

CHRISTINA DIETL, KHRYSTYNA FOSTYAK,
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NOREEN VAN ELK (EDS.)

WAR IN UKRAINE

THEOLOGICAL, ETHICAL AND HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS

Aschendorff Verlag

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Aschendorff Verlag

Münster
2025







Cover:
Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG

Text:
© Christina Dietl, Khrystyna Fostyak, Thomas Schulte-Umberg, Olha Uhryn, Noreen van Elk

Publiziert von
Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG
Soester Straße 13
D-48155 Münster

E-Mail: buchverlag@aschendorff-buchverlag.de
www.aschendorff-buchverlag.de

ISBN 978-3-402-25096-9 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-402-25097-6 (E-Book PDF)
DOI https://doi.org/10.17438/978-3-402-25097-6



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 7
Christina Dietl, Khrystyna Fostyak, Thomas Schulte-Umberg, Olha Uhryn and Noreen van Elk (Eds.)
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25100-3

A Logical Experiment in Politics: Second Scholasticism in Creating Russian Imperialism 13
Volodymyr Shelukhin
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25101-0

The Tools of Modern Russian Colonization: The Case of the Bakhchysarai Khan's Palace 30
Elmira Ablialimova-Chyihoz
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25102-7

Central and Eastern Europe in the Age of the First World War: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Containment 44
Dmytro Bondarenko
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25103-4

The Idea of a Federation of Poland and Ukraine in the Light of the Correspondence of the Greek Catholic Priest Prelate Tyt Voinarovsky with the Polish Diplomat Jan Stanisław Łoś 58
Paulina Byzdra-Kusz
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25104-1

The Gender Aspect of Political Rhetoric and its Origins: The Case of Ukraine 71
Mariana Myrosh
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25105-8

New Icons of War: Religious Motifs in Ukrainian Digital Popular Art During the Russo-Ukrainian War 89
Alina Mozolevska
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25106-5

Religion as a Key Front of Russian Aggression Against Ukraine 110
Maksym Vasin
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25107-2

Muslims in the Struggle for the Ukrainian Cause and Statehood 128
Andrii Zhyvachivskyi
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25108-9

Certain Aspects of Church-State Dynamics: Legal Naming Issues within Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War 148
Mechyslav Yanauer
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25109-6

Patriarch Bartholomew's Position Towards the War Against Ukraine 164
Patrice Hrimle
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25110-2

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Russo-Ukrainian War 175
Kateryna Budz
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25111-9

Europeans Lost in Translation 189
Roman Sigov
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25112-6

Friends or Foes? Religious Organizations and European Institutions in the Face of Russia's War on Ukraine 200
Iuliia Korniichuk
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25113-3

Punish Russian War Crimes Already Now! 213
Oleksandra Matviichuk
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25118-8

List of Contributors 216
List of Editors 219

War in Ukraine
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25104-1

The Idea of a Federation of Poland and Ukraine in the Light of the Correspondence of the Greek Catholic Priest Prelate Tyt Voinarovsky with the Polish Diplomat Jan Stanisław Łoś

Paulina Byzdra-Kusz

The article describes the vision of a federation of Poland and Ukraine, which the Ukrainian social and political activist and Greek Catholic priest Tyt Voinarovsky expressed in his correspondence with Jan Stanisław Łoś, a Polish diplomat and publicist in the interwar period. The primary source is the 17-year-long written correspondence which is kept in the State Archives in Lublin (Poland). Tyt Voinarovsky was in favor of creating an independent Ukrainian state, federated with a monarchic Poland. He pointed out that these two countries should unite on mutually beneficial terms so that a strong state would emerge in Europe, capable to defend itself against the power of the Soviet Union. As a clergyman he was also aware of the latter's atheist, communist ideology. He emphasized how much the Russians were interested in sawing discord between the Polish and the Ukrainians. The article also briefly presents the history of Voinarovsky's and Łoś's acquaintance and Łoś's views on Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Second Polish Republic.

