the economic monopoly and political position of the Poles in the region and the "public order foundations" violation due to the dominance of the Ukrainians. Tadeusz Hołówko proposed to grant the autonomy only to the former Eastern Galicia (Tymieniecka, 1969, p. 54; Torzecki, 1989, pp. 120–121; Papierzyńska-Turek, 1979, p. 49).

Since 1989, the modern stage of the scientific problem research began. One peculiar feature is that the intellectual generations' succession preserved in Poland. The real methodological pluralism that existed in the scientific community was confirmed by the party dictatorship and censorship abolition. Already in the 1990-ies and 2000-ies, many works appeared, usually of a political nature, which enriched the knowledge of the views of Polish politicians and publicists on the national question in the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Hence, Włodzimierz Mich (Mich, 1992) presented the conservative understanding of state policy towards the national minorities, the PPS political platform was described by Eugeniusz Koko (Koko, 1991), the national democratic platform was depicted by Grzegorz Radomski (Radomski, 2000) and Krzysztof Kawalec (Kawalec, 2002), and the people's (peasant) – Alicja Wójcik (Wójcik, 1992). The researcher Waldemar Paruch described the Piłsudzczy's attitude to the national issues in a thorough monograph (Paruch, 1997). Among the latest publications there are special studies written by Barbara Stoczewska (Stoczewska, 2013), Magdalena Nowak (Nowak, 2007) and Roman Wysocki (Wysocki, 2008; Wysocki, 2014). We should dwell on the achievements of recent authors briefly.

First of all, it should be noted that B. Stoczewska's work can be classified as the synthetic research because the author presented not only her own vision of the ideology and practice of leading Polish political forces on the Ukrainian issue but also managed to summarize the predecessors' work. First, Stoczewska analyzed the Polish Conservatives' political position deeply. According to her observations, the Polish Conservatives, unlike the radical politicians, managed to maintain the "moderation and objectivity" in the Ukrainian issues, were not inclined to take the drastic measures. However, these figures, although recognizing the Ukrainians as a separate people, still underestimated their state-building potential, accused them of the provincialism in political thinking, "Haydamatskyi mentality", propensity for the adventurism and romantic illusions, as well as a certain set of inferiorities in relation to

performed a civilizational mission in relation to the “uneducated Ruthenians” (Stoczewska, 2013, p. 230). The author claimed that in the interwar period, the conservative visions concerning the Ukrainian issue were diverse and ranged from a program of state assimilation to the postulate of the “Greater Ukraine” put forward by the “Buntu Młodych” (The Youth Riot) and “Naszej Przyszłości” (Our Future). The above-mentioned vision stemmed primarily from the particularly strong anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik foreign policy orientation of these environments (Stoczewska, 2013, pp. 230–231).

B. Stoczewska sought to prove that the Polish Peasants’ Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL) did not preach chauvinistic ideas. One of its main slogans was the Polish and Ukrainian peasants common destiny slogan. In other words, the people had a simplistic interpretation of the Ukrainian national movement: they were positive about the social demands of the Ukrainians and did not accept their political demands. Prior to World War I, PSL activists were staunch opponents of the creation of a separate Ukrainian crown land from Eastern Galicia, but after Poland’s independence, the Liberation Union and the Peasants’ Party leaned toward the concept of autonomy. But after the unification of these parties (1931) such a solution to the Ukrainian issue was rejected as unrealistic, mainly because of the diverse national composition of the “Eastern Lesser Poland” (Małopolska) (Stoczewska, 2013, pp. 328–329).

The Stoczewska’s conclusions on the political position of the Christian Democrats (Polskiego Stronnictwa Chrześcijańskiej Demokracji, PSChD) are noteworthy. In particular, it was found out that the attitude of the Chadaków (Khadeks) towards the Ukrainians was biased but not as negative as that of the National Democrats. The Christian Democrats were inclined to recognize the national identity of only those minorities who declared full loyalty to Poland, in particular, recognized the status of the Polish people as its exclusive sovereign. The list of possible concessions on the Ukrainian requirements was very short, in fact, it was limited to the socio-economic issues and the right to establish a national university, but, of course, not in Lviv. In general, the researcher stated, the Chadaków (Khadeks) did not formulate any specific program for resolving the Ukrainian issue, although they recognized it as important for the Polish state. The Ukrainian national movement was assessed very critically, and therefore, the Ukrainians were not seen as a constructive partner for the cooperation (Stoczewska, 2013, pp. 335–341).

The researcher B. Stoczewska also examined in detail the essence of the national issue in the political strategy of “endeks”, socialists and “piłsudzczy”. The author’s assessments and reflections coincide with the concepts of the leading Polish specialists in these scientific discourses: R. Torzecki, A. Chojnowski, W. Kuleszy, W. Mich, E. Koko, W. Paruch and the others.

