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Data: 29/11/2026 12:41:10

DOI:10.17951/we.2022.8.1.57-74 | Wschód Europy • Восток Европы • East of Europe vol 8, 1 / 2022

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The image of "Ruthenians" presented in the national-democratic press between 1918 and 1926

Introduction

Narodowa Demokracja [National Democracy] was the organisational environment for many national political parties, such as Stronnictwo Demokratyczno-Narodowe [National-Democratic Party] (1897–1919), Związek Ludowo-Narodowy [Popular National Union] (1919–1928), Stronnictwo Narodowe [National Party] (1928–1939), cross-party Obóz Wielkiej Polski [Camp of Great Poland] (1926–1933) and Młodzież Wszechpolska [All-Polish Youth]. Also, thematic associations and clubs as well as paramilitary organisations functioned thanks to the affiliation to National Democracy. As Ewa Maj remarked "National Democracy looked like a kind of «meta-political party» which was a school of political thinking about the nation and its interests, as well as the centre of developing political attitudes based on the national ideology."[1] After WWI, National Democracy had the biggest number of political writings at its disposal which were based on daily newspapers functioning before 1914[2]. The well-developed means of propaganda allowed to spread the ideology and attract the national supporters. National-democratic magazines

[1] E. Maj, *Komunikowanie polityczne Narodowej Demokracji 1918–1939*, Lublin 2010, p. 7. The year 1893 may be marked as the beginning of National Democracy since then Liga Narodowa [National League] was established, see R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939: Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1990, p. 64–101; E. Maj, *Narodowa Demokracja*, [in:] *Więcej niż niepodległość: polska myśl polityczna 1918–1939*, ed. J. Jachymek, W. Paruch, Lublin 2001, p. 129–131; Eadem, *Model endecki organizacji paramilitarnej na przykładzie Stowarzyszenia „Straż Narodowa"*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska" 2002, vol. IX, section K, p. 114–124.

[2] Since the end of 19th century until the beginning of 1918 National Democracy initiated over 100 periodicals on the Polish land and on emigration in France, Russia, Switzerland among others, E. Maj, *Komunikowanie polityczne*…, p. 248; Eadem, A. Dawidowicz, *Wprowadzenie*, [in:] *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji 1886–1939*, ed. Eidem, Lublin 2010, p. 9–15.

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were subsidised by the national political parties (the tax was defrayed by subscription) and National Press Day was organised every year.

Andrzej Paczkowski states that in the Second Republic of Poland the number of national magazines remained at 20 up to 30 items per year (including dailies, weeklies, biweeklies, monthlies, quarterlies and magazines).[3] Before the May Coup nationalists had 20 press titles at their disposal. Their total circulation was over forty-four million copies. It was twenty percent of all political magazines available in Poland at that time.[4] They were adjusted to the readers in terms of socio-labour features, subject matters, and the type (news magazines, informative and journalistic magazines, ideological magazines). They presented the national ideology as well as described the concept of the reborn state and security. Additionally, they drew up a catalogue of threats in which national minorities were defined as enemies.

The purpose of the research was to present the media image[5] of "Ruthenians" in the national-democratic press between 1918 and 1926. Regaining independence by the Polish nation is the starting point of this time frame while the coup carried out by Marshal Piłsudski ends that period in 1926. In this research was used qualitative content analysis.[6] The following magazines have been subject to this analysis: "Gazeta Warszawska" ["Warsaw Gazette"][7], "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"][8] and a monthly "Przegląd Wszechpolski" [„All-Poland Review"].[9]

[3] A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1980, p. 34.

[4] R. Habielski, *Polityczna historia mediów w Polsce w XX wieku*, Warszawa 2009, p. 39.

[5] It should be noted that media do not reflect the reality, but certainly, can cognitively (mentally) modify the shape of the reality by offering multiplicity of meanings, B. Sobczak, *Medialne obrazy świata z perspektywy retorycznej (na przykładzie recepcji medialnej śmierci pochówku Czesława Miłosza)*, „Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne: Seria Językoznawcza" 2011, t. 18, z. 2, p. 36.

[6] Vide: H-F. Hsieh, S. E. Shannon, *Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis,* „Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis" Nov. 1, 2005, p. 1277–1288.

[7] German invasion of Warsaw in 1915 and it was reactivated in 1918. Between 1925–1928 there were some changes in the name, and in 1928 the initial title was restored. Since the editorial office was closed by the Sanacja camp in 1935, the magazine's title was „Warszawski Dzienniki Narodowy" ["Warsaw National Daily"] until 1939. Until 1930s the magazine had been an unofficial press of the National Party (SN), U. Jakubowska, *Oblicze ideowo-polityczne „Gazety Warszawskiej" i „Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego" w latach 1918–1939,* Warszawa–Łódź 1984, p. 14; A. Paczkowski, *Prasa codzienna Warszawy w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1983, p. 100–101.

[8] Lviv magazine belonged to National Democracy environment since 1902. Due to the warfare in 1915 the editing activity was stopped. In 1918 it was reactivated and until 1928 it functioned under the auspices of nationalists. The magazine was available in the mornings and evenings. It was read by intelligentsia, mainly in clerkly and academic environment, see U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów*, Warszawa-Łódź 1988, p. 47; A. Wątor, *Rola lwowskiego dziennika „Słowo Polskie" w tworzeniu partii politycznej w początkach XX wieku,* [in:] *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji 1886–1939*…, p. 131–132; J. Maguś, *"Słowo Polskie" w latach 1918–1928. Organ prasowy Narodowej Demokracji*, Lublin 2019, p. 19–55.

