

## **Polish-Ukrainian Relations of the Second Half of the 1930's in Publications of the Polish Language Press of Lviv**

### **Summary**

The press belongs to one of the most important tools of propaganda influence on society. It was often used to conduct open wars aimed at promoting specific political views or reasons. For this reason, it can be concluded that the press release has also always had a significant impact on the security of the state. The purpose of this article is to illustrate Polish-Ukrainian relations, presented in the pages of the most important Polish-language newspapers of Lviv in the second half of 1930, during the sabotage of Ukrainian nationalists in Eastern Lesser Poland and the repressive action conducted by the Polish authorities in consequence. The most widely read Polish newspapers in Lviv were selected for the purposes of the article. In order to show the whole of the discussed issue, archival sources and publications were also used.

**Keywords:** Second Polish Republic, Ukraine, Eastern Lesser Poland, Polish-Ukrainian relations, 1930s, security, Lviv press

Discussions and disputes in the media have been and remain a constant element of every political, national or international conflict. Since then, there have been mass media: first the press, then the radio, subsequently television and – at the end – the Internet. Humankind began to use them for propaganda purposes. The press, chronologically the first means, became, on the one hand, the bearer of political and national thought, and on the other hand, it turned into an instrument for the pursuit of political interests.

At the turn of the 20th century, considering the technological progress, numerous periodicals were published. Each large city or town and every large political group tried to have its own printed newspaper or magazine. Everything was done in order to increase the influence on society and more effectively propagate views and arguments.

The struggles of the media in the Second Polish Republic were mainly about economic and political problems. Also quite frequent on the pages of the newspapers were stories of national character – this was an important fact, given the composition of the population in which national minorities accounted for 31 percent of all citizens. Media wars arose between representatives of different ethnic groups, were a natural consequence of each of them having their own periodicals.

Disputes in the newspapers against the backdrop of national differences were reduced mainly to substantial content, although they were not devoid of emotional coloring and politicization. In most cases, however, it was a question of the necessity of the right and duty of all Polish citizens, regardless of nationality and religion. The situation could change in conditions of escalation of the conflict and its way out of the press and ordinary debates. Then the exchange of opinions was picking up sharpness. Authors of publications began to depart from facts, resorting instead to populism, demagoguery or simple lies. Newspaper wars had a negative impact on security in the country, because they worsened relations in society and radicalized national antagonisms. Their consequences often went beyond the state border, it always led to a decrease in positions in the international political arena.

An example of a media war was the discussion that arose around the events in Eastern Lesser Poland (Eastern Małopolska) in 1930. It is about the sabotage actions organized by Ukrainian nationalists against Poles, Jews and Ukrainians, and the reaction to these cases from the Polish state, which became a pacification. The main victims of this conflict were ordinary people – ordinary Poles and Ukrainians – who had no relation to politics and coexisted peacefully in the same territory.

The basis of the source database of this article is documents from the archives of Ukraine and Poland. A key role, of course, is played by the Polish and Ukrainian press of this period.

As already mentioned, the cause of the Polish-Ukrainian media war was the events of the second half of 1930, when Eastern Lesser Poland and partly Volyn were swept by a wave of sabotage. Their initiator and often the executor was the Ukrainian Military Organization (UMO), which was a part of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In the period from July to November 1930, 25 acts of sabotage against the state occurred on the territory of Lviv's, Tarnopol's, Stanislavov's voivodeships, and also in Volyn's. Most of these cases occurred in Lviv's voivodeship – only 13, less in Stanislavov's – 6, in Tarnopol's – 4 and in Volyn's – 2. Actions of saboteurs were mainly to destroy the infrastructure, telephone and telegraph communication (voivodeships: Lviv's – 4, Stanislavov's – 5, Tarnopol's – 4, Volyn's – 1). In addition, there was one case of armed robbery,

resulting in the death of a police officer (Lviv's voivodeship), and three cases of destruction of public facilities (Lviv's voivodeship). As a result of political interference, it was possible to prevent at least 4 other sabotage actions<sup>1</sup>.

Significantly larger were acts directed against private property of Poles, Jews and Ukrainians loyal to the Polish state. In the period from July to November, there were 172 arsons of farm buildings and the crop left on the field. Of this number, 90 arsons was committed in the Tarnopol's voivodeship (46 percent), 69 – in Lviv's (35 percent), 35 in Stanislawov's (18 percent) and 3 in the Volyn's voivodeship (0.5 percent). It is difficult to assess how many police, public guards and owners did not allow arson, but on the basis of the surviving documentation it can be argued that their number was significant<sup>2</sup>.