M. Nowak’s work originality lies in the fact that it focuses on the Polish national democracy ideology, journalism and activities in the context of the Ukrainian issue during 1922 – 1939, taking into account regional differences in the approaches of government institutions to the international relations. The author’s leading opinion is that the Endeks’ position towards the Ukrainians corresponded to their ideological principles, the internal situation in the country, in particular, on the outskirts, as well as the general international situation (Nowak, 2007, p. 14). It is shown that this party advocated always the need for the Polonization of the “eastern frontiers” (kresach wschodnich), acknowledging it as the transfer of the most important centers of the political, economic and social life in the region into the hands of the Poles. The National Democracy opposed the idea of self-government as one of the forms of the

realization of the eastern part of Galicia's autonomy. At the same time, the researcher stressed that in the Polish conditions, self-government bodies should not be a counterweight to the state, but only complement it (Nowak, 2007, pp. 24, 35). Moreover, the Narodniks (Ukrainophobs), referring to Rzeczpospolita I traditions, called the population of the suburbs "Ruthenians", hence, denying the existence of the Ukrainian people (Nowak, 2007, p. 48).

M. Nowak's general conclusion should be paid attention: "The national policy of Rzeczpospolita II was overloaded with difficult moments in the Polish-Ukrainian relations. The pacification of 1930, the school and language laws of 1924, the Orthodox Church vindication, the lack of the effective measures in order to improve the Ukrainian peasants' situation, the Polish colonization or restrictions on the Ukrainians' employment in the public office were seen by the Ukrainian politicians as initiatives to polonize the Ukrainian population. Most Polish political circles, especially those associated with the National Democracy, viewed the Ukrainians' political, economic and cultural activities as being directed directly or indirectly against the Polish state" (Nowak, 2007, p. 289).

There is a large layer of literature dedicated to the famous politician Roman Dmowski in Polish historiography. However, the above-mentioned Lublin historian R. Wysocki, like no other, showed the Polish National Democracy leader's attitude to the Ukrainian issue. According to the author, R. Dmowski, as an ideologue of the party, tried not only to assess the historical events from a nationalist pragmatic standpoint but also to develop a line of conduct and predict the consequences of the Ukrainian issue for the Polish politics. The above-mentioned political figure was convinced firmly the state institution's great potential its ability to influence the national processes. According to his vision on the division of influence in Eastern Europe, Poland had to border directly on the Russian state, so there could be no place for Ukraine between them. Denying in his public speeches the right of the Ukrainians to become a nation, Dmowski was forced to use various terms to define the essence of this ethnic community. The "Rus' people", whose identity gained general recognition, was represented as the Polish people "branch" or "tribe" and did not abandon such an interpretation even when he was not happy to use the term "Ukrainian nationality". For the same reason, he denied the existence of a separate Ukrainian language, calling it nothing but an adverb. The other figures of the Polish National Democracy shared Dmowski's attitude to the Ukrainian issue. In particular, on their initiative in 1923, the term the "Ukrainian" was replaced in the official correspondence by the term the "Rus" (Wysocki, 2008, pp. 428–437; Wysocki, 2014, pp. 201–211). The researcher R. Wysocki showed that in the course of his life Dmowski changed his position a little: nevertheless, he acknowledged that there was a separate "Little Ruthenian language", but continued to insist on the drastic need to Polonize the "Ruthenians", considering it to be a guarantee for the Polish state's territorial integrity (Wysocki, 2014, pp. 211–212).

The Conclusion. Taking into consideration the historiographical sources, we can say that the analyzed problem during the interwar period of the XXth century attracted the Polish publicists' attention. During the postwar decades, mostly in the 1970-ies and 1980-ies, it became the subject of a wide range of studies conducted by the historians and political scientists, and was generally studied objectively and impartially. This was facilitated not only by the increased interest in the Ukrainian issues, but also by the methodological pluralism presence in the Polish historical science. The generations' intellectual continuity preserved in Poland after 1989. Moreover, the works written by such scholars as R. Tożęcki, A. Chojnowski, M. Papierzyńska-Turek became classics in the Polish Ukrainian studies.

The researchers of the Polish People's Republic period analyzed the programme positions of the leading Polish parties and political circles, found out the place and role of the Ukrainian issue in them. It was proved that there were two concepts of the official Warsaw's policy leading in the interwar XXth century towards the Ukrainians – the national assimilation, which was abandoned after the May Coup in 1926, and the state assimilation. The supporters of the first concept were the Polish National Democracy representatives, and the second backed up the “piłsudzczy”. The Polish socialist activists made numerous attempts towards the idea of imposing the territorial autonomy on the Ukrainians, which failed. From the end of 1934, the ruling circles returned to the national assimilation concept, trying to combine its elements with the state assimilation elements. The Polish Ukrainophiles, whose representatives were in different political circles, imagined that the independent Ukrainian state could form up only behind the Zbruch River. They did not even allow the idea of losing Poland's eastern outskirts – the native Ukrainian lands.

Modern Polish researchers deepened their predecessors' work in all areas of the scientific research, especially in such issues as the Ukrainian issues in the political views of R. Dmowski and in the programmes of the Polish socialists, the Christian Democrats, the Conservatives, the Peasant Party. It is shown that the visions of solving the national issues in Poland of the last three party groups did not differ in originality and developed in line with the concept of building a national Polish state. Another achievement of the Polish historiography may be referred to the generalized study creation on the programmatic principles of the Western Ukrainian political parties, movements, organizations and the struggle for their implementation during the interwar period of the XXth century. In addition, the national policy principles of small Polish political parties and groups should also be paid attention.

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