[9] The periodical was established on the Austrian Partition area in 1895 in Lviv. Then it appeared in Cracow and Poznań. It was considered to be a "real forge of a new way of political thinking" and in

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The choice of the analysed press depended on the prestige and popularity. "Gazeta Warszawska" ["Warsaw Gazette"] was an example on the Polish press released regularly for the longest period of time (it was available on Polish press market from 1774). In 1902 in "Przegląd Wszechpolski" ["All-Poland Review"] Roman Dmowski, the nationalists' leader, was publishing a book *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka* [*The Thoughts of a Modern Pole*] in parts, which was called a "nationalists' catechism". "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] was the most widely-read daily in Galicia and the biggest journalistic triumph at the same time.[10]

National Democracy against the "Ruthenians"

The national-democratic journalism presented a kind of fear caused by the number of the national and ethnic minorities living on the territory of reborn Poland. According to the general census in 1931, which included the data concerning the whole area of the Polish state, Polish people accounted for 68,9% of all inhabitants.[11] The Czech, German and Russian people were considered to be the national minorities. The basis on which the categorisation was made referred to the fact that these people had their own country, tradition and history, hence Belarusian, Ukrainian and Jewish people did not have such a right. Non-Polish people were divided into two groups: incomers (the Germans, the Russians, the Jews) and Slavic borderland people who were ethnically unfamiliar and could be polonised. The Slavic people were considered to be passive, prone to denationalisation and the influence of Polish culture. The aim was to repolonise them in terms of education and upbringing. The Slavic group called "Ruthenians" lost the right to have their own country. It is worth mentioning that the word "Ruthenians" was introduced to the official political language by Wincenty Witos in 1923.[12]

The Ukrainians accounted for the highest percentage among the Ruthenians on the territory of the Second Republic of Poland (according to the census: 15–16% in 1921

summer 1895, when Roman Dmowski took over the editorial office, the magazine was called a "semi-official organ of Liga Narodowa [The National League]". Since 1889 it was released as a monthly, but after the revolution in 1905 it was stopped. In 1922 it was reactivated, however it did not generate any more respect. As a result of reorganisation of ND press, in 1926 the magazine was combined with ,,Myśl Narodowa" ["The National Thought"], W. Bułhak, *Dmowski – Rosja a kwestia polska. U źródeł orientacji rosyjskiej obozu narodowego 1886–1908*, Warszawa 2000, p. 45; R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939...*, p. 25; M. Łagoda, *Dmowski, naród i państwo. Doktryna polityczna „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego" (1895–1905)*, Poznań 2002, p. 9; T. Koziełło, *Oblicze ideowo-polityczne „Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego" 1922–1926,* [in:] *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji 1886–1939...*, p. 85–110.

[10] S. Grabski, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, introduction and prepress W. Stankiewicz, Warszawa 1989, p. 175.

[11] H. Chałupczak, T. Browarek, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce 1918–1995*, Lublin 1998, p. 21.

[12] E. Maj, *Od „biernej masy plemiennej" do komiwojażera Narodowa Demokracja (do 1939 roku)*, [in:] *Między rzeczywistością polityczną a światem iluzji: rozwiązania problemu mniejszości narodowych w polskiej myśli politycznej XX wieku*, ed. J. Jachymek, W. Paruch, Lublin 2001, p. 14–15, 23; G. Radomski, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec problematyki mniejszości narodowych w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1918–1926*, Toruń 2001, p. 10–11.

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and 13,9% in 1931)[13]. The Belarusians accounted for 4–6% and 3,1% respectively). They inhabited densely the eastern area along the rivers: Bug and San. In the eastern provinces the Poles accounted for only 37,9% of all population. The percentage of the Belarusians and Ukrainians could be even higher due to the ineffective way of making them aware of their origin as well as ambiguous answers during the census, which qualified them as the Polish nationality. Less numerous, however very active Ukrainian intelligentsia together with clergy made up about 1,5% of the Ukrainian minority.[14] The group activity aimed at improving the economic situation by working in cooperative movement, which caused the economic and political separateness. The Belarusian inhabited mainly the north of the city of Prypeć, upper basin of the Niemen river and the left side of the Dźwina river bank. They were peasants with low economic and cultural development. Nationalists called them "Belarusian movement" („Ruch białoruski" in Polish).[15]

According to National Democrats Ruthenians were doomed to assimilated with Poland or Russian, thus in 1922 Nationalists forced the concept of cultural assimilation in order to further suggest a state assimilation which was supposed to convince the Slavic people about affiliation to the Polish state.[16]. In the national-democratic journalism there are three types of attitudes towards Ukrainian: 1) considering them as a group with national aspirations, 2) treating them as "a brother rebelled against Poland", 3) describing them as the "Ruthenians tribe of Polish nation". The first idea was supported by Stanisław Grabski and Stanisław Gąbiński – according to them Ukraini-

[13] H. Chałupczak, T. Browarek, op.cit., p. 22–23.

[14] M. Nowak, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji wobec szkolnictwa ukraińskiego w II Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji 1886–1939*..., p. 377; E. Maj, *Mniejszości narodowe w myśli politycznej Narodowej Demokracji (1918–1939)*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe w polskiej myśli politycznej w XX wieku*, ed. J. Jachymek, Lublin 1992, p. 46–47.

[15] Kresowiec, *Z Nowogródka Korespondencja własna*, „Słowo Polskie" [„The Polish Word"] [further: „SP"] (5 XII 1921), no. 492, p. 4.