**Table 1.** The total number of acts of sabotage in the period from July to November 1930, including division into months and ownership of damaged objects

Voivodeship	Months					Objects		Total
	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	public	private	
Lviv's	3	22	32	9	3	13	56	<b>69</b>
Tarnopol's	1	25	56	8	-	4	86	<b>90</b>
Stanislawov's	2	9	14	5	5	6	29	<b>35</b>
Volyn's	-	1	-	2	-	2	1	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>197</b>

Source: A.A. Ostanek, *Wydarzenia 1930 roku w Małopolsce Wschodniej a bezpieczeństwo II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2017, s. 90, Table 14.

The actions of the Ukrainian nationalists forced the Polish authorities to take appropriate steps to restore security in the region. First, in July-August, the main way of braking sabotage was the instructions of the local administration<sup>3</sup>.

However, it quickly became clear that such counteraction is ineffective and a coordinated action is needed, it is planned at the highest state level. In the last days of August and early September in Warsaw, it was decided to carry out a repressive action<sup>4</sup>. Its meaning was reduced to three areas:

<sup>1</sup> Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN), sygn. 9.1250. *Komunikat nr 5 Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa MSWewn. z 10 I 1931 r. o przejawach działalności UWO za okres 1 IX–21 XII 1930 r.*; A.A. Ostanek, *Паціфікація 1930 року – дія чи протидія польської влади в контексті безпеки держави і регіону, „Історичні та культурологічні студії,” 2014-2015, Вип. 6-7, с. 133-147.*

<sup>2</sup> AAN, sygn. 322.2257. *Materiały o akcji sabotażowej w Małopolsce Wschodniej przesłane przez MSZ polskiemu placówkom dyplomatycznym 16 I 1931 r.*

<sup>3</sup> For example: Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО), ф. 121, оп. 3с, спр. 600. *Zarządzenie komendanta wojewódzkiego PP we Lwowie w sprawie nocnych patroli na liniach telegraficznych z 17 VIII 1930 r.*; ДАЛО, ф. 121, оп. 3с, спр. 607. *Zarządzenia wojewody tarnopolskiego w związku z działalnością sabotażową UWO z 16 VIII 1930 r.*; *Zarządzenie prewencyjno-represyjne wojewody stanisławowskiego w związku z działalnością sabotażową UWO z 20 VIII 1930 r.*

<sup>4</sup> ДАЛО, ф. 1, оп. 51, спр. 192. *Zarządzenia MSWewn. w sprawie skoordynowania i scentralizowania przeciwsabotażowej akcji władz bezpieczeństwa z 4 IX 1930 r.*

- 1) actions of a preventive-repressive nature,
- 2) police action,
- 3) quartering of troops.

The police and military units of the action should be oriented not only to the punishment of the immediate perpetrators, but also to the “moral perpetrators,” that is, the persons who called for or supported terrorism by their actions. The highest level of repression was to be used in actual relation to the perpetrators of anti-state actions, their leaders, organizations and individuals who obstructed the investigation or concealed the traces of the crime. The activities of the army and the police were strictly regulated by mandatory instructions<sup>5</sup>.

According to the processed plan, on 20 September 1930, 1041 police functionaries in 17 campaigns launched an action of repression. Support them provided by local government. The inspections were held in private houses, as well as in the premises of organizations, cultural, economic and public associations that belonged to Ukrainians. The pacification took place on the territory of the following voivodeships: Lviv (the counties of Bóbrka, Drohobycz, Gródek, Jaworów, Lviv, Przemyśl, Rudki, Sokal, Żółkiew), Tarnopol (counties Brzeżany, Tarnopol, Podhajce, Zbaraż), Stanislavov (Rohatyn and Horodenka counties). The last organized police campaign was on 11 October 1930<sup>6</sup>.

The activity of the army was limited to quartering in separate villages. By law, residents of these villages were obliged to place the soldiers in their homes free of charge, while ensuring that all necessary products at a price below the market. The military action began on 25 September 1930 and lasted until 17 October 1930. It spread to the counties of the Lviv Voivodeship (Bóbrka, Gródek, Jaworów, Lviv, Przemyśl, Rudki, Sokal, Żółkiew), Tarnopol's (Brzeżany, Buczacz, Tarnopol, Trembowla, Podhajce, Zbaraż, Zborów), Stanislavov's (Rohatyn)<sup>7</sup>.

Data justified the pacification. According to a report, 1287 carbines, 292 rifles, 566 revolvers, 298 bayonets, 46 stilettos, 47 sabers, 27 brass knuckles, 99.8 kilograms

<sup>5</sup> Dz. U. 1925, No. 97, item 681. *Ustawa z 15 VII 1925 r. o zakwaterowaniu wojska w czasie pokoju*; Dz. U. 1928, No. 28, item 257. *Rozporządzenie prezydenta RP z 6 III 1928 r. o Policji Państwowej*.