1. Introduction

The Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 has not only resulted in many victims, human tragedies and material damages, but also strong solidarity from Central-Eastern Europe towards the Ukrainian people. The Baltic countries, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, as well as Poland are still taking in millions of refugees, and sending humanitarian, military and material aid

to Ukraine. Such unity stems from a willingness not just to help those in need, but also to repel Russia's aggression.

The present situation seems to mirror that from a century ago, after the First World War, in 1918, when Poland liberated itself from Russian rule (among others things) and regained independence, and Ukraine created the first modern states in its history: the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic. However, the Ukrainians were not able to preserve their statehood for long: the eastern part of their lands fell to the Soviet Union, while most of their western lands came under the control of Poland (the Lviv, Ternopil and Stanisławów Voivodeships), but also Romania and Czechoslovakia.

Furthermore, before 1914, significant disproportions between the situation of Poles and Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, especially between the Polish aristocracy and Ukrainian peasants were evident in the Habsburg Empire. The conflict between these two nationalities was very apparent; an obvious example was the murder of the governor of Galicia, Andrzej Count Potocki, by a Ukrainian student in 1908. Ten years later, the source of the conflict lay in the fight to preserve the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. In the years 1918–1920, Poles and Ukrainians fought heavy battles in Lviv and the surrounding area. The final blow to the Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia was when the Entente states granted power over this area to Poland. After that, the Ukrainians in Poland took two different approaches to the new situation, choosing either emigration and fighting the Polish state from the outside, or trying to develop a *modus vivendi*[1]. One of the people searching for a way of friendly coexistence of two nations on one territory was a Greek-Catholic clergyman, priest prelate Tyt Voinarovsky (1856–1938). While he may not be very well-known today, in the interwar period he was the grey eminence of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Lviv. He belonged to the inner circle of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, dealing mostly with the archdiocese's economic affairs[2].

Voinarovsky was such an uncommon figure that not many in his circle understood him or were ready to cooperate with him. Apart from the Metropolitan himself, he was also respected by the Polish diplomat and landowner Jan

1 Cf. Paul Robert Magosci, A History of Ukraine, Toronto 1996, 436–457, 481–520, 583–598; Włodzimierz Borodziej, Geschichte Polens im 20. Jahrhundert [History of Poland in the 20th century], München 2010, 33–35; Alexander Watson, Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I, New York 2014, 148.

2 Cf. Tyt Vojnarovs'kyj, Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st. [Historical Figures of Galicia of the 19th and 20th Centuries], ed. by Izydor Soxoc'kyj (Naukove tovarstvo im. Shevchenka biblioteka ukraïnoznavstva ch. 8), Paris – Sydney – Toronto – New York 1961, 11–20.

Stanisław Count Łoś (1890–1974), among a few others. Łoś considered himself a son of Red Ruthenia[3], which is why he worked for it for years and had respect for his Ukrainian political partners[4].

They first met on 20 August 1921, during the negotiations between the Polish government and the government led by Yevhen Petrushevych regarding the still unsolved matter of Eastern Galicia. To make acquaintance with him, Łoś used his distant kinship with the priest prelate through his maternal grandmother, Yulia Voinarovska. A common ancestor, even if only a presumed one, and a passion for the genealogy of old noble families ensured that the two men were on friendly terms from the outset. The result was a 17-year-long correspondence that lasted until the clergyman's death in 1938[5].

2. Sources and Political Context

The primary sources for this paper are the letters of Father Tyt Voinarovsky to Stanisław Łoś, stored in the State Archive in Lublin (Poland) in one of its most interesting collections: the Łoś Archive. It is a unique testimony to the era, and a source for research into the difficult Polish-Ukrainian relations in Eastern Galicia including the attempts to create a Ukrainian university, the issue of the pacification of Eastern Galicia, and the idea of a Polish-Ukrainian federation as promoted by Father Voinarovsky. The letters also include official matters concerning the Lviv metropolis, conducted by Stanisław Łoś at the request of Metropolitan Sheptytski. According to the articles by the researcher of Father Tyt Voinarovsky, Oresta Shevchenko, some of the letters sent to Łoś are held in the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum of Lviv. I have tried to access this collection, unfortunately without success, so I have relied on documents from the State Archive in Lublin, the letters published in a collection of writings by Jan Stanisław Łoś "The Ukrainian Question" and the memoirs of Father Voinarovsky published in the USA in 1961[6].