[16] It is worth pointing out that Ukrainians were against being called their Ruthenians because, despite their cultural affinities, these two groups differentiated specific elements. This does not mean that they did not identify with Kievan Rus, seeing it as the beginning of a modern Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainians, like the Russians, Poles, Hungarians and Slovaks, tried to win the favor of the Ruthenians and then subject them to the process of assimilation. Among the Ruthenians themselves, there were three different identities: 1) referring to the separate tradition of Kievan and Halych-Volodymyr Rus, 2) advocating unification with Russia (Ruthenian), 3) referring to the Cossack tradition and the Ruthenian-Ukrainian nation. The very term "Ukrainian nation" functioned in historiography at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries thanks to Mikhail Hrushevsky. However, these disputes took place among the intelligentsia, most Ruthenians defined their affiliation by the categories of "their own" and "strangers", W. Serczyk, Historia Ukrainy, Wrocław 2001, p. 222–224; E. Michna, *Rola historii w legitymizacji aspiracji narodowych grup pogranicza* kulturowego, „Państwo i Społeczeństwo, VIII, 2008, p. 117; O. Orkusza, *Rusini galicyjscy drugiej połowy XIX – początku XX wieku między ukraińskim a wszechruskim wariantem tożsamości narodowej*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace historyczne 144", z. 2, 2017, p. 278–280; J. Moklak, *Łemkowszczyzna w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Zagadnienia polityczne i wyznaniowe,* Kraków 1997, p. 19–27; P. R. Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity. Subcarpathian Rus' 1848–1948*, Cambridge MA–London 1978.

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ans' affiliation to the Polish nation depended on the sense of belonging to Poland and the loyalty to the state. Joachim Bartoszewicz and Roman Rybarski claimed that there was no Ukrainian nation due to the lack of national consciousness. All-Polish Youth considered the Ukrainian to be the Polish nation tribe.[17] In "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] it was written that "part of Belarusian people belonged to Poles, part of them to Russians, and the majority remained *unidentified local people.*" However, there was a chance of assimilation due to common religion.[18] Any Ukrainian attempts to build a state was sarcastically commented by pointing to their "tendency to joke".[19] The Ukrainian intelligentsia activities were under observation so as to indicate the chance to polonise the borderland and show that they were dependent on the Polish state.[20]

The texts about Ruthenians were rife during: the formulation of the Polish borders (Polish-Ukrainian conflict of 1918–1919 over Galicia), upcoming election (1922, 1928) and changing the reforms concerning ethnic and national minorities (1923, 1924). In the national press in 1919 there was an indication of agreement between the Ukrainians and the annexationists – the Austrians[21] and Germans against Poland.[22] In particular there was an emphasis placed on the political cooperation between the Ukrainians and the Germans who had always been considered as the enemy of Poland and the Polish character. Also, there were some reports about Polish-Ukrainian warfare and non-ethical Ukrainians behaviour towards the Polish in internment camps. Particular attention was paid to factors, such as hunger, physical abuse and the lack of proper living conditions which resulted in epidemic diseases. Countrymen were encouraged to support the sanitary situation in Eastern Galicia.[23] Editors emphasised that Eastern

[17] E. Maj, *Mniejszości narodowe w myśli politycznej Narodowej Demokracji (1918–1939)...*, p. 40–43.

[18] J. Jaskólski, *Hermafrodytyzm narodowościowy*, „SP" (16 VII 1923), no. 192, p. 4.

[19] Te, *Ukraińskie gwoździe*, „SP" (14 V 1922), no. 104, p. 4; t., *Dwaj ministrowie*, „SP" (3 VII 1922), no. 145, p. 6.

[20] J. Czekanowski, *Rozwój żywiołu polskiego na kresach południowo-wschodnich w świetle statystyki*, „Przegląd Wszechpolski" ["All-Poland Review"] [futher: „PW"] (II 1925), no. 2, p. 113.

[21] The Habsburgs strove to ensure that the peasant population, dominant in the social structure of Ruthenians, would not be subordinated to the Polish landowner, but to the state. Thus, two contradictory political concepts collided. Ruthenians did not get involved in Polish national uprisings. For the Ruthenian intelligentsia, the state authorities established the Stauropigijski Institute in 1788. It was an organization with a cultural, educational and scientific profile. The Institute was leading of museum, was publishing a textbooks in Ukrainian, O Arkusza, *Rusini galicyjscy drugiej połowy XIX*…, p. 280, 282.

[22] *O żądaniach polskich*, „Gazeta Warszawska" ["Warsaw Gazette"] [further: „GW"] (18 V 1919), no. 134, p. 3.

[23] Haller, *Na polu walki*, „GW" (16 V 1919), no. 132, p. 5; Idem, *Na polu walki,* „GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 4, *Wrzenie Lwowa – posiedzenie Rady miejskiej*, "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 5; *Ukraińcy boją się kontroli koalicji*, "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 5; J.Hł., *W sprawie ziem wschodnich*, "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 1; *O żądaniach polskich*, "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 3; *Front galicyjski*, "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 4; *Cenny dokument ukraiński,* "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 4; *Niemcy nawiązują stosunki z Ukraińcami*, "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 6; *Kolumny sanitarne dla Galicji Wschodniej*, "GW" (18 V 1919), no 134, p. 8; *Zagrożenie Lwowa*, „PW" (III 1922), no. 3, p. 226–227.

