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# Status and Prospects for Research on the Attitude of the Ukrainian Minority to the Policies of the Civil and Military Authorities in Connection with the Situation before and During the Polish September Campaign 1939

*Stan i perspektywy badań nad stosunkiem mniejszości ukraińskiej do polityki władz cywilnych i wojskowych w związku z bezpośrednią genezą i przebiegiem Kampanii polskiej 1939 r.*

### ABSTRACT

The text discusses the issue of the attitude of the Ukrainian minority towards the Polish State in the last months of the Second Polish Republic and during the Polish Campaign in 1939. Research conducted in this area in the Polish People's Republic, the Soviet

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Union and by emigration entities is also briefly characterized. Then, achievements of Polish and Ukrainian historiography after the fall of communism were discussed, focusing on the most important and valuable publications in order to indicate areas and issues that require further in-depth research. The initial turning point was the München crisis in September 1938, which resulted in, among other things, in bringing the Ukrainian issue to the international forum and political activation of the Ukrainian population in Poland. The final caesura is the end of armed clashes during the Polish campaign in 1939.

**Key words:** Ukrainian minority, Second Polish Republic, Polish-Ukrainian relations, Polish September Military Campaign 1939

#### STRESZCZENIE

W tekście omówiono kwestię stosunku mniejszości ukraińskiej do państwa polskiego w ostatnich miesiącach II Rzeczypospolitej oraz podczas samej kampanii polskiej w 1939 r. Zostały scharakteryzowane pokrótce badania prowadzone w tym zakresie w PRL i Związku Sowieckim oraz na emigracji. Następnie omówiono dorobek historiografii polskiej i ukraińskiej po upadku komunizmu, koncentrując uwagę na najważniejszych i najbardziej wartościowych publikacjach, aby wskazać obszary i zagadnienia, które wymagają dalszych pogłębionych badań. Cezurę początkową stanowi kryzys monachijski we wrześniu 1938 r., który skutkowało m.in. postawieniem sprawy ukraińskiej na forum międzynarodowym oraz aktywizacją polityczną ludności ukraińskiej w Polsce. Cezura końcowa to zakończenie starć zbrojnych w trakcie kampanii polskiej w 1939 r.

**Słowa kluczowe:** mniejszość ukraińska, II Rzeczpospolita, stosunki polsko-ukraińskie, kampania polska 1939

The problem of attitude of the Ukrainian ethnic minority towards Polish authorities in months and weeks just before WWII and during the Polish September Military Campaign of 1939 has been approached several times by historians. However, in most of the cases such an activity had fragmentary character or was just a partial contribution to the general topic. To date, there is no comprehensive and detailed publication on this issue. This text will provide information and description of research conducted in the Polish People's Republic and Soviet Union, as well by emigration groupings. It will be followed by evaluation of Polish and Ukrainian historiography after the fall of Communism. The main focus would be on the most valuable works – to identify areas and issues that require further in-depth research and deliberation.

The most important caesura for this text is the München Crisis of September 1938. It resulted i.a. with bringing the Ukrainian issue to the discussion on the international forum and political activation of the Ukrainian ethnic minority in Poland. The end of this period is the final of the Polish September Military Campaign of 1939. More precisely, for Ukrainians in the Lublin Voivodeship it was the beginning of October 1939. Therefore, the analysis submitted here will be divided into two parts – one till the end of August 1939, the second – for the September 1939 military campaign.

As for the Soviet historiography, we should remember that Russian scientists functioned under specific conditions, under ideologization and full Communist Party control. As a result, it was not possible to investigate things objectively, including complex Polish–Ukrainian relations. Historians operated under the dictate of the ruling establishment and used extensively the theory of the class struggle as a driving political force of the general history. All the publications were along the mythical scientific lines ‘on the leading role of the Communist Party in the fight to liberate Western Ukraine from the from the yoke of Polish nobility, to unite Western part with the Soviet Ukraine’<sup>1</sup>. Under such conditions works emphasized the activities and role of the Communist movement in Ukraine, marginalizing other organizations as ‘fascist’ and ‘bourgeois’<sup>2</sup>. They include some important facts, but their general scientific value is small.

Some valuable publications were printed by émigré Ukrainian historians. However, also in that case, their objectivity is questionable as the stories were written by people who had been directly involved in or had been direct witnesses to events and facts. Publications were often prepared to glorify their organizations and formations, as in the case of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Some studies have stood the test of time, as works of Petro Mirchuk *Narys istoriji Orhanizaciji Ukrajinśkych Nacjonalistiw 1920–1939*<sup>3</sup> or Roman Ilnycki *Deutschland und die Ukraine 1934–1945*<sup>4</sup>. Historians also still use source materials that included programming documents of OUN and other Ukrainian political parties<sup>5</sup>. A number of memoirs and diaries is also of use for modern

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<sup>1</sup> M. Kuczerepa, *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w II Rzeczypospolitej we współczesnej historiografii ukraińskiej*, in: *Historycy polscy i ukraińscy wobec problemów XX wieku*, eds. P. Kosiewski, G. Motyka, Kraków 2000, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> See: О.Г. Цибко, *Револуційно-визвольна боротьба трудящих Західної України за воз’єднання з УРСР (1934–1939 рр.)*, Львів 1963; І. Заболотний, *Червона Волинь, Луцьк 1958*; idem, *Нескорена Волинь: нарис з історії революційного руху на Волині 1917–1939*, Львів 1964; В.Ю. Твердохліб, *Револуційновизвольна боротьба трудящих Прикарпаття (1921–1939 рр.)*, Львів 1974; idem, *Молодь Західної України у боротьбі за воз’єднання (1919–1939)*, Львів 1983; М. Герасименко, Б. Дудикевич, *Боротьба трудящих Західної України за воз’єднання з Радянською Україною (1921–1939 рр.)*, Київ 1955; М.М. Кравець, *Нариси з історії робітничого руху в Західній Україні в 1921–1939 рр.*, Львів 1971.

<sup>3</sup> П. Мірчук, *Нарис історії Організації Українських Націоналістів*, vol. 1, 1920–1939, Мюнхен–Лондон–Нью-Йорк 1968.

<sup>4</sup> R. Ilnyckyj, *Deutschland und die Ukraine 1934–1945. Tatsachen europäischer Ostpolitik*, München 1958.

<sup>5</sup> *Українська суспільно-політична думка в 20 столітті. Документи і матеріяли*, vols 1–3, eds. Т. Гунчак, Р. Сольчаник, New York 1983.

historians as these of Iwan Kedryn-Rudnytskyj<sup>6</sup>, Taras Bulba-Borovets<sup>7</sup>, Bohdan Kazanivskyj<sup>8</sup> or Volodymyr Makar<sup>9</sup>.