3 A term used since the Middle Ages, now forgotten. Nowadays the region comprises parts of western Ukraine and adjoining parts of south-eastern Poland.

4 Cf. Stanisław Łoś, Sprawa ukraińska we wspomnieniach, korespondencji i publicystyce. Wybór pism [The Ukrainian Case in Memories, Correspondence and Journalism. A Selection of Writings], ed. by Maciej Marszał/Sylwia Wójtowicz, Kraków 2012, 73.

5 Cf. ibidem, 45, 174–178.

6 Oresta Shevchenko, Politychna diyalnist Tyta Vojnarovskoho [Political Activities of Tyt Voinarovsky], in: Naukovi zapysky istorychnoho fakultetu Lvivskoho universytetu. Zbirnyk naukovyx prac, 13–14 (2012–2013), 481–492, 482; eadem, Cerkovna i hro-

The analysis of the views of both activists resembles the federalist program that was put forward by the Polish authorities. It was established in 1918–1919, and its aim was to build strong nation states in the Baltic-Black Sea Bridge (primarily Ukraine and Lithuania, together with the territory of Belarus), and then to unite them with Poland in a federation. The rights and distinctiveness of these nations would be ensured and respected within this federation. It was called the restitution of the Jagiellonian idea, i. e. the coexistence of many nations in one state, as was possible during the First Polish Republic. Poland, being the keystone of the entire land area between Europe and Eurasia, must have a carefully thought-out eastern policy in the buffer areas between Warsaw and Moscow. Therefore, when Poland regained independence in 1918, Polish politicians from the circles associated with Józef Piłsudski (Tadeusz Hołówko, Leon Wasilewski) saw Poland as part of a system of allied countries that would cover a huge area from Estonia to the Caucasus. This would increase the power of the Polish state and eliminate the threat from Russia[7].

It was in the federalist spirit that Poland's alliance with the Ukrainian People's Republic (the Piłsudski-Petlura alliance), and the offensive of the Polish Army and the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic on Kiev against the Red Army occupying the city, were conceived during the Polish-Bolshevik War in 1920. The aim of the alliance was to support the creation of an independent Ukraine. At that time, Poland was the only country that provided such assistance. However, the case failed, due to the lack of an appropriate reaction from the Ukrainian people and from international opinion, and due to the withdrawal of the Polish ally from military operations in October 1920. Thus the military power of Soviet Russia prevailed over Ukraine[8].

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mads'ko-politychna diyal'nist' Tyta Vojnarovs'koho [Ecclesiastical and Social-Political Activity of Tyt Voinarovsky], PhD thesis; Łoś, Sprawa; Vojnarovs'kyj, Postati, 11–75.

7 Cf. Sergiusz Mikulicz, Prometeizm w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej [Prometheism in the politics of the Second Polish Republic], Warsaw 1971, 95–96; Janusz Faryś, Piłsudski i piłsudczycy. Z dziejów koncepcji polityczno-ustrojowej (1918–1939) [Piłsudski and Piłsudski's Supporters. From the History of the Political and Systemic Concept (1918–1939)], Szczecin 1991, 11–17, 22, 55; Andrzej Chojnowski, Mniejszości narodowe w polityce rządów polskich w latach 1921–1926 [National Minorities in the Policy of Polish Governments in 1921–1926], in: Przegląd Historyczny, 4 (1976), 593–616, 594; Jacek Bartosiak, Rzeczpospolita między lądem a morzem. O wojnie i pokoju [The Republic of Poland between Land and Sea. About War and Peace], Warsaw 2018, 604.