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Galicia "was created with Polish hands only" and they were also trying to convince that Ukraine started in Kiev Rus. Some people were afraid that giving the Ukrainian Eastern Galicia would result in "physical extermination of Poles".[24] Acknowledging the Eastern Polish border in 1923 by the Council of Ambassadors entailed many publications emphasising the validity of this decision. In "Przegląd Wszechpolski" ["All-Poland Review"] it was noted that this decision would bring an end to the artificial creation of the Ukrainian governance in other countries.[25]

The 1922 election exerted an influence on the negative way of perceiving Ruthenians by the national democrats. At that time, the Ukrainian and Belarusian clubs joined the Bloc of National Minorities, which was inspired by the Jewish minority.[26] "Przegląd Wszechpolski" ["All-Poland Review"] indicated that it had an anti-Polish character and it realised the German idea of "Mitteleuropa", moreover, the Ukrainian and Jews became German allies.[27] The Ruthenians inclusion to Bloc of National Minorities was against the nationalists' idea of polonising the borderland. There was a fear that the minorities would be active not only in the central legislative organs, but also in local governments.[28] Bohdan Wasiutyński claimed that Ruthenians were taken advantage of in order to weaken Poles, and the Bloc of National Minorities aimed at breaking the social structure of the Polish state.[29]

In the national-democratic press in the pre-election period, there was talk of a division among Ruthenians, in some of them looking for *gente Ruthenus nation Polonus*. It was stated that not every Ruthenian was against Poland.[30] "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] informed that people with pro-Polish attitude were threatened and murdered them by "Bolshevik and Petruszewycz's supporters".[31] The information about the decreasing number of the Ruthenians press, which was full of hatred, and the increasing number of the Polish press was announced with real delight.[32]

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[24] W.K., *W sprawie ofensywy galicyjskiej*, „GW" (22 V 1919), no. 138, p. 1; *Na Ukrainie*, „GW" (11 III 1919), no. 69, p. 3; K.B.P., *Z Rusi*, „GW" (22 V 1919), no. 138, p. 3; J.HŁ, *W sprawie ziem wschodnich*, „GW" (18 V 1919), no. 134, p. 1.

[25] *Granice wschodnie*, „SP" (III 1923), no. 3, p. 214–215.

[26] Ibis., *Z nami Boh taj Żydy!*, „SP" (21 VII 1922), no. 161, p. 4; *Sojusz żydowsko-ludowcowy*, „SP" (28 VII 1922), no. 167, p. 1.

[27] *Blok mniejszości*, „PW" (X 1922), no. 10, p. 785–786.

[28] *Rosjanie i Żydzi w urzędach wschodniej Małopolski,* „GW" (27 VI 1921), no. 173, p. 7; *Jak Russians obsadzają placówki polskie,* „GW" (24 VIII 1922), no. 231, p. 2; S. Grabski, *Kurie narodowe w samorządzie*, „SP" (16 III 1923), no. 74, p. 1; *Mniejszości a samorząd,* „GW" (12 V 1924), no. 129, p. 1.

[29] B. Wasiutyński, *Uwagi nad zagadnieniem narodowości w Polsce,* „SP" (I 1923), no. 1, p. 1–2, 8–7.

[30] S. Grabski, *Naród a państwo,* „SP" (5 IX 1921), no. 392, p. 3; *O walkę z nienawiścią,* „SP" (5 IX 1924), no. 244, p. 1.

[31] *Agenci petruszewyczowsko-bolszewiccy mordują ludność Rusińską (Wobec trumny śp. Twerdochliba),* „SP" (19 X 1922), no. 239, p. 6.

[32] pm., *Sprawy ruskie. Znużenie i znudzenie*, „SP" (29 XII 1922), no. 302, p. 4; *Sprawy ruskie. Teoria a praktyka,* „SP" (27 I 1923), no. 27, p. 3; *Sprawy Ruskie. Ku otrzeźwieniu*, „SP" (24 III 1923), no. 82, p. 3.

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Having read the national-democratic Ukrainian political press there were some assumptions how the Ukrainian might behave towards Poland: 1) be interested in Polish issues, 2) support the left-wing which could help the Ukrainian 3) take part in the election and take some steps to create autonomic Ukrainian parliament in Lviv.[33]

The electoral success of the Bloc of Ethnic Minorities (66 mandates, 15,1% support) entailed the fear of the minorities' separatist tendencies as well as anti-Polish attitudes, especially in the eastern area.[34] National press informed concernedly about the Ukrainian and Belarusian representatives who called for abolishing the state borders and not acknowledging the Polish authority in the eastern area where they promote the idea of revolution and the takeover of Chełmszczyzna and Podlasie.[35] In January 1923 Bohdan Wasiutyński wrote in "Przegląd Wszechpolski" ["All-Poland Review"] that the "creation and the success of the Bloc of National Minorities presented the issue of unidentified elements in the Republic of Poland to the public opinion". It revealed the fallaciousness and the lack of planning in the foregoing borderland politics. Poland faced the question whether it was to be a national state, where the role of a host would be assigned to the founder of the Polish state, or simply a mixture of nationalities".[36]

An important issue associated with the ethnic policy in the Second Republic of Poland was the act of 31 July 1924 which regulated educational issues for the national minorities. The author of this act was Stanisław Grabski (a brother of Władysław Grabski – Prime Minister) who was also the editor-in-chief of "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] in 1923. The act introduced bilingual schools and enabled learners to use different languages, such as Belarusian, Lithuanian and Ruthenian. "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] pointed to the fact that the consent to use the language and cultivate the tradition by the minorities could not mean imposing the culture on those who wanted to adapt to the Polish customs.[37] The act of June led to the liquidation of private and public schools with the ethnic languages, which was to make the process of assimilation faster. The bilingual schools were introduced in provinces, such as Lviv, Stanisławów, Tarnopol, Wołyń and Polesie. However, they were created neither in Lublin nor in Cracow provinces which were also inhabited by the Ukrainian people.[38]

[33] Ibis., *Prasa partii ukraińskiej o przesileniu*, „SP" (20.07.1922), no. 160, p. 4.

[34] B. Stoczewska, *Ukraina i Ukraińcy w polskiej myśli politycznej. Od końca XIX wieku do wybuchu II wojny światowej*, Kraków 2013, p. 243; W. Śleszyński, *Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne w polityce państwa polskiego na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2007, p. 36; P. Hauser, *Jedność w wielości. Problemy narodowościowe Rzeczypospolitej w okresie 1918–1939 i ich następstwa,* [in:] *Do niepodległości 1918, 1944/45, 1989: wizje – drogi – spełnienie,* ed. W. Wrzesiński, Warszawa 1998, p. 131.