Also the Polish historiography after WWII was partially ideologically motivated. Any serious scientific effort to carry out research on Polish-Ukrainian relation required presentation of Ukrainian independence aspirations and that had been fundamentally against principles of the Soviet policy. Another important factor had been memories and emotions related to the bloody conflict between two nations during the Second World War and just after this war ended. As a result, research focused on the Polish policy towards Ukrainians. Only sporadically, they took up research on attitude of Ukrainian parties and organizations in the Second Polish Republic towards Polish authorities as well as on status and political activities of the Ukrainian ethnic minority. If published, works referred to 1920s of the twentieth century and to Communists and their supporters. However, even in this case, such topics have not been fully catalogued and evaluated<sup>10</sup>.

The Polish policy towards the Ukrainian ethnic minority was presented in the fullest and in synthetic way in the publication of Andrzej Chojnowski<sup>11</sup>. Due to the approach and format, there are some findings on Ukrainian plans, activities and attitudes in the book. As for Ukrainian independence movements in the year just before the war, this could be found, in practical terms, in only two studies that should be distinguished from the rest. The first one, by Ryszard Torzecki, studied the Third Reich policy with regard to the Ukrainian issue. For example, in the part on reactions to the München Conference, declaration on the Subcarpathian Rus autonomy and other Hitler's decisions, there are brief but concise information on OUN activities in Poland. The publication also includes description of efforts by the biggest Ukrainian legal political party – Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (Ukr. Українське національно-демократичне об'єднання, УНДО; Ukrainińskie Nacjonałno-Demokratyczne Obiednannia; Pol. Ukrainińskie

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<sup>6</sup> I. Кедрин, *Життя – події – люди. Спомини і коментарі*, Нью Йорк 1976.

<sup>7</sup> Т. Вульба-Боровець, *Армія без держави. Слава і трагедія українського повстанського руху. Спогади*, Вінніпег 1981.

<sup>8</sup> Б. Казанівський, *Шляхом легенди*, Лондон 1975.

<sup>9</sup> В. Макар, *Бойові друзі спомини*, vols 1–2, *Збірка спогадів з дії ОУН (1929–1945)*, Торонто 1980–1981.

<sup>10</sup> E. Koko, *Problematyka stosunków polsko-ukraińskich w latach 1918–1939 w historiografii wydawanej w Polsce po 1945 r.*, "Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze" 1994, 2, pp. 105, 108–109.

<sup>11</sup> A. Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1979.

Zjednoczenie Narodowo-Demokratyczne, UNDO) and its attitude with regard to the impending Polish-German military conflict<sup>12</sup>.

As for the work of Antoni Szcześniak and Wiesław Szota *Droga donikąd. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i jej likwidacja w Polsce* (Eng. *The Road to Nowhere. Activity of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its Liquidation in Poland*)<sup>13</sup>, it is right to say that it introduced to scientific discussion new facts and findings. Despite the wide use by Military History Institute (MHI) authors the Marxist phraseology, it turned out that even such approach and evidences found were in contrast with the official propaganda. As a result, at the command of the Main Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces, this book was withdrawn from all bookshops<sup>14</sup>.

Andrzej Szefer took an effort to describe and evaluate in his article German Abwehr diversionary operations in the Eastern Galicia since spring 1939. They involved about 4,000 Ukrainians<sup>15</sup>. Another book full of Government propaganda, by Edward Prus, tried to present activities of Ukrainian nationalists. Despite its format and significant number of annotations, the book did not meet any criteria of scientificity<sup>16</sup>. It is to note that this author continued his activity also in the 1990s of the XXI Century, printing next publications, and pursued a similar thrust. His specific works and the scientific output were explored in greater detail by Grzegorz Motyka<sup>17</sup>.

So far, diversionary, sabotage and other actions of Ukrainian and Communist militias in September 1939 have not become the subject of a serious scientific research. Such facts had been only mentioned in general monographs, as in the work on the Polish "Karpaty" Army<sup>18</sup>. However, a lot can be found in source editions, memoirs and diaries, mainly in publications edited by Mieczysław Ciepiewicz and Eugeniusz Kozłowski from the MHI<sup>19</sup>. Quite a lot of information on attitudes of Ukrainians

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<sup>12</sup> R. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w polityce III Rzeszy (1933–1945)*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 154–190.

<sup>13</sup> A.B. Szcześniak, W. Z. Szota, *Droga do nikąd. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i jej likwidacja w Polsce*, Warszawa 1973.

<sup>14</sup> A.L. Sowa, *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie 1939–1947. Zarys problematyki*, Kraków 1998, pp. 17–18.

<sup>15</sup> A. Szefer, *Dywerysyjno-sabotażowa działalność wrocławskiej Abwehry na ziemiach polskich w przededniu agresji hitlerowskiej w 1939 r.*, "Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce" 1987, 32.

<sup>16</sup> E. Prus, *Herosi spod znaku tryzuba*, Warszawa 1985.

<sup>17</sup> G. Motyka, *Heros antyukraińskiego pióra*, "Dyskusja–Dyskusja" 1994, 2.

<sup>18</sup> R. Dalecki, *Armia "Karpaty" w wojnie obronnej 1939 r.*, Rzeszów 1989.

<sup>19</sup> *Wojna obronna Polski 1939: wybór źródeł*, eds. E. Ciepiewicz et al., Warszawa 1968; *Wrzesień 1939 w relacjach i wspomnieniach*, eds. M. Ciepiewicz, E. Kozłowski, Warszawa 1989.

in ranks and files of the Polish Armed Forces could be accessed via memoirs and diaries of Polish soldiers of 1939, i.e. of Eugeniusz Buczyński<sup>20</sup> and Karol Skrzypek<sup>21</sup>.

Polish-Ukrainian relations had not been the main point of interest for Polish émigré historians and no separate publication on the topic was printed. However, there are some mentions on the armed clashes with the Ukrainian militias in monographs on general topics, such as synthesis by Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski *Najnowsza historia polityczna Polski 1864–1945*, vol. 3, 1939–1945 (Eng. *The History of Modern Poland 1864–1945*”, vol. 3, 1939–1945<sup>22</sup>. Another example are volumes published by the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London (Pol. Instytut Polski i Muzeum gen. Sikorskiego w Londynie) under the general title of series *Polskie siły zbrojne w drugiej wojnie światowej* (Eng. *Polish Armed Forces in WWII*)<sup>23</sup>.

This could be complemented by memoirs and diaries published after the war<sup>24</sup>. Problems related to Ukrainian diversionary actions, pillages and murders committed on the Polish population by Ukrainian nationalists were reported and evaluated in émigré publications of Ryszard Szawłowski (using writing alias of Karol Liszewski)<sup>25</sup>, who focused his attention on the Soviet invasion of Poland on 17 September 1939 and by Jan Tomasz Gross<sup>26</sup>.