<sup>6</sup> *Udział formacji zwartych Policji Państwowej w akcji represyjnej w Małopolsce Wschodniej w 1930 roku w świetle „Sprawozdania Komendanta Wojewódzkiego Policji Państwowej we Lwowie z akcji przeciw-sabotażowej na terenie powiatu bóbreckiego, brzeżańskiego, podhajckiego, rohатыńskiego i tarnopolskiego, przeprowadzonej w dniach 21-29 września 1930 roku przez oddziały policji*, oprac. A.A. Ostaniek, „Rocznik Kresowy” 2016, No. 2, pp. 157-186.

<sup>7</sup> ДАЛЮ, ф. 121, оп. 3с, спр. 602. *Wykaz miejscowości w woj. lwowskim objętych akcją pacyfikacyjną przez oddziały wojskowe za okres I VII-30 XI 1930 r.*; ДАЛЮ, ф. 121, оп. 3с, спр. 607. *Sprawozdanie z akcji sabotażowej i kontrakcji władz na terenie woj. tarnopolskiego w okresie I VII-30 IX 1930 r. z 19 X 1930 r.*; Державний архів Івано-Франківської області, ф. 68, оп. 2, спр. 155. *Wykaz miejscowości woj. stanislavowskiego objętych akcją pacyfikacyjną w czasie od 26 IX do 15 X 1930 r. przez oddziały wojskowe*.

of explosive materials, 31 grenades, 2857 cartridges for carbines, revolvers and rifles were confiscated during the police action. During one action alone, 1100 carbines, 233 rifles, 372 revolvers, 293 bayonets, 30 stylet and 38 sabers were found<sup>8</sup>.

The number of 1705 firearms confiscated in 5195 searches allows to say that almost every third suspect owned one firearm. If number of confiscated weapons is compared with the number of localities (325 settlements) where the audits were conducted, the result is that there were more than 5 firearms per village<sup>9</sup>.

In the period of July-November 1930, 1739 people were arrested, of which 1143 people became indicted. Only in Lviv's voivodeship, 405 went to jail, in Tarnopol's – 593 people, and in Stanislavov's – 741 people. In September 1930, the police arrested 701 people, including 234 people in the Lviv's voivodeship, 283 people in the Tarnopol's voivodeship, and 184 people in Stanislavov's. Given the fact that the largest number of detainees was in September, that is, during a period of repressive action, police actions were very effective<sup>10</sup>.



**Map 1.** The area of Lviv's, Stanislavov's and Tarnopol's voivodeships with the designation of counties, in the area where sabotage and repressive actions took place in 1930

<sup>8</sup> ДАЛЮ, ф. 121, оп. 3с, спр. 602. *Sprawozdanie z 3 I 1931 r. odnośnie do broni, amunicji i materiałów wybuchowych zakwestionowanych w okresie pacyfikacji na terenie 3 województw Małopolski Wschodniej.*

<sup>9</sup> A.A. Ostanek, *Wydarzenia 1930 roku...*, p. 119.

<sup>10</sup> AAN, sygn. 9.1250. *Komunikat nr 5 Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa MSWewn. z 10 I 1931 r. o przejawach działalności UW0 za okres 1 IX–21 XII 1930 r.*

Because of the participation of young people, in particular secondary school students, in the organization of sabotage, in the September-October period, the authorities closed four high schools with Ukrainian language of instruction (in Tarnopol, Rohatyn, Stanislawov and Drohobycz). On 26 September 1930, *Plast* – a Ukrainian youth organization – was completely eliminated on the territory of all three voivodeships concerned<sup>11</sup>.

As during the police-military action, and at its conclusion, certain voivods issued orders to ban the activities of those organizations in which books and newspapers of anti-state content were found during searches. On the territory of the entire Eastern Lesser Poland, in October and early November, 29 *Luh* societies, 21 *Sokol* organizations, 24 *Prosvita*, 1 cooperative and two other associations were closed. It should be added that the Ukrainian population, most often out of fear of searches and repressions, often made the decision to close one of the organizations. Thus, Ukrainians closed 17 *Luh* societies, 19 *Sokol* societies, 25 *Prosvita* societies, 7 cooperatives and two other associations. Characteristically, this involved mainly counties where most cases of sabotage occurred<sup>12</sup>.