[35] *Narodowości obce w Sejmie,* „SP" (XI 1922), no. 11, p. 872–873; *Sprężyny dotychczasowych rządów*, „SP" (IV 1923), no. 4, p. 295; *Sojusznicy,* „SP" (V 1923), no. 5, p. 381.

[36] B. Wasiutyński, *Uwagi nad zagadnieniem narodowości w Polsce,* „SP" (I 1923), no. 1, p. 1.

[37] *Problem mniejszości narodowych*, „SP" (22 V 1924), no. 139, p. 2.

[38] G. Radomski, *Asymilacja poprzez wychowanie w koncepcjach Narodowej Demokracji 1918–1926*, [in:] *Wychowanie a polityka. Mity i stereotypy w polskiej myśli społecznej XX wieku*, ed. W. Wojdyła, Toruń 2000, p. 78–79; W. Wojdyło, *Reasekuracja interesu narodowego w myśli politycznej Stanisława*

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With regards to Slavic minorities, the widespread Polish language learning was offered as well as promoting the Latin alphabet and polonising Russian Orthodox Church.[39] Stanisław Grabski attached importance to the necessity for all the institutions to be Polish, not "Polish-Ruthenians, Polish-Belarusian, or Polish-German".[40]

In "Przegląd Wszechpolski" ["All-Poland Review"] it was shown that Władysław Grabski and his government introduced acts which aimed at the political assimilation of borderland, that is why people were allowed to use the language of the minority in government, at school and court, nevertheless, it was quite risky since it could contribute to more claims on part of Ruthenians. The editorial office was also afraid of weakening public morals in young Polish people. It was observed that the Ukrainians and Belarusians representatives in Polish Parlament did not approve of the act claiming that it was not sufficient.[41] Attention was also paid to the need of a political assimilation, not a national one.[42]

The image of Ruthenians in the nationalistic press had a few dimensions: 1) civilizational, 2) political, and 3) image-relate one. Taking into account the first type, it is worth indicating that national democrats classified the Ukrainian people as Byzantine civilisation people as opposed to the Latin civilisation to which Poland belonged. With the civilisation factor the national democrats explained the necessity of handing over to Poland the places such as Lviv, Zbaraż and Tarnopol. The national democrats referred to a civilisation factor after they had found the Byzantine influence in Kiev Rus indicating that the Polish border should be established there.[43] Glorifying the Latin civilisation as the most developed, they emphasised Poles superiority over the Ukrainians. The urgency of the Ruthenians denationalisation programme in 1917 was explained in terms of the civilisation and cultural backwardness of the Belarusians and the Ukrainians. Both cultural assimilation and polonisation were to pose an opportunity for their civilisation development.[44] Stanisław Grabski claimed that it was mistaken to compare Poles and Ruthenians since the former have "over a thousand years history of their own civilisation and the Ruthenians' nationality, whose literature can fit in a small room".[45]

Grabskiego, [in:] *Reasekuracja polskiego interesu narodowego i racji stanu w myśli politycznej III Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Wojtas, Toruń 1991, p. 54; R. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923–1929*, Kraków 1989, p. 9, 84–87.

39 E. Maj, *Mniejszości narodowe w myśli politycznej Narodowej Demokracji (1918–1939)*…, p. 44.

40 S. Grabski, *Polityka na kresach*, „SP" (8 III 1924), no. 56, p. 1, cf.: Idem, *Kurie narodowe w samorządzie*, „SP" (16 III 1923), no. 74, p. 1.

41 *Sprawy kresowe,* „SP" (IX 1924), no. 9, p. 9; *„Prowincja ukraińska"*, „GW" (6 II 1925), no. 37, p. 2.

42 J. Bartoszewicz, *Sprawa Kresów Wschodnich,* „SP" (III 1923), no. 3, p. 167; S. Grabski, *Rusini,* „SP" (18 IV 1924), no. 107.

43 S. Grabski, *Jak przed wiekami,* „SP" (21 I 1924), no. 20, p. 1; Idem, *Ukraina,* „SP" (17 IV 1924), no. 106, p. 1.

44 M. Ryba, *Naród a polityka myśl społeczno-polityczna twórców ruchu narodowego w okresie międzywojennym*, Lublin 1999, p. 105–106; R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939*..., p. 173.

45 S. Grabski, *Fikcje ugodowe,* „SP" (5 II 1923), no. 36, p. 1.

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It was also emphasised that Poland did not oppose to the development of Ruthenians culture and language in Galicia.[46]

National-democratic movement rejected the Ukrainians participation in creating national culture and "the 19th century popular Ukrainian (haidamaky) stereotype did not undergo any bigger changes".[47] In "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] there was a suggestion that the Ukrainian neither had the cultural awareness nor participated in art, and the small audience ag the Ukrainian exhibition of modern art "Hrom. Wistnyk" as well as the low attendance of the Ukrainians in the Lviv theatre evidently pointed to that.[48] "Gazeta Warszawska" ["Warsaw Gazette"] wrote that the more Ruthenians delved into their native culture, the more backward ethically they became as people, activists and citizens. It was underlined that Ruthenians could be good if they were raised according to the Latin civilisation standards.[49] The attention was drawn to the fact that "In the Rus land, a Pole was a synonym of a master, and a Ruthenians was the synonym of a peasant".[50] Bohdan Halczak, a researcher, stated that the Ukrainians also perceived Poles negatively, as a "noble nation", "lord-like" which approached contemptuously "everything that is Ruthenian's", or associateds with the serfdoms tradition.[51]

When expounding on the political aspect it is worth noting that the Ukrainians were accused of cooperating with the nations which were Poland's enemies (as described by the nationalists), such as Germany and Russia. Roman Dmowski, the leader and the main ideologist of nationalists, indicated that the Ukrainian issue was significant in the German politics since independent Ukraine was supposed to be an extension of the German country providing it with agricultural products.[52] Also, there was an agreement between the Jews and the Ukrainians, which according to the editorial office was rather surprising in view of the slaughter of Jews by the Ukrainians.[53] Nevertheless, the premise was that the Poland's enemies had an agreement to destroy the economically weak country. "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] informed about the policy of Ruthenians aimed at taking over Polish prosperity, e.g. attempts to overtake Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv or the Polish peasants' land by "Ruthenians peasants".