The fall of Soviet Union and political transformation processes, abolition of censorship and opening archives to scientists, especially in the independent Ukraine, has created new research prospects for examining Polish-Ukrainian relations during the wartime. Already in the beginning of the 1990s of the twentieth century, new articles and monographs on the topic were published, mainly on attitude of the Ukrainian populations towards Polish authorities just before and in the first weeks of war.

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<sup>20</sup> E. Buczyński, *Smutny wrzesień*, Kraków 1985.

<sup>21</sup> K. Skrzypek, *Podkarpackim szlakiem Września. Wspomnienia żołnierza Armii “Karpaty”*, Katowice 1986.

<sup>22</sup> W. Pobóg-Malinowski, *Najnowsza historia polityczna Polski 1864–1945*, vol. 3, *Okres 1939–1945*, London 1960.

<sup>23</sup> *Polskie siły zbrojne w drugiej wojnie światowej*, vol. 1, *Kampania wrześniowa 1939*, part 1, London 1951; part 4, London 1986.

<sup>24</sup> See: K. Sosnkowski, *Wyciąg z pamiętników o kampanii wrześniowej, “Niepodległość”* 1981, 14.

<sup>25</sup> K. Liszewski, *Wojna polsko-sowiecka 1939*, London 1986.

<sup>26</sup> J.T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad. The Soviet Conquest of Poland’s Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia*, Princeton 1988; J.T. Gross, I. Grudzińska-Gross, *“W czterdziestym nas matko na Sybir zesłali...” . Polska a Rosja 1939–1942*, London 1983.

The first real effort of comprehensive and synthetic approach to above-mentioned topic had been the article of Ryszard Tomczyk printed in 1989<sup>27</sup> and a part of Marek Jabłonowski's work on ethnic minorities in the Second Polish Republic before the Second World War. He used Polish Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Foreign Affairs reporting to show advancing radicalization of the Ukrainian population and contrasting conciliatory attitude of the UNDO leadership, headed by Vasyl Mudryj. The publication was however just a sketch of the problem<sup>28</sup>.

Another article on the topic by Czesław Partacz had produced little that was new<sup>29</sup>. Next, in 1991, at the University of Szczecin, the doctoral dissertation of R. Tomczyk was defended. In practical terms, it was a monograph on the biggest Ukrainian political party in the Second Polish Republic, which dominated the political arena in the Eastern Galicia, i.e. on the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (Pol. Ukraińskie Zjednoczenie Narodowo-Demokratyczne, UNDO). This work saw the official publication only in 2006.

The author dedicated the whole last chapter to activities of UNDO during the year before the outbreak of WWII. He also presented motives of the Party to participate in parliamentary elections of 1938. That meant continuing, by the UNDO leadership, on the course on normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations that started in 1935.

Author also described hopes and concerns linked to the expansionist policies of Germany and to Polish policies, as presented in subsequent declarations and leaflets of UNDO. Its leaders had consistently taken the view to be loyal to the Polish State as stated in the famous statement of vice-Speaker V. Mudryj in the Polish Parliament on 2 September 1939<sup>30</sup>.

The Tomczyk's monograph was based on documents from Polish archives, mainly generated by structures of the Ministry of Interior, on Ukrainian press, different prints and publications. The main shortcoming of the book is the lack of documents from Ukrainian archives, both those produced by Polish administration and Police, as well as materials of the Ukrainian provenance – UNDO internal papers and documents

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<sup>27</sup> R. Tomczyk, *Mniejszość ukraińska wobec Polski i zagrożenia niemieckiego w końcu lat trzydziestych*, in: *W 50. rocznicę września 1939 r.*, Szczecin 1989.

<sup>28</sup> M. Jabłonowski, *Mniejszości narodowe II Rzeczypospolitej a problem nadchodzącej wojny*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Instytutu Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego" 1991, 17, pp. 80–90.

<sup>29</sup> C. Partacz, *Stronnictwa ukraińskie w II Rzeczypospolitej wobec groźby wojny (1938–1939)*, "Rocznik Koszaliński" 1994, 17, pp. 51–57.

<sup>30</sup> R. Tomczyk, *Ukraińskie Zjednoczenie Narodowo-Demokratyczne 1925–1939*, Szczecin 2006, pp. 266–302.

of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (UPR) and papers of Ukrainian activists.

Zbigniew Zaporowski in his book presented the activity of the UPR during the Sejm and Senate fifth terms<sup>31</sup>. Similar elements were evaluated in articles of Wojciech Momot<sup>32</sup> and Oleksandr Zaitsev<sup>33</sup> and in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Zaitsev. Mirosław Szumiło has also tried to examine this topic in his monograph on the URP.

He claimed that the participation of UNDO in 1938 elections and building the URP in the Parliament of the fifth term was the result of conviction of the Party leadership that any effective political activity requires significant parliamentary representation.

Despite such a position of opposition groups, 1937 election results were an undoubted success of the 'Sanacja' ruling establishment. Although main opposition parties boycotted the elections, the voter turnout was at the 67% level. In the 14 election districts in the Eastern Galicia, the turnout was even at 73.7% due to big mobilisation of the Polish population, as the percentage of Ukrainians in these areas was significantly lower than in 1935. However, most of the Ukrainian population supported UNDO and did not boycott elections. Thanks to the agreement with the Government, URP maintained its state of possession. 13 deputies entered the Polish Parliament. Additionally, Iwan Wolański from the UNO Party won the mandate being delegated by the Ukrainian National Union (Ukr. Українське Національне Об'єднання, УНО). In the Senate, Ukrainian got five seats<sup>34</sup>.

The atmosphere in the fifth term Sejm was not conducive to constructive cooperation. URP Chairman V. Mudryj was strongly in favour of agreement and cooperation with the Government. However, the strong pressure from the Party ranks and members of the UNDO Central Committee, who were influenced by ideas of German assistance and independence of Transcarpathia, forced him to stiffen UPR stance towards Polish authorities. The final accent had been his declaration about fiasco of normalization policies and submission of the project of the resolution

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<sup>31</sup> Z. Zaporowski, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919–1939. Działalność posłów, parlamentarne koncepcje Józefa Piłsudskiego, mniejszości narodowe*, Lublin 1992.

<sup>32</sup> W. Momot, *Українське представництво парламентарне в Сеймі і Сенаті в latach 1935–1939*, "Studia Historyczne" 1999, 3.

<sup>33</sup> О. Зайцев, *Українці в Сеймі та Сенаті Польщі (1922–1939)*, Львів 2022; idem, *Представники українських політичних партій Західної України в парламенті Польщі (1922–1939 рр.)*, "Український історичний журнал" 1993, 1.