During the sweep operations, military and police abuses often occurred. The reasons and consequences were different. The destruction of human dwellings and food reserves was a natural effect of this type of stock. The level of abuse increased when there were illegal items and materials, because their detection made the search even more detailed. Of course, there can be no justification for beating or deliberately damaging someone else's property. Although the actual frequency of violation of the law by the military and police today is difficult to determine, it is known for sure that Polish citizens of Ukrainian nationality compiled their complaints to city courts. The preservation of the telephone message of the commandants of the Lviv State Police confirms this. In the voivodeship of Lviv, between October 1930 and the spring of 1931, 22 cases of soldiers beating civilians (12 in Yavorov and 5 in Gorodok) were examined in court, together with one case of expropriation of food by soldiers<sup>13</sup>.

It is natural that these events were widely discussed in the Polish and Ukrainian press. Over time, foreign publications began to write about pacification

<sup>11</sup> Державний архів Тернопільської області (ДАТО), ф. 231, оп. 1, спр. 1531. *Pismo MSWewn. do Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego ws. motywów rozwiązania „Plasta” z 6 III 1931 r.*; A.A. Ostanek, *Wydarzenia 1930 roku...*, pp. 107-108.

<sup>12</sup> AAN, sygn. 9.1250. *Komunikat nr 5 Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa MSWewn. z 10 I 1931 r. o przejawach działalności UW O za okres I IX–31 XII 1930 r.* It is worth adding that liquidated representations of individual Ukrainian organizations constituted a small percentage of all existing ones at that time. For example, closing 49 *Prosvita* societies meant a decrease in their total number in Eastern Lesser Poland by 1.6 percent from 3,000 to 2,961.

<sup>13</sup> ДАЛО, ф. 121, оп. 3с, спр. 609. *Telefogram komendanta powiatowego PP w Jaworowie nr 144/III/31 z 17 III 1931 r.*; *Telefogram komendanta powiatowego PP w Gródzku Jagiellońskim nr 147 z 17 III 1931 r.*

and sabotage. The conflict between Ukrainian nationalists and the Polish state has turned into a real media war between Ukrainians and Poles. It is not difficult to guess that the content of mutual accusations usually amounted to personal attacks using aggressive rhetoric and lies to weaken the positions of the opposite side.

In 1930, many periodicals were published in Lviv. The most popular newspapers were "Chwila", "Gazeta Lwowska", "Gazeta Poranna", "Słowo Polskie" and "Wiek Nowy".

The impact of each publication depended on the circulation and frequency of issues. The pages of all the newspapers contained detailed information on the course of the events of 1930. In Lviv proper, the media war reached its greatest proportion, with major roles played by "Słowo Polskie" and "Gazeta Lwowska".

The first cases of sabotage did not attract much attention from the press. Only the growth of their intensity led to the fact that Polish publications began writing about this. Ukrainian newspapers were mostly silent or limited to laconic comments.

The first significant publications on the subject of sabotage appeared on the pages of Polish newspapers, dated 30 July 1930. On that day, members of the UMO attacked postal transport in Bóbrka, resulting in the death of a policeman Josef Molewski and the theft of a significant amount of money (26.000 Polish zlotys)<sup>14</sup>.

Polish newspapers described the event in detail, pointing out that this act "is neither a manifestation of patriotism nor a manifestation of an idea, but only an ordinary banditry"<sup>15</sup>. Even then it was said that the Polish government should react and check the activities of Ukrainian youth organizations, in particular *Plast*, which educates the younger generation in spite of the principles of the scout movement<sup>16</sup>.

The following speeches by Ukrainian nationalists began to take place in wide publicity. The publicity increased due to the fact that during the period of sabotage the representatives of the Ukrainian elite enjoyed public respect and authority, they kept silent, and if they did, they were limited only to imperative phrases.

The funeral of the murdered policeman took place on 2 August 1930 against the backdrop of a demonstration against banditry. According to Polish publications, several thousand people took part in it, although in fact the real number was smaller<sup>17</sup>.

Since then, the press has increasingly written about sabotage. Already on 4 August, "Słowo Polskie" reported an attack on a policeman during a routine check of personal documents<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> A.A. Ostanek, *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie, a bezpieczeństwo Rzeczypospolitej w kontekście wydarzeń 1930 roku w Małopolsce Wschodniej*, „Studia Historica Gedanensia” 2017, Vol. VIII, p. 168.

<sup>15</sup> „Gazeta Lwowska” 1930, No. 177, 3 VIII, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> „Słowo Polskie” 1930, No. 208, 2 VIII, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, No. 209, 3 VIII, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> „Słowo Polskie” 1930, No. 210, 4 VIII, p. 7.