8 Cf. Lech Wyszczelski, Kijów 1920 [Kyiv 1920], Warszawa 1999; idem, Wojna polsko-rosyjska 1919–1920 [Polish-Russian War 1919–1920], Warsaw 2010; Zbigniew Karpus, Wschodni sojusznicy Polski w wojnie 1920 roku [Poland's Eastern Allies in the War of 1920], Toruń 1999; Robert Potocki, Idea restytucji Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej

Polish conservatives, which included, among others, Stanisław Łoś, also allowed for granting autonomy to Eastern Galicia. The most far-reaching concept of this alliance was put forward by the publicists of "Bunt Młodych" (a magazine run by Polish neoconservatives). They believed in the possibility of breaking up the Soviet Union and creating a Ukrainian state and federalize with it. The first step, however, would be to improve the circumstances of Ukrainians in the Second Polish Republic: by giving them national autonomy, allowing them access to education and government jobs, the opportunity to enjoy self-governance, and abolishing bilingual education[9].

The idea of creating a federation was the opposite of the incorporation program pushed by the National Democracy, which believed that the Eastern Borderlands should be annexed to Poland. The idea of a federation collapsed after the defeat of the Kiev expedition and the conclusion of the Peace of Riga in 1921. However, in a short time, a movement similar to federalism emerged: Prometheism, which was later taken over by Marshal Piłsudski's circle. The movement developing in the 1920s was primarily anti-Soviet, aiming at the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. This was to be achieved by exploiting the sense of separateness of the nations living there and convincing them of the necessity of fighting against Russia. Prometheism had a strong organizational and financial base, as well as excellent staff. For example, its primary means of communication was the "Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin", for which Stanisław Łoś also wrote[10].

3. Voinarovsky's and Łoś' Biographies

Father Tyt Voinarovsky was born on 16 February 1856 in Lackie Szlacheckie near Stanisławów (now Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine) to the family of a Greek Catholic priest. He came from a Cossack family whose ancestors emigrated

(1920–1939) [The Idea of the Restitution of the Ukrainian People's Republic (1920–1939)], Lublin 1999.

9 Cf. Paulina Kusz, Jan Stanisław Łoś wobec kwestii ukraińskiej (1918–1939) [Jan Stanisław Łoś on the Ukrainian Issue (1918–1939)], Lublin 2010; Oksana Yurchuk, Ukrayins'ko-pol's'ki vzayemyny mizhvoyennoho periodu v ocinci Yana Stanislava Losya [Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Interwar Period in the Assessment of Jan Stanisław Łoś], in: Istoriohrafichni doslidzhennya v Ukrayini. Zbirnyk naukovyx prac' 18 (2008), 204–213.

10 Cf. Chojnowski, Koncepcje, 22–23; Timothy Snyder, Sketches from a Secret War: A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine, New Haven 2005, 70–74; Mikulicz, Prometeizm, 202–206; Torzecki, Kwestia, 166.

from the Hetmanate to Eastern Galicia after the Battle of Poltava. In 1878 he graduated from the seminary and was ordained three years later. During the interwar period, he was a gray eminence in the St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, a Galician social and political activist, economist, and philanthropist. He served as a priest in the villages of Galicia. There he established reading rooms and fought to end illiteracy. Voinarovsky helped the peasants in parceling out the land and selling the crops. At his own expense, he published the newspaper "Our Word", which was aimed at peasants and workers. He supported the youth scout organization "Płast".

His main interest was economics. The clergyman believed that the Ukrainians should become economically independent of the Poles. According to him, this was a necessary condition for them to be able to create their own national state in the future[11]. For this reason, he was one of the founders of the Land Mortgage Bank and then later became the head of the National Economic Society "Silśkyj Hospodar". His management skills were appreciated: from 1910, Voinarovsky administered the lands and funds of the metropolis as a member of the Lviv metropolitan chapter. Staying in the entourage of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, he quickly became his trusted assistant and helped him to administer the metropolis. At the beginning of the 20th century, Voinarovsky was one of the leading Ukrainian politicians in Eastern Galicia. He belonged to the Ukrainian National Democratic Party and, on its behalf, was a deputy of the 11th term of the *Reichsrat* (the House of Representatives of the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy in Vienna). At the outbreak of the First World War, he was undergoing treatment in Germany, from where he left for Vienna, and he lived there until 1916. Then he returned to Lviv. He died there on 21 February 1938[12].