<sup>34</sup> M. Szumiło, *Українська Reprezentacja Parlamentarna w Sejmie i Senacie RP (1928–1939)*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 227–229.



to establish territorial autonomy for Ukrainians. This was received by authorities as a pure political demonstration. It included the *Project of the Constitutional Law for the Galicia-Volhynian Land* (Pol. *Projekt Ustawy Konstytucyjnej Ziemi Halicko-Wołyńskiej*) with the substantial justifications. The Polish Sejm Speaker informed the URP Presidium that he was not able to accept the project. According to his statement, this type of resolution required changes in the Constitution and as such it was necessary to collect signatures of  $\frac{1}{4}$  the statutory number of Deputies<sup>35</sup>.

The draft is stored in the Lviv archive. Its copy was published by Mirosław Szumiło in the "Res Historica" journal<sup>36</sup>. The project involved the creation of an autonomous public-legal entity under the name of the "Galicia-Volhynian Land" (Pol. "Ziemia Halicko-Wołyńska"). It was to incorporate territories inhabited by Ukrainian population, i.e. Tarnopol, Stanisławów and Volhynian Voivodships, part of the Lwów Voivodeship, without a few Western districts, most of the Polesye Voivodeship and the Eastern part of Lublin Voivodeship. It also included provisions on establishment of autonomous authorities, separate Government, Parliament and judicial authorities.

The intent of authors of the the *Project of the Constitutional Law for the Galicia-Volhynian Land* was that it should become a part of the Second Polish Republic Constitution. They wanted to achieve full equality for the Ukrainian nation within the Polish territory. The URP draft was based on provisions included in the Czechoslovakian parliamentary resolution on the autonomy of Slovakia and Transcarpathia. However, as this project was similar to demands submitted to Prague by Sudeten German, it was found disturbing for Polish citizens. It also evoked a profound outrage over the provisions and proposals included to the project. This was also a case in this part of the society that normally exhibited friendliness and benevolence towards ethnic Ukrainians<sup>37</sup>.

The response of Polish authorities to OUN sabotage actions at the end of 1938 took the form of repressions, similar to pacification actions of 1930<sup>38</sup>. It was the main topic of the speech of Stefan Witwicki in the Polish Sejm. He presented stories about villagers fleeing to forests, destruction of Szewczenko and Franko portraits, destroying Ukrainian facilities, and insulting, abuse and beating of Ukrainian activists and peasants.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 230.

<sup>36</sup> See: M. Szumiło, *Projekt ustawy o autonomii terytorialnej zgłoszony przez Ukraińską Reprezentację Parlamentarną w 1938 roku*, "Res Historica" 2009, 27, pp. 141–154.

<sup>37</sup> B. Budurowycz, *Polska i problem ukraiński w latach 1921–1939*, "Zeszyty Historyczne" 1983, 66, p. 42.

<sup>38</sup> A. Chojnowski, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

The detailed description of such events was presented in 13 parliamentary questions submitted by URP deputies to the Minister of Interior. A number of testimonies, supported by medical certificates were delivered to the Parliament. URP wanted such facts to be judged, the guilty punished and compensation to be paid. The response of the Prime Minister Składkowski was ostensibly stereotypical. According to official statements, the course of events was presented inaccurately, most of witnesses recanted their testimonies and the investigations did not reveal anyone's guilt. He also reminded that there was the possibility to assert the ethnic rights using the civilian track of the judicial system<sup>39</sup>.

Formally, URP joined the opposition only in February 1939 by voting against the proposed draft budget estimate and preliminary draft budget. After the annexation of the Carpathian Ukraine by Hungary, there had been signs of anti-German sentiments in the Ukrainian communities. Despite that URP wanted and a compromise with the Government, OZN stood firmly and this did not bid well for any plans and proposals.

The most comprehensive summary of attitudes and activities of UNDO and URP leaderships could be found in the monograph on the UNDO Chairman V. Mudryj, prepared by Paweł Samuś. This author used findings of Polish and Ukrainian researchers, including works of Mychajło Shvahuliak.

He complemented his work with autobiographic materials from V. Mudryj, accessible in New York and also with excerpts and commentaries from the Polish press of the time: "Słowo", "Gazeta Polska", "Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny", "Robotnik", "Polityka", "Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński"<sup>40</sup>. He also used published diplomatic reporting of the US Ambassador to Poland Anthony Drexel Biddle<sup>41</sup>.

The position and activities of other legal Ukrainian political parties in the situation of emerging armed conflict were presented in the subject literature quite definitely less than UNDO. Monographs of Zbigniew Zaporowski<sup>42</sup>, Mykola Kucherepa and Ruslana Davydiuk<sup>43</sup> on the pro-Polish

<sup>39</sup> M. Szumiło, *Ukraińska*, pp. 231–232.

<sup>40</sup> P. Samuś, *Wicemarszałek Wasyl Mudryj (1893–1966). Ugody polsko-ukraińskiej orędownik daremny*, Warszawa 2017.

<sup>41</sup> *Poland and the Coming of the Second World War. The Diplomatic Papers of A. J. Drexel Biddle Jr. United States Ambassador to Poland 1937–1939*, eds. P.V. Cannistraro, E.D. Wynot Jr., T.P. Kowaleff, Columbus 1974.

<sup>42</sup> Z. Zaporowski, *Wołyńskie Zjednoczenie Ukraińskie*, Lublin 2000; idem, *Ukraińska Reprezentacja Parlamentarna Wołynia 1931–1939*, in: *W kręgu polskich doświadczeń parlamentarnych*, "Res Historica" 1998, 4.

<sup>43</sup> М.М. Кучерепа, Р.П. Давидюк, *Волинське українське об'єднання (1931–1939 рр.)*, Луцьк 2001.

and pro-Government Ukrainian Volhynian Union (WUO) dedicated only a small number of paragraphs on the period just before WWII.

This was the time of the political crisis. The Voivode, Henryk Józewski was recalled from the office and the idea of Polish–Ukrainian agreement was in tatters. As a matter of fact, the Ukrainian parliamentary representation of Wolhynia was on the same level as before (five deputies and one senator).

Already in February 1939, there had been a split in this faction. Two deputies, Włodzimierz Onufrejczyk and Stefan Skrypnyk supported a firm UNDO stance against the Polish Government. They used arguments about ‘twenty years of unlawfulness’ towards the Ukrainian nation, incapacitation and crashing of the Orthodox Church. Due to such disloyalty, they have been removed from the ranks of Volhynian URP and WUO<sup>44</sup>.