Strong response in the society had articles from “Słowo Polskie” under the title “Żagiew podpalaczy nie ima się muru!” And “For the arson of estates, pays Berlin!” – both published in the room for 23 August 1930. In the first of them it was a question of the need for the Poles to solidarize and increase their attention to the development of Polish culture through educational organizations in Eastern Lesser Poland. The author also pointed to the need to punish Ukrainians guilty and stressed that the actions of Ukrainian nationalists have support among the Ukrainian population and from the head of the Greek Catholic Church, Andrei Sheptytsky. The second article dealt with Ukrainian-German relations and the possible financing of the activities of the UMO/OUN by Berlin, which should push the Polish government to take decisive steps<sup>19</sup>.

The need for Warsaw’s resolute reaction was also written by “Gazeta Lwowska”. In the issue on 31 August 1930, an article was published, “Elimination of the Sabotage Action in Eastern Lesser Poland,” where it was written with unconcealed relief: “The authorities, who were initially oriented in the situation, decided to put an end to this bandit work”<sup>20</sup>. The news about the beginning of the mop-up of Polish society as a whole was very encouraging.

In a few days, Polish publications reported on next cases of sabotage. On the night of 2 to 3 September in Lviv, a stadium’s infrastructure of the sport team Czarni was set on fire, which led to revenge – attacks on several Ukrainian intellectuals. Their attackers were accused of inaction. The Ukrainian press again reported only the fact of arson.<sup>21</sup> However, in the Polish newspapers this event was given more weight. The authors of the publications called upon the entire Polish population to join forces to restore the stands, informing them of the collection of funds from number to issue. The need to punish the perpetrators was also emphasized<sup>22</sup>.

The further deterioration of Polish-Ukrainian relations also influenced the nature of the discussions in the press. Particularly in detail, Lviv newspapers described the events of mid-September, when acts of sabotage spread to state property – including the provocation of accidents on the railway. To enhance the emotional impact on readers, the authors very exaggeratedly described the consequences of events that could have occurred if the intentions of the attackers had not been exposed<sup>23</sup>.

The attempts to sabotage were also described quite widely. The plans of the attack on the premises of Towarzystwo Zabaw Ruchowych (Fitness

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, No. 229, 23 VIII, p. 1. It is worth adding that the article was completely reprinted by the Tarnopol’s press – see: „Głos Polski” 1930, No. 35, 31 VIII, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> „Gazeta Lwowska” 1930, No. 200, 31 VIII, pp. 1-2.”z

<sup>21</sup> „Słowo Polskie” 1930, No. 241, 4 IX, p. 4; No. 242, 5 IX, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> „Gazeta Lwowska” 1930, No. 206, 7 IX, p. 3; „Słowo Polskie” 1930, No. 243, 6 IX, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> „Gazeta Lwowska” 1930, No. 209, 11 IX, p. 5; No. 216, 19 IX, p. 5; No. 218, 21 IX, p. 5.



Play Society) in Lviv and the detection of 34 kg of explosives in the vicinity of Borysław oil wells were described by “Słowo Polskie”. In the dramatic tone described the heroism of the police, which saved almost the entire petroleum industry<sup>24</sup>.

Up to the level of attempt on the symbol of the Polishness of Lviv, “Gazeta Lwowska” and “Nowy Wiek” equated the attempt to blow Panorama Raclawicka. Some articles said that this case indicates that terrorists will not stop at anything and have nothing sacred<sup>25</sup>.

Since October 1930, Lviv publications began to sharply criticize Metropolitan Archbishop Andrei Sheptytsky, a person that enjoyed an unquestionable authority among the Ukrainians. He was criticized for the fact that he initially ignored the actions of saboteurs and went to Warsaw to negotiate with the central government only after the beginning of the pacification, on 30 September 1930<sup>26</sup>. Characteristically, the inaction of Sheptytsky drew attention to the British consul in Poland, Frank Savery. He believed that Sheptytsky should have delivered a pastoral message to the Ukrainian Greek Catholics to stop the illegal actions<sup>27</sup>.

Interesting in this situation was the observation of the correspondent of the newspaper “The Times”, A.B. Barker, who arrived in Eastern Lesser Poland between 21 and 24 October 1930. During one of his meetings with the Polish Ambassador to Oslo, Leszek Malczewski, after returning from Eastern Lesser Poland, he declared that „Sheptytsky is the evil spirit of Eastern Galicia [Eastern Lesser Poland], who, in order to satisfy the exorbitant ambitions, does not doubt the choice of methods”<sup>28</sup>.