In 1918, Poland regained its independence. At the same time, the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) and the Ukrainian People's Republic

11 These views were consistent with the views of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who from the beginning of his pastoral ministry wanted to take care not only of the spiritual development of Greek Catholics, but also of their professional and economic development. Therefore, he supported the construction of schools more than the construction of churches. Cf. Liliana Hentosh, Finansovo-ekonomichna diyal'nist' mytropolyta Andreya Sheptyc'koho yak faktor modernizaciyi ukrayins'koho suspil'stva Halychyny [Financial and Economic Activities of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi as a Factor in the Modernization of the Ukrainian Society of Galicia], in: Andrzej Roman Szeptycki (ed.), Kościół, naród, państwo. Działalność i dziedzictwo Metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego (1865–1944). Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji w Krakowie 25–26 listopada 2009 roku, Wrocław – Warsaw 2011, 129.

12 Vojnarovs'kyj, Postati, 11–75.

(URL) were established. The lands of these Ukrainians countries were quickly dispersed among their neighbors, including Poland. Father Voinarovsky was in favor of annexing Eastern Galicia to Poland on the condition that the district had to receive autonomy. In the face of the Soviet threat, he wanted a Polish-Ukrainian federation.

Voinarovsky's correspondent, Stanisław Łoś, was a generation younger than him. The count was born on 21 October 1890, in the Galician village Chyshky near Sambor. In 1913, he obtained a doctorate of law at the University of Vienna. Like Voinarovsky, he was a citizen of the Habsburg monarchy, so he was drafted into the Austrian army during the First World War. He worked in the Military Government in Lublin, married there and stayed in this area permanently. After Poland regained independence, Łoś worked in various positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1921, he created a self-government statute for Eastern Galicia, which in September 1922 was the basis for the Act on the Principles of General Provincial Self-Government, specifically the Lviv, Ternopil and Stanisławów Voivodeships. The document was also crucial for the granting of sovereignty over Eastern Galicia to Poland by the Conference of Ambassadors.

However, the arrangements contained in the Act of Principles remained ineffective, which meant that the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia did not receive the promised self-government. Not sharing this and other visions of his superiors, Łoś resigned from the position of head of the Eastern Małopolska department. Then he worked at the Polish legation in London until he retired in 1931. After his retirement, Stanisław Łoś lived on his wife's estate in Niemce near Lublin. During this time, he returned to the Ukrainian question by writing articles for the press, as well as two booklets on Eastern Galicia. After the Second World War, because the Communists took away his family's previous source of income, which was a landed estate, he was employed at the Catholic University of Lublin as a lecturer in ancient history. He had been passionate about the subject since high school, and he enjoyed his teaching and research work. As a lecturer and writer he worked for a quarter of a century until his death on 14 January 1974.[13]

13 Cf. Anna Łoś/Marek Łoś, Łoś Jan Stanisław, in: Tadeusz Epsztein/Sławomir Górzyński/Barbara Konarska (eds.), Ziemianie polscy XX wieku, Część 11 [Polish Landowners of the 20th Century, Part 11], Warsaw 2016, 39–42; Paulina Byzdra-Kusz, Stanisław Łoś (1890–1974). Życie i działalność akademicka w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim [Stanisław Łoś (1890–1974). Life and Academic Activity at the Catholic University of Lublin], Lublin 2023.