Florentyna Rzemieniuk in her book presented the problem of the Greek Orthodox Church clergy in nationalistic movements during the times of the Second Polish Republic. Quite a part of it, is on the period on research. During the Autumn 1938 some Greek Orthodox Church priests, during summons and other public appearances, tried to convince Ukrainians that the ‘time of liberation from the Polish rule’ and of independent Ukraine is coming.

On 14 October 1938, Basilians from Przemyśl organized the rally and march of Ukrainians. They cried out anti-Polish slogans ‘Down with Poles’. This publication also includes summaries and lists of Orthodox priests from Lwów, Stanisławów and Tarnopol Voivodeships, who actively stood against the Polish State and Polish Nation<sup>45</sup>.

Roman Wysocki, in his monograph of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, presented activities of OUN in Poland and its preparations for a national uprising on the eve of WWII. The author has also verified the number of OUN members in 1938. The subject literature proposes 20,000, but according to Wysocki the number is much lower, about 8,000–9,000<sup>46</sup>. Also members of the OUN Youth should be added to an overall number as well as large group of supporters.

In the first quarter of 1939, Polish security service saw a growing number of murders and acts of terror that could have been attributed to OUN. In addition to such cases, there had been many Ukrainian rallies and clashes with the Polish Police. From 15 September 1938 till 15 March

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<sup>44</sup> Z. Zaporowski, *Wołyńskie*, pp. 144–147.

<sup>45</sup> F. Rzemieniuk, *Walki polityczne greckokatolickiego duchowieństwa o niepodległość Ukrainy w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)*, Siedlce 2003.

<sup>46</sup> R. Wysocki, *Organizacja Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów w Polsce w latach 1929–1939. Geneza, struktura, program, ideologia*, Lublin 2003, p. 337.

1939 in total 397 demonstrations, 47 cases of sabotage and 34 terror attacks were recorded. After the fall of Carpatho-Ukraine, the numbers were much lower. OUN continued military training for its members and informed the general public about the establishment of the Ukrainian Legion in Germany. Wysocki claimed that despite such actions, activities and preparations, efforts aimed at planning and training for military actions were mostly uncoordinated and OUN structures had not been prepared for any military clash<sup>47</sup>.

The most comprehensive work, with regard to description of the political attitude of Ukrainian population towards the Second Polish Republic, also for years 1938–1939, is the monograph by Wojciech Włodarkiewicz, published in 2013. It is a kind of a chronicle presenting events both chronologically and territorially. Author evaluated attitudes of populations from the several Voivodeships: Volhynian, Tarnopol, Lwów, and Stanisławów. One chapter assesses the impact of internal events and international political situation of societies on Volhynia and Eastern Lesser Poland in 1938. The next – presents attitudes of the local population towards the issue of a potential military conflict in 1939. Włodarkiewicz inserted a lot of factual materials to his print, mainly on Ukrainian rallies and manifestations, sabotage, and terror acts. He used i.a. reports of voivodes and Police reporting from Ukrainian archives as well as archival materials from the Warsaw Central Military Archive (reports of Independent Information Office from Corps District Commands)<sup>48</sup>.

Such topics were not so much covered by Ukrainian researchers. Oleksandr Bohiv, Mykola Behesh and Volodymyr Zadorozhnyi analyzed for example attitudes of Galicia Ukrainians towards the issue of the autonomy of the Subcarpathian Ruthenia in Czechoslovakia. Information from that part of Carpathian Mountains generated a great enthusiasm in the Ukrainian communities in Galicia. Nationalists immediately wanted an independence

In Lviv and in other towns mass rallies and manifestations were organized under the banner of ‘Long life to Carpatho-Ukraine’, ‘Down with Czechs, Poles and Hungarians’. They were dispersed by the Police. UNDO leadership tried not to be carried away by euphoria and counted on Transcarpathia’s autonomy within Czechoslovakia<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 337–353.

<sup>48</sup> W. Włodarkiewicz, *Przed zagładą. Społeczeństwo Wołynia i Małopolski Wschodniej wobec państwa polskiego (1935–1939)*, Warszawa 2013.

<sup>49</sup> О. Богів, М. Бегеш, В. Задорожний, *Галичина і Карпатська Україна у 1938–1939 роках, “Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність”* 2000, 7, pp. 429–430.

As for information on attitudes of individual Ukrainian politicians in Poland, mainly from UNDO that dominated the Ukrainian political life, it is possible to find tons of it in publications of Ukrainian historian M. Shvahuliak. Some of them were published also in Polish<sup>50</sup>. Shvahuliak used papers and diaries of famous Ukrainian publicist Osyp Nazaruk, what allowed to reveal inside stories of decision taken by UNDO and conservative UNO leaders. He also used UNDO internal documents, memoirs and testimonies of Ukrainian politicians and activists.

Shvahuliak emphasized that after the fall of the Transcarpathian autonomy idea, most of Ukrainians abandoned the pro-German option and UNDO leaders tried, in the springtime 1939, to re-launch a political dialogue with the Polish Government. URP has even joined the action to collect funds for Anti-Aircraft Defence Bonds (Pol. *Pożyczka Obrony Przeciwlotniczej*).

On 25 May 1939, the meeting of Mudryj and Celewicz with the Polish Prime Minister Felicjan Sławoj Składkowski was organized. However, the climate of the talks was more than cold. The Prime Minister assigned ultimate responsibility for problems in Polish-Ukrainian relations to the Ukrainian side. He strongly opposed any URP demands: 'Nobody in Poland will give you an autonomy' – he stated irrevocably<sup>51</sup>.

Despite such posture of Polish authorities, on 24 August 1939, the UNDO National Committee passed the resolution with the following statement: 'Having in mind national-political efforts of the Ukrainian nation as a whole to become an equal and full-fledged subject and partner in international relations in Europe and not abandoning its struggle for emancipation of the Ukrainian nation in Poland, the National Committee states that the Ukrainians in these hard times would do their civic duty to defend the Country and are ready to give their lives and contribute with their fortunes as required by the duty of each Polish citizen'.

The similar position was presented by leaders of Ukrainian National Renewal: 'in accordance with our Christian, Roman-Catholic conscience,

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<sup>50</sup> М. Швагуляк, *На злами епох: Львів у вересні 1939 р.*, in: *Lwów: miasto – społeczeństwo – kultura*, vol. 4, ed. K. Karolczak, Kraków 2002; M. Szwahulak, *Spółeczeństwo ukraińskie a państwo polskie w przededniu i w czasie wojny niemiecko-polskiej 1939 roku*, "Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy" 1999, 5; M. Szwahulak, *Stanowisko i udział Ukraińców w niemiecko-polskiej kampanii 1939 roku*, in: *Polska-Ukraina: trudne pytania*, vol. 4, *Materiały IV międzynarodowego seminarium historycznego "Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w latach II wojny światowej"*, Warszawa, 8–10 października 1998, Warszawa 1999. Those texts are included in the collective work: М. Швагуляк, *Історичні студії: Українці на роздоріжжях та крутих поворотах історії (др. пол. XIX – пер. пол. XX ст.)*, Львів 2013.