[46] J. Hł., *W sprawie ziem wschodnich,* „GW" (18 V 1919), no. 134, p. 1.

[47] G. Radomski, *Ruch narodowy w Polsce wobec Ukrainy w XX I XXI wieku,* [in:] *Między Europą naszych pragnień a Europą naszych możliwości,* vol. 2, ed. J. Faryś, T. Sikorski, P. Słowiński, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2007, p. 299–300.

[48] XX, *Kultura Ukrainy lwowskiej*, „SP" (19 VI 1922), no. 134, p. 4; *Kultura Ukrainy lwowskiej (drugi obrazek – autoportret)*, „SP" (25 VI 1922), no. 139, p. 4; *Kultura Ukrainy lwowskiej (trzeci obrazek),* „SP" (5 VII 1922), no. 147, p. 4.

[49] J. Zamorski, *Ukraiński pokarm duchowy,* „GW" (15 V 1921), no. 131, p. 4.

[50] B. Wasiutyński, *Uwagi nad zagadnieniem narodowości w Polsce,* „SP" (I 1923), no. 1, p. 11.

[51] B. Halczak, *Publicystka narodowo-demokratyczna wobec problemów narodowościowych i etnicznych II Rzeczypospolitej*, Zielona Góra 2000, p. 100.

[52] R. Dmowski, *Pisma polityczne*, vol. VII*: Świat powojenny i Polska*, Częstochowa 1937, p. 221.

[53] *W obronie Ukraińców,* „GW" (11 X 1919), no. 278, p. 4; *Skandale polityki syjonistycznej*, „SP" (31 XII 1921), no. 513, p. 4; *Ukraińcy wobec Żydów*, „SP" (8 XII 1921), no. 494, p. 4; *Ukraińcy wobec Żydów*, „SP" (9 XII 1921), no. 495, p. 4.

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There was noticed also economic support for Ruthenians from Germany.[54] Additionally, it was also highlighted that Ruthenians were an object of concern for Russia which submitted an interventionist letter to the Polish government about the misuse of administrative organs towards the Ukrainians and Belarusians.[55]

There was a fear that popularisation of the concept of the independent Ukrainian state would result in the loss of the borderland without which Poland would not be able to pursue its goals as a superpower. It was argued that Poles had the historical right to Eastern Galicia. There was noticed some political consequences of the borderland's presence in the Polish state, e.g. national democrats losing the election in the area inhabited by Ruthenians, or the parliament breakup caused by the presence of the national minorities ruled by the Germans and the Jews.[56] Moreover, it was believed that the Ukrainian state could exist only with the help of a foreign army, but the moment the army left, Ukraine would be instatly ruled by Russia. It was repeatedly underlined that there was no Ukrainian nation as such since Ruthenians had no sense of national identity on account of their politicisation by the German.[57] Stanisław Grabski claimed that Soviet Ukraine would not change into an independent state. Challenging the idea of the national independence resulted from the fear of losing Wołyń and Małopolska [Eastern Lesser Poland].[58]

The view, according to which no nations emerged in the borderland which would be capable of developing their own country, was popular with the nationalists They provided an example of. incompetent management of the Stauropigijski Institute.[59] The concept of "an Ukrainian" was consistently used only to describe the politicised groups pursuing land unification and declaration of the formation of the Ukrainian state. "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] remarked that the actions whose aim was the creation of "Ukrainian superpower" posed a threat to Poland. Therefore, Jewhen Petruszewycz, the leader of The West Ukrainian People's Republic who spread his national liberation views,[60] was considered to be an enemy. Acknowledging Ukrainian People's Republic was regarded as a national betrayal, but at the same time, the existence of Ukrainian national minority was rejected.[61] In the national-democratic press referring to the linguists opinions, indicated

[54] *Sprawy gospodarcze – stosunki handlowe niemiecko-ukraińskie*, „GW" (20 XII 1922), no. 347, p. 7.

[55] *Wtrącanie się Sowietów do spraw polskich,* „GW" (12 V 1924), no. 129, p. 1; *Z prasy,* „GW" (15 V 1924), no. 132, p. 3; *Sowiecka obrona mniejszości w Polsce*, „GW" (16 V 1924), no. 133, p. 2; *Odpowiedź na odpowiedź. Nowa nota Sowietów w sprawie mniejszości,* „GW" (24 V 1924), no. 124, p. 2.

[56] J. Bartoszewicz, *Sprawa Kresów Wschodnich*, „PW" (III 1923), no. 3, p. 161, 163.

[57] S. Grabski, *Naród a państwo*, „SP" (5 IX 1921), no. 392, p. 3; *O żądaniach polskich*, „GW" (18 V 1919), no. 134, p. 3; Z. Berezowski, *Kwestia ukraińska a pokój z Rosją*, „GW" (11 III 1920), no. 70, p. 11; Idem, *Kwestia ukraińska a pokój z Rosją*, „GW" (12 III 1920), no. 71, p. 3; B. Wasiutyński, *Uwagi nad zagadnieniem narodowości w Polsce,* „SP" (I 1923), no. 1, p. 6.