4. Voinarovsky's and Łoś' Views on a Cooperation Between Poles and Ukrainians

An analysis of the correspondence collected in the State Archive in Lublin confirms Voinarovsky's polonophilia and shows that he was an enthusiast for close cooperation between the Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia and the Polish government, while also rejecting a blind and bloody fight with the authorities. His main argument was: "Fighting with Poland, both in the past and today, can only bring ruin. It is possible that it would also bring ruin to Poland, but that is no consolation to me."[14]

Immediately after the First World War, the clerygman took part in many important political events of the time, trying, for example, to reconcile the fighting sides in the Polish-Ukrainian war (1918–1919). For this purpose, he formed a conciliation committee, which managed to meet only three times, as a result of the Poles breaking off the negotiations right after the arrival of their Blue Army in Lviv. Shortly after the first meeting with Stanisław Łoś, on 6 September 1921, at the request of the Polish government, the clergyman tried unsuccessfully to persuade Yevhen Petrushewych, the president of the West Ukrainian People's Republic, to start negotiations with the Poles. The issue concerned the recognition of Polish suzerainty over Eastern Galicia in exchange for wide autonomy of these lands. The prelate maintained that if Ukrainians in Poland had good conditions for development, then soon there would be a real possibility of incorporating the lands under the control of the USSR into the Polish state. He believed that the Second Polish Republic could be a homeland for both nations, pointing to the multicultural and multinational tradition of the First Polish Republic. In his own national camp, he paid for his opinion with accusations of treason. His views, however, showed that he was able to rise above nationality disputes, achieving his own vision of the Ukrainian *raison d'état*[15].

For Father Voinarovsky, as indeed for the majority of the Ukrainian clergy, the greatest threat was the atheistic Soviet Union developing in the east. Around 1930, seeing the growing nightmare of the communist experiment, he lamented the inclusion of part of the Ukrainian lands in it. Thus he wrote: "The longer Ukraine remains united with Bolshevic Russia, the less chance it has to create an independent state." It should be noted that Voinarovsky considered these issues primarily in a religious context, and secondarily in a political con-

14 Łoś, Sprawa, 174 (my own translation).

15 Cf. ibidem.

text. For him, the Soviet Union was the "kingdom of the devil", from which Poland was the only effective barrier[16]. In 1922, anticipating a new war, Voinarovsky persuaded Józef Piłsudski to allow the ZUNR troops, which had been disbanded by the Poles and had taken refuge in Czechoslovakia, to defend the borders of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia against the Red Army. For political reasons, this idea was doomed to failure. Then, in the early 1930s, the prelate called for a crusade against the Soviet Union, which the Poles and Ukrainians would undertake together[17].

Voinarovsky's dislike of the Russians was also personal. During the First World War, they indirectly contributed to the death of his only son when they arrested and imprisoned him, causing him to fall ill and die shortly afterwards. The clergyman was also shocked by the brutality of Russian soldiers towards Greek Catholic priests[18]. He had no doubt that the Soviet Union would seek to absorb the whole of Ukraine, as without it the USSR would lose its status as an empire. Voinarovsky believed that the Russians sought to set the two nations at odds, as exemplified by the Pacification of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia (1930)[19]. He did not accuse Piłsudski and the Polish government, but blamed the local authorities, the press and the communists. Voinarovsky wrote to Łoś: "There is no doubt, that the pacification, as it was carried out, was carried out against the government's intentions. This action was carried out by the highest government forces in Eastern Małopolska, following the intentions of the Bolshevik government, although, in my opinion, they are not Bolshevik sympathizers. These factors also made every effort to force the Polish press, even through calumnies, to fuel the hatred of the Polish society towards the Ukrainian nation"[20].

Prelate Vojnarovsky contrasted the threat from the Soviet Union with the possibility of a Ukrainian federation with Poland. However, his writings do not answer the question of how exactly he saw Poland's alliance with Ukraine. Instead, he wrote about the need to combine Ukraine's economic strength with

16 State Archive in Lublin, Łoś's Archive (80), sign. 587, Tyt Voinarovsky's letter to Stanisław Łoś, Mikuliczyn, 3 I 1931, 76 (my own translation).