<sup>51</sup> M. Szwahulak, *Spółeczeństwo ukraińskie a państwo polskie w przededniu i w czasie wojny niemiecko-polskiej 1939 roku*, in: М. Швагуляк, *Історичні*, pp. 535–540.

in the war, we will fulfil our duty as this Country citizens, defending borders, within which we live by the will of Providence'<sup>52</sup>.

To evaluate attitudes of elements of the Ukrainian ethnic minority in Poland during the Polish September Military Campaign of 1939, it is necessary to make a differentiation between postures of members and activists of legal political parties and actions of Communist and nationalistic extremists. The last session of the Polish Parliament took place on 2 September 1939. URP Chairman V. Mudryj issued the statement: 'on 24 August 1939, the UNDO National Congress unanimously adopted the resolution, which clearly shows that during these hard times for the Polish State, Ukrainians will give their lives and contribute with their fortunes as required by the duty of each Polish citizen'. The statement also emphasized Ukrainian hopes that 'unsolved questions and problems between Poles and Ukrainians would be treated with respect, courtesy, fairness, and in accordance with the law, in the best interest of both nations. We, the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, as a political emanation of UNDO, and also we, members of Ukrainian National Renewal, solemnly state that this not the time for political disputes. We will do our full duty with all the Ukrainian nation and we are ready to make necessary sacrifices to defend the Country'<sup>53</sup>.

The URP Chairman speech was thunderously applauded by the Parliament. In the Sejm corridors, Polish deputies approached Mudryj and personally expressed their gratitude for the statement. The similar declaration was announced by S. Skrypnyk, on behalf of Volhynians.

Such loyalty declarations presented to the Parliament by leaders of both Ukrainian Parliamentary Clubs most likely had been prepared and published for fear that the dubious Ukrainian loyalty could provoke authorities and Polish mass social movements directed against their nation<sup>54</sup>. During the night of 1–2 September 1939, authorities arrested several thousand people suspected to be linked to nationalistic, extremist Ukrainian organizations<sup>55</sup>.

The problem of attitudes of members of Lviv Ukrainian political elites towards both German and Soviet aggressions in September 1939 was comprehensively presented by Pawel Samus in his book<sup>56</sup>. The same elements

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 543.

<sup>53</sup> See: M. Szumiło, *Ukraińska*, p. 239.

<sup>54</sup> F. Sławoj-Składkowski, *Nie ostatnie słowo oskarżonego. Wspomnienia i artykuły*, London 1964, pp. 257–258.

<sup>55</sup> R. Torzecki, *Polacy i Ukraińcy. Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1993, p. 26.

<sup>56</sup> P. Samus, *op. cit.*, pp. 531–544.

were forwarded by M. Shvahuliak. He also wanted to draw attention of readers to the proclamation issued jointly by Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish and Armenian religious communities' leaders and social activists from the Eastern Galicia calling to defend the Polish State against aggression

The proclamation was signed i.a. by Chairman Mudryj and Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Andrij Sheptycky. The latter official also issued his own address to the clergy and members of the Church. He warned them of the influence of various agitators and provocateurs. He stated: 'Do not allow yourselves to be influenced and persuaded to launch attacks and show disobedience. Be calm and balanced, preserve unity and harmony. In everything, direct yourself by your reason enlightened by faith'. Due to a psychosis among Poles in Lviv, who saw German spy or saboteur in each Ukrainian, on 15 September 1939, Mudryj and Szeptycky issued next declaration, in which they tried to dispel the rumours about Ukrainians deliberately damaging infrastructure and harassing soldiers defending the town<sup>57</sup>.

Ryszard Torzecki was the first researcher that took up the problem of Ukrainians in September 1939, in his article published in the "Zuстріczy" journal<sup>58</sup>. It was followed by the book on the Ukrainian question during WWII<sup>59</sup>. He described anti-Polish actions of Ukrainian nationalists and evaluated the issue of Ukrainians drafted to the Polish Armed Forces, i.e. roughly of 150,00– 200,000 people<sup>60</sup>. Such threads were elaborated further by Waldemar Rezmer in his article published in the fourth volume of series *Polska–Ukraina. Trudne pytania* (Eng. *Poland–Ukraine. Difficult Questions*). He assessed that on average there had been 11.19 of Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces in 1939, i.e. from 106,314 to 111,910 soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian ethnicity. The number of Ukrainians was the highest in the 9. Infantry Division in Siedlce, then in 5. Infantry Division in Lwów, 24. Infantry Division and 11. Carpathian Infantry Division. In the Infantry Divisions of the "Poznan" Army and the Greater Poland Cavalry Brigade the number was even bigger, up to 20%<sup>61</sup>.

Rezmer has covered, in much more intricate way than his predecessors, attacks of Ukrainian militias in the Eastern part of Lesser Poland, including seizing of Stryj during the night of 12/13 September 1939 and clashes in the vicinity of Mikołajów and Żydaczów that lasted several

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<sup>57</sup> M. Szwahulak, *Stanowisko*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>58</sup> R. Torzecki, *Ukraińcy we wrześniu 1939*, "Zuстріczy" 1990, 1.

<sup>59</sup> R. Torzecki, *Polacy*.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24.

<sup>61</sup> W. Rezmer, *Stanowisko i udział Ukraińców w niemiecko-polskiej kampanii 1939 roku*, in: *Polska–Ukraina*.

days. He put a lot of his attention also to the process of drafting soldiers of the Ukrainian ethnicity to the Polish Armed Forces during the times of the Second Polish Republic<sup>62</sup>. Such problems were presented in works of T.A. Kowalski<sup>63</sup> and Maciej Krotofil as well<sup>64</sup>.

Also Andrzej Leon Sowa was mentioning Ukrainians in September 1939. Firstly, in the article in "Krakowskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze"<sup>65</sup>, then in the chapter of his book on Polish-Ukrainian relations in 1939–1947<sup>66</sup> (45 pages on this specific topic). Although he has not been using archival sources and materials, presented outlines are very valuable as they summed up available knowledge sourced from subject literature, different kinds of prints, Polish and Ukrainian memoirs and diaries. From such elements he was able to build a picture of Ukrainian attitudes in September 1939. On one side, Ukrainian soldier loyally served the Country and bravely, sometimes heroically, defended Poland against the German aggression. He even cited Polish commanders and officers and proposed the statement that desertions of Ukrainian soldiers had absolutely not been a mass phenomenon. On the other side – in the local dimension – Ukrainians many times showed hostility towards Polish local authorities and the Polish population<sup>67</sup>.