After arriving in Warsaw on 30 September, Sheptytsky met with several Polish politicians, including the Minister of Internal Affairs, General Felicjan Sławoj Składkowski. A meeting with Józef Piłsudski did not take place, because, as noted in the Tarnopol publication “Głos Polski” – “the Metropolitan [Archbishop] was late at least two months.”<sup>29</sup> In the press, it was also constantly noted that Sheptytsky was trying in every possible way to avoid publicly condemning the acts of saboteurs and to issue a corresponding pastoral message to the believers<sup>30</sup>. The reputation of the Greek Catholic Church did not improve either because certain

<sup>24</sup> „Słowo Polskie” 1930, No. 242, 5 IX, p. 7; No. 243, 6 IX, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> „Gazeta Lwowska” 1930, No. 214, 17 IX, p. 5; „Wiek Nowy” 1930, No. 8773, 17 IX, p. 12.

<sup>26</sup> „Słowo Polskie” 1930, No. 269, 2 X, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> A. Zięba, *Pacyfikacja Małopolski Wschodniej w 1930 roku i jej echo wśród emigracji ukraińskiej w Kanadzie*, [in:] *Przez dwa stulecia XIX i XX w. Studia historyczne ofiarowane prof. Waclawowi Felczakowi*, red. W. Frazik, Kraków 1993, p. 83.

<sup>28</sup> AAN, sygn. 322.5144. *Sprawozdanie posła RP w Oslo z 17 III 1931 r. w sprawie rozmów odbytych z korespondentem „Times’a”*.

<sup>29</sup> „Głos Polski” 1930, No. 40, 5 X, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> „Słowo Polskie” 1930, No. 269, 1 X, p. 1.

members of the clergy, for example Lviv Bishop Ivan Buchko, openly supported an anti-Polish campaign that began in the German media<sup>31</sup>.

The Polish press also condemned the main Ukrainian politicians who not only avoided the topic of sabotage, but also used the reaction of the Polish authorities as an argument for criticizing the state in international negotiations. So, in particular, did Vasil Mudryy during the Minority Congress in Geneva<sup>32</sup>.

Legal Ukrainian organizations, institutions, the Greek Catholic Church and political elites, by their silence in the case of terrorist acts, have secretly supported the actions of the UMO/OUN, in solidarity with this form of struggle. Such a position provoked a negative reaction both from the official authorities and among the Polish population, which expected a certain reaction<sup>33</sup>.

Only Ukrainian politicians in exile, associated once with the Ukrainian People's Republic (Petliurists), openly refused from the actions of nationalists. On 8 November 1930, the Chief Emigration Council issued a special statement, in which he resolutely condemned sabotage in Eastern Lesser Poland. Emigration officials argued that the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in its favor is used by the Communists, the common enemies of the Poles and Ukrainians<sup>34</sup>.

As a result of the commencement of the repressive action by the Polish authorities in mid-September 1930, the number of newspaper articles published in Polish newspapers has not decreased. There was also the beginning of a Polish-Ukrainian propaganda war, fought between Polish and Ukrainian newspapers.

The newspaper's war in Lviv was acute between "Słowo Polskie" and *Dilo*. Both dailies had a huge impact on the society, and their arguments were considered the only ones by each side of the confrontation. The same publications were in the hands of certain political forces, therefore all methods of agitation were acceptable. Nobody went through the words, using high-profile article titles to influence the perception of the information presented<sup>35</sup>.

In the Lviv press of this period, there was a noticeable tendency towards a nationwide mobilization of society for "maintaining the feeling, protecting

<sup>31</sup> ДАЛЮ, ф. 1, оп. 51, спр. 247. *Memorial ks. bp. Iwana Buczki sufragana lwowskiego o ekspedycjach karnych w woj. lwowskim z 12 X 1930 r.*; *Wiek Nowy* 1930, No. 8830, 22 XI, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Słowo Polskie* 1930, No. 245, 8 IX, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> See: О. Шульгин, *Державність чи Гайдамачина?*, Париж, 1931.

<sup>34</sup> ДАЛЮ, ф. 121, оп. 3с, спр. 601. *Komunikat Ukraińskiej Głównej Rady Emigracyjnej w sprawie wypadków w Galicji Wschodniej z 8 listopada 1930 r.*; ДАТО, ф. 231, оп. 1, спр. 1540. *Komunikat poufny nr 5 dotyczący emigracji ukraińskiej we Francji*; *Głos Polski* 1930, No. 41, 12 X, p. 4; *Sabotaż nacjonalistów ukraińskich oraz akcja represyjna władz polskich w Małopolsce Wschodniej w 1930 roku w świetle dokumentów*, wybór, wstęp i oprac. A.A. Ostanek, Warszawa, 2018, pp. 96-98.