[58] S. Grabski, *Ukraina,* „SP" (17 IV 1924), no. 106, p. 1.

[59] *Jak Ukraińcy gospodarzyli w Stauropigii?*, "SP" (30 IV 1922), no. 92, p. 4; *Jak Ukraińcy gospodarzyli w Stauropigii?*, "SP" (11 V 1922), no. 101, p. 4.

[60] P., *Z cyklu Ukraińskich pomysłów,* „SP" (1 IV 1923), no. 90, p. 11.

[61] *O polską politykę na Wschodzie,* „SP" (27 IV 1920), no. 196, p. 1–3; Dr. W. M., *W chwili orężnych tryumfów,* „SP" (1 V 1920), no. 204, p. 1; *Berlińskie gniewy,* „SP" (4 XII 1921), no. 491, p. 1.

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there was no separate Ukrainian language but just a Ruthnian one with Polish endings. The Ukrainian intelligentsia had been using Polish language until that time, however the introduction of the Ruthenian language to schools changed it.[62] People were afraid of the development of the Ukrainian elite, which equalled to establishing universities and popularising the language. Loyalty was expected from the national minorities. The minorities were instructed to fulfil the citizen duties in the country of residence (e.g. army duty)[63] before they will received privileges. The Editors "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] noticed that Ukrainians did not identify with Polish national holidays, and ostentatiously did not stick to the tradition of celebrating the adoption of the constitution on May 3.[64] The Ukrainian society demanded autonomy, university, Lviv polytechnic, education and agricultural reform.[65]

The nationalists also objected to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church activity. In their opinion, this church aimed at transforming into the national Greek Catholic Church. An expression of such aspirations was the introduction of the Ruthenian language to the liturgical language, rejecting prayer books based on the Latin ones and removing Greek Catholic canons (which were pro-Polish, neutralising the Polish-Ukrainian antagonisms) from their offices. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was claimed to be politicised as the supremacy of politics over religion was observed.[66]

There was a conviction that negotiations with the Ukrainian organisations served no purpose, instead an institutional guardianship over the Ruthenian minorities ought to be implemented in order to preserve the unitary character of the state. Stanisław Grabski postulated urgent assimilation of the Eastern Borderland by populating this area with people from the west. The idea of offering help to the Eastern Borderland was meant to convince the indigenous Poles to stay in this area.[67]

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62 K. Prószyński, *Uniwersytet ruski*, „SP" (6 VIII 1923), no. 213, p. 5; K. K., *Lojalność ukraińska,* „SP" (11 XI 1923), no. 310, p. 4; *Zamach ukraiński na szkolnictwo powszechne*, „SP" (24 X 1921), no. 436, p. 6; J. Świebodzic, *Szkolnictwo ruskie*, „SP" (1 XII 1921), no. 488, p. 3; Alfa, *Posiew lewicowych rządów,* „SP" (23 VII 1923), no. 199, p. 6.

63 *Sprawa uniwersytetu ruskiego w Stanisławowie*, „SP" (23 I 1921), no. 34, p. 2; *Katedry czy uniwersytet ruski,* „SP" (22 X 1924), no. 289, p. 1; J. Rudnicki, *Granice tolerancji*, „SP" (29 IV 1921), no. 191, p. 1; R. Rybarski, *Państwo narodowe i państwo narodowości,* „PW" (VIII 1922), no. 8, p. 577–578; *Sprawy kresowe*, „SP" (IX 1924), no. 9, p. 760.

64 *Wiadomości bieżące*, „SP" (3 V 1922), no. 99, p. 6.

65 *Awantura pod cerkwią*, „SP" (1923), no. 78, p. 1.

66 XX, *Cerkiew katolicka czy narodowa?*, „SP"(2 IV 1922), no. 69, p. 4; *Jak Ukraińcy gospodarzyli w Stauropigii?*, „SP" (30 IV 1922), no. 92, p. 4; *Jak Ukraińcy gospodarzyli w Stauropigii?*, „SP" (11 V 1922), no. 101, p. 4; Ostrowid, *Faryzeusze*, „SP" (26 V 1922), no. 114, p. 4; Idem, *List pielgrzyma*, „SP" (1 VI 1922), no. 19, p. 4; *Dr Fedak prostuje,* „SP" (8 VI 1922), no. 124, p. 4; *Nacjonalizowanie cerkwi prawosławnej,* „SP" (4 VII 1924), no. 181, p. 2; *Rozpad w stronnictwie staroruskim*, „SP" (5 VIII 1922), no. 174, p. 4; *Rozłam w stronnictwie staroruskim II,* „SP" (6 VIII 1922), no. 175, p. 4; *Hajdamaczyzna Ruskich władz duchownych*, „SP" (2 IX 1923), no. 240, p. 6; W. Dworzaczek, *Cerkiew prawosławna czy propaganda polityczna,* „GW" (30 XII 1923), no. 355, p. 4.

67 S. Grabski, *Protektorzy metropolity Szeptyckiego,* „SP" (31 VIII 1923), no. 238, p. 1; Sz. Bronowski, *Jeszcze kilka słów o tzw. „zagadnieniu kresowym",* „GW" (20 V 1924), no. 138, p. 2.