Since mid-September 1939, there had been many hostilities against the Poles in the South Eastern part of Poland. They had many forms – from displaying aggression against Polish soldiers, refusing to provide food and other supplies, up to armed rising. As such problems had not been properly examined so far, it is still difficult to say who could have been held responsible for organizing such anti-Polish attacks. According to A.L. Sowa, nationalists had been mostly active, in the way described above, in three South Eastern voivodeships. In Volhynia, Polesye and the Lublin region hostilities were organized mainly by Communists, due to weak OUN structures in the area<sup>68</sup>. It is still difficult to assess how many of such acts were influenced and organized by German agents and spies, how many can be attributed to Soviet saboteurs, and how many to OUN

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 13–32.

<sup>63</sup> T.A. Kowalski, *Mniejszości narodowe w siłach zbrojnych Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1918–1939)*, Toruń 1997.

<sup>64</sup> M. Krotofil, *Służba Ukraińców w wojsku II Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów i jej tradycje. Studia i szkice*, eds. M. Wegner, J. Wojtasik, Siedlce 2004.

<sup>65</sup> A.L. Sowa, *Postawa społeczności ukraińskiej w okresie kampanii wrześniowej 1939 roku*, "Krakowskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze" 1992–1993, 1–2.

<sup>66</sup> *Idem*, *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie 1939–1947. Zarys problematyki*, Kraków 1998, pp. 71–107.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 104.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 77, 89.



militias or to spontaneously arisen peasant brigand bands of the typically criminal character. In Luboml, Łuck, Kowel and Włodawa districts, there had been cases of mass murders of Polish civilians and soldiers returning from the Front. First victims of robbery and killings had been internally displaced persons from the central part of Poland, then Polish settlers and landowners, policemen and foresters<sup>69</sup>. The issue of Ukrainian sabotage and diversion activities organized by the German Abwehrea was discussed in more detail in the work of Tomasz Chinciński<sup>70</sup>.

Description and assessment of the problem of Ukrainian diversionary actions in 1939 could also be found in works of G. Motyka. He noted that desertions of Ukrainians from Polish military units commenced after 10 September 1939. It was generally the moment, when first signs of disorder and indiscipline within the files and ranks of the Polish Armed Forces started to be clearly noticeable.

Deserters run away with small arms and many times also created armed groups, what was in this case the sign of an organized action. Multiple times, armed insurrections and rebellions were launched to take over the power in towns and districts before German or Soviet troops came. In the vicinity of Stryj, Drohobycz and Mikołajów there had been cases of guerilla units operating during the first weeks of war. Motyka, on the basis of recollections stored in the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London, was able to draw our attention to ruthless measures and methods of suppression of Ukrainian diversion applied by the Polish Armed Forces and the State Police. It often meant resorting to such actions as pacification of entire villages<sup>71</sup>.

In his other work Motyka stated: 'Ukrainian did not boycott the process of partial and general mobilisation of the Polish Armed Forces. From the number of almost 1,000,000 soldiers in the mobilised Army, the Ukrainian share was about 110,000. There is no doubt that they fulfilled their duty during the Battle of Mokra, in clashes in Pomerania and in the course of the Battle of Bzura. About 7,000–8,000 Ukrainians lost their lives in the September 1939 Campaign. The number of wounded was almost two times bigger'<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 95–97.

<sup>70</sup> T. Chinciński, *Forpocza Hitlera. Niemiecka dywersja w Polsce w 1939 roku*, Gdańsk–Warszawa 2010.

<sup>71</sup> G. Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942–1960. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 70–71.

<sup>72</sup> G. Motyka, *Od rzezi wołyńskiej do Akcji "Wisła". Konflikt polsko-ukraiński 1943–1947*, Kraków 2011, p. 42.

Wojciech Włodarkiewicz developed and provided quite comprehensive reviews of acts of diversion and sabotage that could have been attributed to Ukrainian nationalistic and Communist militias and armed groups. He used recollections stored in the Eastern Archive in Warsaw and from the Archive of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London. He had come to the conclusion that 'available stories and materials do not confirm the opinion on the mass support of Ukrainians and Jews to the Soviet aggressor. However, such attitudes were very visible and noticeable and they had been described in many diaries and memoirs. In fact, the society was dominated by feelings of confusion, fear and passivity. The attitude of Ukrainian communities towards the Soviet aggressor was not so clear'. Most of the Ukrainian youth was under the influence of OUN. As a matter of fact, some local Ukrainian leaders launched active actions against Poles and Jews to evict them from their 'small homelands' shared with other ethnicities. Such actions intensified after 17 September 1939<sup>73</sup>.

Another valuable work is that of Jacek Romanek on facts of collaboration with Soviets in the Lublin Voivodeship. He also dealt with the issue of ethnic minorities attitude towards Soviet aggression of 17 September 1939. He focused on events in Volhynia and Polesye and used a number of published and unpublished recollections of Polish soldiers and civilians.

He also was able to discover recollections of some perpetrators, Ukrainian Communists, who have become Security Service and Communist party activists after the war. He presented the conclusion that revolutionary and red militias were arising from below, many times before German and Soviet occupying forces arrived. Apart from Communists, such groups also included common criminals. Such groupings many times attacked structures, institutions and functionaries of the Polish State. They destroyed Polish symbols, arrested and murdered Polish officials, policemen and representatives of Polish intelligentsia. They robbed, plundered, killed, pillaged and burned everything that was Polish. Such groups also attacked Polish soldiers. The anti-Polish sentiments and actions exacerbated further due to massive denunciations and creating proscription lists that included the names of neighbours and people to be arrested<sup>74</sup>.

Romanek also proposed the conclusion on anti-Polish riots in this period: 'Activities and brutality of Ukrainians in their murderous activities

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<sup>73</sup> W. Włodarkiewicz, *Przed zagładą. Społeczeństwo Wołynia i Małopolski Wschodniej wobec państwa polskiego (1935–1939)*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 528–529.

<sup>74</sup> J. Romanek, *Kolaboracja z Sowietami na terenie województwa lubelskiego we wrześniu i październiku 1939 r.*, Lublin–Warszawa 2021.

went far beyond limits of activities that could have been described as diversionary. It is quite right to say that the effectiveness of Soviet actions, with regard to the scope and scale of Ukrainian terror, surprised authors of the Soviet propaganda campaign. In their reports they emphasized the scale of violence and results of terror that could be quantified by a great number of bodies of murdered Poles found in villages and towns<sup>75</sup>.