<sup>35</sup> More in A.A. Ostanek, *Wpływ polsko-ukraińskiej prasowej wojny propagandowej wokół wydarzeń 1930 roku w Małopolsce Wschodniej na bezpieczeństwo II Rzeczypospolitej*, "Studia Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego" 2017, No. 11, pp. 301-332.

the authority and strength of the state power”<sup>36</sup>. Thus, the press tried to ensure maximum support by a separate decision of the authorities. An article in “*Słowo Polskie*” drew the attention of readers not only to sabotage Ukrainians, but also to the position of Poles with anti-state sentiments, contributed to sabotage: „You must go to the masses of people in our territory with the cult of the ruling power, protect at every step and defend its authority and strength, because otherwise you are in the ranks of hostile forces working on the destruction of our state, over the destruction of our homeland and freedom”<sup>37</sup>.

At the same time, an action to settle ethnic Poles in the Polesieregion near Eastern Lesser Poland was taking place. According to the article “*Młodzież polska – na wieś*,” (“*Polish Youth – to the Countryside*”) the “*Akademickie Koła Prowincjonalne*” (“*Provincial Academic Centers*”) must “neutralize and detect guilt” through educational and cultural work with the rural youth in all counties, because “authorities should punish for acts of banditry. In turn, you have the task of spreading Polish culture in the areas covered by the activities of bandits”<sup>38</sup>.

The media war that took place on the pages of the Lviv press was useless for both sides in the context of the development of further Ukrainian-Polish relations.

The situation in Poland quickly attracted the attention of European observers and social thinkers. Thus, the Polish-Ukrainian newspaper war went beyond the borders of the Second Polish Republic. And it was not an accident, but an action planned by Ukrainians. OUN activists made considerable efforts to conduct propaganda in the United Kingdom, Germany, Switzerland, Lithuania and Belgium, and to send out new information about repressions against Ukrainians almost every day. Interpreting the facts in their own way, the nationalists initiated a campaign with the task to reduce the international authority of Poland. The Lviv press has been constantly describing and commenting on current events and the international situation that has been created.

In the period from the fall of 1930 to the spring of 1931, a number of articles appeared in the European press, the contents of which represented Poland in a very negative light. More publications were published in English-speaking countries (165 articles in Great Britain, the United States and Canada), Germany (312 articles), Czechoslovakia (40 articles), Italy (20 articles) and France (20 articles). In the Soviet press, information about the dysfunction also appeared several times. Less about events in Poland was written in Lithuanian, Belgian, Swiss and Austrian publications. Italian newspapers, for example, protested against the arrest

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<sup>36</sup> *Słowo Polskie* 1930, No. 270, 3 X, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Słowo Polskie* 1930, No. 270, 3 X, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Słowo Polskie* 1930 No. 244, 7 IX, p. 5.

of Ukrainian politicians and repression by the authorities. The Soviet press, on the other hand, emphasized the imperialistic and Fascist character of Poland, which allegedly rested only on violence against its citizens<sup>39</sup>.

A certain criticism of Poland was voiced at the International Congress of the Federation of the League of Nations, held on 13-15 October 1930 with the participation of 22 states. The delegates decided to send representatives of the international press to Poland to collect additional information and then to undertake actions based on it<sup>40</sup>.

The Lviv Polish-language press widely described the arrival of subsequent correspondents. The first to arrive in Poland on 16 October was Edward Chapuisat, Editor-in-chief of the *Journal de Geneve* newspaper. During his visit, he met with the governor of Lviv and examined the city, which in general made a good impression on him. The arrival of the editor to the Lviv press was commented on in different ways. *Słowo Polskie* wrote that Edward Chapuisat "showed great understanding in the situation and local relations"<sup>41</sup>.

On 21-24 October 1930, Consul General of Great Britain Frank Savery visited Lviv and then other cities of Eastern Lesser Poland. A. B. Barker, editor of *The Times*, arrived with him. The official reason for their visit was designated as "the restoration of a long-standing relationship uniting them with Eastern Lesser Poland"<sup>42</sup>. However, no one doubted that their task was to verify the facts about repression against the Ukrainian population. Immediately upon arrival, they met with the Lviv voivod, the head of Military District Corps VI, the county headman, the chairman of the Court of Appeal and other representatives of the political world. On 22 October, the guests met with Henry Loewenherz – a well-known expert on interethnic relations, which once again confirmed the true purpose of their arrival<sup>43</sup>.