17 Cf. Łoś, Sprawa, 174–178.

18 This aspect is very accurately described in: Watson, Ring, 192–193. The Austro-Hungarian army also used violence against Ukrainian peasants and priests: ibidem, 153–155.

19 It was a punitive action against the Ukrainian minority in Poland, carried out by police and military of the Second Polish Republic from September until November 1930 in reaction to a wave of sabotage and terrorist attacks perpetrated by Ukrainian nationalists.

20 Łoś, Sprawa, 177–178; Shevchenko, Diyalnist, 485 (my own translation).

military assistance from Poland to resist the Russian threat. He believed that the future of the two nations was inextricably linked. Initially, it would be difficult to talk about an equal arrangement, but over the decades, the cooperation of these two nations could be based on an undeniable partnership. Having the same Western European values and a similar mentality and culture would contribute to the creation of a strong state in Europe, capable of repelling attacks from outside. He treated these matters as inseparable. To quote his words: "The very preservation of Ukraine in the hope of a federation with Poland sustains its separatist stance towards Russia"[21] and "It has been my dream for years now that the entire Ukrainian nation should stand by Poland, because our future depends on it"[22]. With quite a bit of delusion, he prophesied: "the Polish-Ukrainian state will indeed reach from sea to sea, it will have the first word in Europe, and Polish industry based on abundant and cheap agricultural prodution from Ukraine will become unrivalled in the world."[23] He believed that the political party leaders should strive for "great ideas for the future of the Polish and Ukrainian people."[24]

According to Voinarovsky, the best governmental system for such a federation would be a monarchy. He greatly respected Marshal Piłsudski, who had a positive attitude towards the issue of federation, so he saw him as the founder of a new dynasty. Voinarovsky believed that only a strong central authority could restore proper national relations and dismiss the possibility of Ukraine being conquered by the Soviet Union, which he believed was in the interests of both nations. But he knew this was only a dream. He ended his argument addressed to Stanisław Łoś with the words: "the Ukrainian nation must regret that there is no hope of Poland becoming a monarchy."[25]

Father Voinarovsky often presented his views to other Polish authorities. As mentioned, he also spoke with Marshal Piłsudski on this matter. In November 1923, half a year after the Entente powers had recognized the Polish possession of Eastern Galicia, the clergyman sent a memorial to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In it, he put forward the thesis that the disputed territory was given to Poland in order to strengthen it, and thus stop the Soviet Union's march to the West. He pointed out that "the Ukrainian national camp is very

21 Łoś, Sprawa, 178 (my own translation).

22 State Archive in Lublin, Łoś's Archive, sign. 587, Tyt Voinarovsky's letter to Stanisław Łoś (without date and place), 67 (my own translation).

23 Łoś, Sprawa, 173 (my own translation).

24 Ibidem, 175 (my own translation).

25 State Archive in Lublin, Łoś's Archive, sign. 587, Tyt Voinarovsky's letter to Stanisław Łoś, Lviv, 6 V 1931, 70–71 (my own translation).

interested in Poland resisting Bolshevism and being a strong power, because our future depends on it."[26] In the memorandum, Voinarovsky advised the Polish government to give the Ukrainians independent power in Eastern Galicia, in order to make them feel positively disposed towards the Republic of Poland. He concluded that Ukraine was a reservoir of recruits and grain for which the Russians would not stop fighting, while the Poles, with a wise policy, could attract the Ukrainians to the vision of the federation. The clergyman waited six months for an answer from the Polish authorities. It did not bring a positive solution. Minister Stanisław Grabski – a leading representative of the National Democratic political camp – was averse to national minorities, including the Ukrainians, and so Voinarovsky's appeal was doomed to fail from the start[27].