G. Motyka noticed that crimes in Koniuchy, Potutory and Jakubowice Kolonia might be considered as a prediction of a bloody ethnic purge that was to happen in Wolhynia several years later. Soviets turned a blind eye to crimes committed on Poles. They even encouraged them if victims were mostly Polish upper-class citizens<sup>76</sup>. Also Igor Hałagida and Andrzej Wawryniuk submitted their assessment of attitudes of Ukrainians in September 1939. The first author underlined that most of Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces and representatives of main legal Ukrainian political groupings remained loyal to the Polish State<sup>77</sup>. Wawryniuk focused his attention on negative aspects of the 1939 situation and took an effort to prepare a summary of anti-Polish actions by Ukrainian nationalists during the times of the Polish September Military Campaign 1939<sup>78</sup>.

As for Ukrainian historiography, the topic of armed insurrections and rebellions in September 1939 was covered by Andrij Rukkas in his articles. He noted that many acts of diversion and attacks were carried out in the direct vicinity of strategic railroads. This could indicate that one of main OUN objectives was to cut off these important lines of communication and transport<sup>79</sup>.

In the case of Brzeżany and Podhajce districts, we can even consider attacks as a kind of 'small uprising'. Hostilities started to spread out mainly after 17 September due to increased activities of Soviet diversionary groups. In Volhynia, most of the attacks could be attributed to Communist guerilla groups, although their significant number was robbery-based sabotage acts, committed mainly by social outliers and criminals<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73.

<sup>76</sup> G. Motyka, *Od rzezi*, pp. 49–50.

<sup>77</sup> I. Hałagida, *Ukraińcy we wrześniu 1939 r. Fakty i interpretacje*, in: *Konferencja: Udział mniejszości narodowych w różnych formacjach wojskowych w czasie kampanii wrześniowej 1939 r.*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 7–12.

<sup>78</sup> A. Wawryniuk, *Antypolska działalność ukraińskich nacjonalistów w kampanii polskiej 1939 roku*, "Radzyński Rocznik Humanistyczny" 2018, 16, pp. 447–468.

<sup>79</sup> A.O. Руккас, *Антипольські збройні виступи ОУН на західно-українських землях (вересень 1939 з.)*, "Sprawy Wschodnie" 2002, 1, p. 44.

<sup>80</sup> Руккас А., *Антипольські збройні виступи на Волині (вересень 1939 р.)*, "Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність" 2003, 10, pp. 119–139.

According to OUN reports, from 29 August till 23 September 1939, about 7,729 fighters took part in diversionary and other types of armed actions, in 183 villages and towns. OUN fighters captured one tank, 8 aircraft, 23 heavy and 80 light machine guns, 3,757 rifles, 3,445 pistols and revolvers, and 25 vehicles. 3,610 Poles were taken prisoners, 796 killed, 37 wounded. OUN lost 160 killed and 53 wounded. At least four Polish villages were burnt down and one bridge badly damaged. As the result of Polish contraction, five Ukrainian villages were destroyed<sup>81</sup>.

In practical terms, it is not possible to prepare the detailed list of Polish citizens murdered by Ukrainians in September 1939. There are several reasons for that. One, incidents of murder were committed out of town and villages and there were no witnesses of such events as most of them did not survive the war. In addition, most of victims remain anonymous<sup>82</sup>. As assessed by G. Motyka, Ukrainians killed about 2,000 Poles in Eastern Galizia and more than 1,000 in Wolhynia. It is almost impossible to evaluate a number of murdered internally displaced persons from the Central Poland in the case of Ukraine. Most likely the number reached several hundreds<sup>83</sup>. Władysław and Ewa Siemaszko proposed another figure. In their assessment, in the Volhynian Voivedoship 1,036 to 1,136 Polish soldiers were killed and a number of civilians<sup>84</sup>.

It should be noted that if assessing attitude of the Ukrainian minority towards Polish authorities on the eve of WWII and during the September 1939 Campaign, it is necessary to avoid existing generalizations and simplifications of the situation and claims that this minority betrayed its own Country and supported aggressors, Germany and the Soviet Union. There is a significant number of different recollections, memoirs and diaries with examples of such events. However, they are still a set of single facts, and single cases. This immediately raises the questions of their mass character and frequency. Therefore, such elements require further detailed research. As for the September 1939, two elements need to be re-examined. First, is the question of Ukrainian collaboration with Soviets, second – on the Ukrainian–German collaboration. This should be done in the way similar to the work of J. Romanek. Next element for

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<sup>81</sup> A. Русначенко, *Українсько-польське протистояння в роки другої світової війни, "Сучасність"* 2001, 10, p. 90.

<sup>82</sup> W. Siemaszko, E. Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez OUN–UPA na ludności polskiej Wołynia 1939–1945*, in: *Polacy i Ukraińcy dawniej i dziś*, ed. B. Grott, Kraków 2002, pp. 123–124.

<sup>83</sup> G. Motyka, *Od rzezi*, p. 51.

<sup>84</sup> W. Siemaszko, E. Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej Wołynia 1939–1945*, vol. 2, Warszawa 2000, pp. 1034–1036.

research is retracing attitudes of soldiers of the Ukrainian ethnicity in the Polish Armed Forces, as they constituted a significant part of the files and ranks of the Force.

As for the period September 1938–September 1939, serious research should start also on the posture and activities of legal Ukrainian political parties. UNDO is an exception as it already had comprehensive and sizeable coverage. More attention should be devoted to Volhynian Ukrainian Union (Ukr. Wolynske Ukrajske Objednannja, WUO), to Ukrainian People's Renewal Party<sup>85</sup>, Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party (Ukr. Українська соціал-демократична партія, USDP)<sup>86</sup>, Ukrainian Social-Radical Party (ukr. Українська соціал-радикальна партія, USRP), and also to the fascist National Union Front (ukr. Фронт національної єдності, FJN)<sup>87</sup>. Furthermore, it would be worth examining different Ukrainian manifestations, rallies, and incidents. It could be done with analyses of questions submitted in the Parliament by members of URP and answers provided by Polish authorities.

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<sup>85</sup> In the print on Ukrainian Conservativists, incl. UNO, Joanna Karbarz-Wilińska omitted issues related to the topic of this article. See: J. Karbarz-Wilińska, *Dęby i burzany. Ukraińskie organizacje i partie związane z biskupem stanisławowskim Grzegorzem Chomyszynem (1925–1939)*, Gdańsk–Warszawa 2020.

<sup>86</sup> In Poland, only Eugeniusz Koko decided to write about the topic and only in the general way. See: E. Koko, *Ukraińscy socjaldemokraci galicyjscy w okresie międzywojennym (1918–1939)*, in: *Ukraińska myśl polityczna w XX wieku*, ed. M. Pułaski, "Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, Prace Historyczne" 1993, 103.

<sup>87</sup> The topic was touched in: M. Швагуляк, *Національно-політична діяльність Дмитра Паліва у міжвоєнний період*, "Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність" 2000, 7.

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