Later on, representatives of the press and various human rights institutions were regularly coming to Poland. On 21 October, members of the League of Nations Society, including Walter Naper from Great Britain, Josef Wilfan from Italy, chairman of the Congress of National Minorities in Geneva, as well as

<sup>39</sup> AAN, sygn. 322.2258. *Notatka w sprawie wykorzystania wypadków w Małopolsce Wschodniej przez czynniki urzędowe oraz prasę sowiecką dla celów agitacyjnych przeciw państwu polskiemu*; *Діло* 1930, No. 237, 24 X, p. 4; *Діло* 1930, No. 238, 25 X 1930, p. 2. For a detailed list of articles about the anti-Polish overtones that have been published abroad, see: *На вічну ганьбу Польщі. Твердині варвактва в Європі*, Praha 1931, pp. 109-152.

<sup>40</sup> *Діло* 1930, No. 235, 22 X, p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> *Gazeta Lwowska* 1930, No. 240, 17 X, p. 5; *Słowo Polskie* 1930, No. 284, 17 X, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> *Słowo Polskie* 1930, No. 289, 22 X, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> *Słowo Polskie* 1930, No. 293, 26 X, p. 5. As a result of this visit in *The Times* on 13 December 1930, a fairly extensive article appeared, showing the Polish-Ukrainian relations in Poland objectively. The content of the article strongly polemized the reports of „Manchester Guardian,” which spoke only in the tone of anti-Polish. It was clearly indicated that it was the Ukrainian actions that provoked the Polish authorities to take such steps. More in *Głos Polski* 1930, No. 52, 25 XII, p. 1.

delegates from Holland and Yugoslavia, arrived in Warsaw on 21 October. A few days later they went to Lviv, openly declaring the goal – checking information about Polish abuses towards Ukrainians<sup>44</sup>.

The visits of journalists and correspondents continued in mid-November 1930. Then the editor of *Chicago Daily News*, Nygley Farson, and the Berlin correspondent of *Manchester Guardian*, S.A. Voight, arrived in Eastern Lesser Poland<sup>45</sup>. In the second half of November, a Latvian journalist, Arved Arenstam, from the newspaper *Jaunakas Sinas*, arrived in Lviv, who visited the surrounding villages. Given the large number of guests, the Polish press was ironic that if a foreign journalist had been asked about the purpose of his arrival, he would have answered with a smile: “So much to hear about the terrible Polish cleansing action in Ukrainian villages, I wanted to see with my own eyes, you cut people alive here, and then you hang separate parts in the trees by the road”<sup>46</sup>.

The intensification of sabotage in Eastern Lesser Poland naturally aroused the interest of the Polish, Ukrainian and Western European press. The silence of Ukrainian politicians, intellectuals and clergy in this matter worsened the situation, because the Polish press, despite the veracity or falsity of the information, accused all Ukrainians of anti-state activities. It was believed that silence means quiet agreement and support for actions of the UMO/OUN – at least moral support.

On the other hand, the Ukrainians entered the media war almost immediately after the introduction of the stripping regime. It should be noted that the Ukrainian side was surprisingly well prepared. This is evidenced by the coordinated propaganda that took place throughout the world, and its effectiveness, manifested in the organization in different countries of actions to support the Ukrainian population of Poland.

The Poles in the first phase of the press war were in a much worse position. The response of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although adequate, was late, and this led to a deterioration of reputation and a decline in the authority of the Second Polish Republic in the West. The statements of Polish diplomats in the beginning were reduced only to the rejection of complaints of Ukrainians and over time they turned to the presentation of facts and statistics.

The Polish-Ukrainian press propaganda war and the enormous number of activities of the Polish press had two consequences – external and internal. Within the state, interethnic contradictions sharpened, which made it difficult to search for *modus vivendi* in the next few years. In the international arena, anti-Polish propaganda engendered hostility towards to Second Polish Republic as

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<sup>44</sup> *Slowo Polskie* 1930, No. 290, 23 X, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> *Slowo Polskie* 1930, No. 313, 15 XI, p. 7.

<sup>46</sup> *Slowo Polskie* 1930, No. 322, 24 XI, p. 9.

a state. The image of Poland as a country where the rights of national minorities are being violated, complicated cooperation with the political centers of Europe. Despite the fact that the League of Nations verdict formally justified the steps of Warsaw, it was not possible to fully restore the former authority in all cases, which fundamentally hit Poland's political security.

To the positive aspects of the whole case, perhaps, part of the Ukrainians, who did not agree with the tactics of the UMO/OUN and understood the meaning of the events differently, tried to find ways of mutual understanding. Paradoxically, the situation in 1930 became one of the foundations of the Polish-Ukrainian understanding in 1935.

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