Voinarovsky's concept of federation, which emerges from his letters, unfortunately does not have many details. It is limited to plans for the Poles and Ukrainians to cooperate closely and create a federation in the center of Europe of two rich and strong states, with the strength to oppose Russia. Stanisław Łoś had a completely different idea for the coexistence of these two nations. First, he did not propose the idea of a federation. According to him, a free Ukraine was to be established, but beyond the Zbruch River, while the Ukrainians living in the Second Polish Republic, in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia should be granted far-reaching autonomy. In his numerous articles and brochures on the Ukrainian question, Stanisław Łoś raised issues of education and economy, and proposed political solutions to these issues. He presented a different line than the Polish authorities. Therefore, around 1930, his candidacy for the voivode of Lviv was rejected[28].

When it comes to education, Łoś opposed the idea of Utraquist schools (whose teaching system uses two languages for lectures). They were theoretically designed for the good of both Poles and Ukrainians, but only made the situation in the south-east of Poland worse. In their place, the count envisioned separate schools. He also proposed that Ukrainian secondary schools should not educate officials, who could not find employment in the Polish country anyway, but should instead turn to educating specialists in the field of agriculture. According to the publicist, the Ukrainian university was also indispensable, as it would be a humanities school to act as a bridge for Polish-Ukrainian understanding. The support for this bridge were to be Ukrainian teachers, which was an innovative idea. Łoś believed that this was the right group to

26 Łoś, Sprawa, 175–178 (my own translation).
27 Cf. ibidem.
28 Cf. Łoś, Sprawa, 179–186.

convince Ukrainian societies to accept the Polish state. The publicist therefore showed that good solutions in the field of education would translate into good Polish-Ukrainian relations[29].

In economic matters, he was against the agricultural reform as planned by the government and the colonization in Volhynia, as he saw that this had brought more harm than good. He was particularly against discrimination of Ukrainians in the division of land. Łoś was also against the policy of the Polish authorities, which sought to break the state of ownership developed by Ukrainian cooperatives[30].

As to the political solution, Stanisław Łoś believed that national parallelism should be introduced in Eastern Galicia, so that each nation could act separately. Through this, it would be possible to avoid ethnic conflicts, and the inhabitants of the area could create their own property and develop according to their own capabilities. The publicist believed that the fate of Eastern Galicia should be decided by both Poles and Ukrainians, sitting side by side in the state administration according to the principle of parity. He wanted the Galician Ukrainians to define the so-called Ukrainian *raison d'état*, which would allow them to create an independent Ukrainian state across the Zbruch River relatively quickly. Stanisław Łoś fought for the rights of Ukrainians to have their own school and cooperative. His ideas, although full of common sense and not harmful to the interests of the Republic of Poland, were never considered by the Polish government. This demonstrates the short-sightedness of the Polish authorities towards the problem of tense Polish-Ukrainian relations in the east of the Second Polish Republic[31].

5. Conclusion

A century ago, a conservative faction of Galician Ukrainians considered, under the perceived threat from Soviet Russia, whether an alliance with the Polish state would be right and desirable. Despite the conflict with the Poles, which lasted for a number of years and reached its peak during the Polish-Ukrainian War, and the political struggle in the international forum over Eastern Galicia, the Second Polish Republic appeared as the lesser evil and a potential partner in the defence of the Ukrainian nation. Voinarovsky was part of a circle of activists who were caught in the stream of political events. However, in view of

29 Cf. Kusz, Jan, 71–90.
30 Cf. ibidem, 91–109.
31 Cf. ibidem, 111–128.

the unfavourable decisions of the Polish government, his efforts yielded no results. Although he did not represent the views of the majority of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, we should particularly emphasize the role of figures who tried to prevent the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians from escalating. The cleric's views were consistent with the famous words of the Polish politician, then deputy prime minister Ignacy Daszyński, who in 1920 said: "there can be no free Poland without a free Ukraine, nor a free Ukraine without a free Poland".

In today's Central Europe, with the growing ties between Poland and Ukraine, this vision could finally come true. Economic cooperation, free movement of people, goods and services, preferential conditions for companies and mutual understanding between the politicians of these countries could be a kind of new coalition, a new balance of forces.