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During the interwar period the nationalists called them loyal "Ruthenians" distinguishable from the "argumentative Ukrainians" who had political aspirations, or "good-natured Ruthenians" who were meek, ignorant and somewhat limited.[68] The picture of "a Cossack – haidamaky and a killer cherishing freedom but at the same time being primitive, ruthless and rejecting any duties towards his motherland" was propagated in the Polish literature of fiction, e.g. in the novels written by Henryk Sienkiewicz whose figure was significant for the national-democratic camp.[69] A similar image of the Ukrainian was to appear in the national-democratic press. An Ukrainian was presented there as an aggressor and a violator. The press described the attacks in Stryjski district which had been planned and executed by the teenagers from schools and universities as well as an assassination of the mayor, or placing a bomb on the railway tracks.[70] There were frequent description of "Ukrainian gangs"[71] and information about "Ukrainian terrorists" murdering the elite and declaring the affiliation to the Ruthenian nation.[72] There were some calls for state of emergency in Wołyń in order to protect the lives of the Poles living there.[73] In "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] there was even a column "On the Ukrainian Brutality".

It was indicated that the Ukrainians led a hostile propaganda against Poland, e.g. in the Ukrainian daily "Wpered" there was information about a Polish teacher who had beaten a Ruthenian child, who died because of injuries. In "Słowo Polskie" ["The Polish Word"] this information was demystified showing that the teacher was born Ruthenian and his views were also pro-Ruthenian (in the general census he selected the Ruthenian nationality).[74] Another example was the Ukrainian press claimin that Poles were undermining the politics of their allies – France, England and the USA.[75]

Recapitulation

In conclusion, it should be indicated that the picture of Ruthenians in the national-democratic press evolved from the image of people being the tribe of the Polish nation to the Ruthenian people cooperating with the enemies – the Germans and the Jews. Upon the formation of the Bloc of National Minorities in 1922 and the increased political activity the image of a meek Ruthenians changed into a disloyal and ungrateful haidamaky who posed threat to the unity of the Polish state, e.g. by conspiring and murdering the neighbours. Together with the change of perception of the image of

[68] E. Maj, *Od „biernej masy plemiennej" do komiwojażera Narodowa Demokracja (do 1939 roku)…*, p. 23.
[69] J. Tomaszewski, *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków. Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce 1918–1939,* Warszawa 1985, p. 58–59.
[70] *Nowe zbrodnie,* „SP" (11 X 1922), no. 231, p. 6; *Bojówka ukraińska,* „SP" (15 I 1921), no. 20, p. 3.
[71] *Echa grasowań band ukraińskich,* „GW" (16 XII 1922), no. 343, p. 2.
[72] *Zamach terrorystów ruskich,* „SP" (3 IX 1924), no. 242, p. 7; O.I., *Rządy nasze na Wołyniu,* „PW" (II 1923), no. 2, p. 125.
[73] *Wołyń żąda stanu wyjątkowego*, „SP" (30 XI 1924), no. 328, p. 6.
[74] S. Łukasiewicz, *Dawne metody,* „SP" (15 I 1921), no. 21, p. 4.
[75] *Co mówią Ukraińcy,* „GW" (22 V 1919), no. 138, p. 3.

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Ruthenians there was also an evolution of the attitude to the Slavic minority: from an opportunity for Ruthenians in terms of their civilizational development to the programme of political assimilation whose aim was to protect the unity of the Polish state.

Abstract: The National Democrats, following Roman Dmowski, supported the incorporation concept of rebuilding the Polish state. For this reason, their attitude towards the Slavic minorities was unambiguous. They called for their Polonization, and presented arguments for institutional assimilation in the press. The aim of the research was to reconstruct the image of Ruthenians in the most popular magazines related to the National Democracy. The analysis of the content of the periodicals allowed to indicate that the image of the Ruthenians evolved from perceiving them as a docile people, prone to Polonization, to aggressive political opponents. The image of Ruthenians in the national-democratic press had several dimensions: 1) civilization, 2) political, and 3) image-relate on. In the civilization dimension, it was pointed out that Ruthenians are at a lower level of development than Poles, hence cultural assimilation will be a civilization advance for them. In the political dimension, Rutheni answere portrayed as destroyers of public order. They were accused of collaborating with Poland's enemies. Along with the development of the political representation of the Ruthenians and their accession to the National Minority Bloc, the number of articles showing them as separatists, calling for the overthrow of the borders of the Polish state, increased.
Keywords: National Democracy, national-democratic press, Ruthenians, the image of the Ruthenians, Poland in 1918–1926

Obraz „Rusinów" na łamach prasy narodowo-demokratycznej w latach 1918–1926

Streszczenie: Narodowi Demokraci za Romanem Dmowskim popierali inkorporacyjną koncepcję odbudowy państwa polskiego. Z tego powodu ich stosunek do mniejszości słowiańskich był jednoznaczny. Postulowali o ich polonizację, a argumenty za instytucjonalną asymilacją prezentowali na łamach prasy. Celem badań była rekonstrukcja obrazu Rusinów w najpopularniejszych magazynach związanych z Narodową Demokracją. Analiza treści periodyków pozwoliła na wskazanie, że obraz Rusinów ewoluował z postrzegania ich jako ludu potulnego, skłonnego do polonizacji w stronę agresywnych przeciwników politycznych. Obraz Rusinów w prasie endeckiej miał kilka wymiarów: 1) cywilizacyjny, 2) polityczny oraz 3) wizerunkowy. W wymiarze cywilizacyjnym wskazywano, że Rusini są na niższym poziomie rozwoju niż Polacy, stąd asymilacja kulturowa będzie dla nich awansem cywilizacyjnym. W wymiarze politycznym ukazywano Rusinów jako burzycieli porządku publicznego. Oskarżano ich o współpracę z wrogami Polski. Wraz z rozwojem politycznej reprezentacji Rusinów i ich wstąpieniem do Bloku Mniejszości Narodowych wzrastała liczba artykułów ukazujących ich jako separatystów, nawołujących do obalenia granic państwa polskiego.
Słowa kluczowe: Narodowa Demokracja, prasa narodowo-demokratyczna, Rusini, obraz Rusinów, Polska w latach 1918–1926

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