

Summary

There are numerous countries which border with Poland to the East. One is Russia which became a strong and large state in 16th century, and later on - an empire. Amongst other neighbours there are nations which bordered with ethnical Poles, these are the nations which lived within the First Republic of Poland or occupied adjacent areas. The nature of mutual relations between Poles and these peoples was determined by geography, politics and social status.

Russia's presence was threatening as it gradually deprived Poland of its Eastern territories. On the other hand, the Ruthenians, after their elites had been polonized, became a peasant nation. As the 19th century saw birth of national consciousness, they attempted (with the help from the Russian and Austrian empires) to emancipate themselves from Polish influence and to consecutively become a sovereign state and entirely break bond with the tradition of the Polish crown. The Polish-Lithuanian relations were of similar character.

The process lead to numerous conflicts - the Polish-Ukrainian clash was particularly bloody. It was marked with genocide attacks on Poles performed by Ukrainian nationalists during the Second World War. While the Soviet Union destroyed the Polish state, Polishness and the people by operating on the government level, the Ukrainian nationalism functioned differently, having inspired the Ukrainians to murder their Polish neighbours and even members of mixed nationality families. The barbaric methods which were used had been unseen since the Middle Ages and had not been used by totalitarian repressive states in 20th century.

This collection of articles pertain to various historical events which happened then and remain without closure due to unsettled faults and falsified history. According to the author, the Ukrainian historical discourse negates the existence of the genocide crimes while the political parties, which have assumed the pre-war Ukrainian nationalism - so close to Nazism, gain power.

The texts in this book are authored by politologists, historians, and even researchers in the field of religion studies as axiological matters play important role in the subject of the book. The choice of articles does not exhaust the wide topic defined by the title of the book. This topic is extensive and has already been partly depicted in other works, for example the extermination of Poles by USSR after 17th of September 1939 or the Katyń massacre. This volume is a collection of selected situations representing the Polish-Ukrainian relations in particular.

The first article by Bogumił Grott, *Two phases of extermination of Poles and Polishness in the outer Kresy (1917-1938)*, concerns the fate of Poles after the fall of Russian empire. One of the results of the revolution were conflicts between Poles and Ukrainian peasant population, and later on with the Soviet authorities. The consequence was the exodus of the Polish elites from Kresy to the territories of the newly rebuilt Polish state. At the same time, the Polish peasant population remained in Kresy and was either murdered or deported in other regions of the Soviet Union during the Stalinism era.

The next article by the same author is titled *Ukrainian nationalism and its function in Polish politics*. It describes the ideology of the Ukrainian nationalism, based on social Darwinism, and depicts the treatment of the Ukrainian minority in the Second Republic of Poland and it draws conclusions for the future.

Lucyna Kulińska in her article *Prometheism as a great misunderstanding in internal affairs of the Second Polish Republic* presents the impact this ideology had on cohesion of the Polish state. The article *The population of Kresy in the political thought of the National Party (until 1939)* by Aneta Dawidowicz characterizes the outlook of the National Party (which remained in opposition to the ruling Sanation movement) on national minorities in Eastern Poland. The sixth text in the book, authored by Maciej Strutyński, *Bishop Grzegorz Chomyszyn and the question of Polish-Ukrainian agreement in the Second Republic of Poland*, presents pro-Polish opinions of this Ukrainian clergyman and his criticism of the contemporary Ukrainian nationalism, described by him as unethical and even "pagan". The following article, by the same author, Jędrzej Giertych's conception of resolving the problem of the South-Eastern borderlines of the Second Republic of Poland, presents the said ideas of one of the main ideologists of the National Party. Olgierd Grott's article, *Szlachta zagrodowa as an agent in the politics of repolonization of the Eastern Kresy in the Second Republic of Poland*, looks at this specifically Polish rural social group which, although often no longer spoke Polish, because of its noble roots did not feel affinity with the Ukrainian or Belorussian peasants. The Polish government aimed at empowering this social group and bonding it with Polishness. The next two texts pertain to fiction and its testimonies of the events in the Eastern Polish Kresy: *The Heir of the Great Dukedom. The Eastern borderlands in the works of Józef Mackiewicz* by Rafał Łętocha and *The image of martyrdom of Poles in personal accounts and fiction about Kresy* by Renata Pomarańska. Bartosz Koziński's article *Implementation problems of the ethnical policy of the Government of the Second Republic of Poland in Exile in years 1939-1947* concerns the question of the Eastern borderlands of Poland after the Second World War. In the article *Polish emigrant political thought (1939-*

1956) *facing the expansion of the Soviet influence in Europe. Selected concepts* its author, Krzysztof Cebul analyses the ideology of several Polish emigrant politicians and journalists.

The following texts refer to more contemporary subjects. Grzegorz Mazur in article *Poland and the renaissance of the extreme nationalistic tendencies in modern Ukraine. An outline of the problem* analyses the events and meanders of the contemporary Polish relations with Ukraine and the rebirth of Ukrainian nationalism which is of particular concern to Poles whose families had roots in the South-Eastern Kresy. Czesław Partacz in his article *Poland and Ukrainian membership in EU and NATO* analyses the title problem and warns the Polish reader of the extreme nationalism which overtakes the Ukrainian post-Soviet society. Partacz also indicates the danger which such an evolution of events poses for Poland. Andrzej Zapałowski in his text *Polish challenges to Germany and Russia`s rivalry in the former borderlands of the Polish state* outlines a political game between Germany and Russia over supremacy in the Central Europe, the game which pertains to Poland as well. Małgorzata Stefanowicz in her article titled *Poland and Russia`s attitude towards their diasporas in Lithuania in years 1990-2004* depicts the policy of the said countries aimed at protection of their minority populations in this country. The last article in the book, *Aleksander Dugin - theoretician of the Russian imperialism in the post-Soviet era and the question of sovereignty of the Polish state* by Krzysztof Karczewski, presents the geopolitical ideas of this important Russian thinker. These are postulates of reintroduction of the Russian domination on the Central Europe and other regions of the world, which are extremely dangerous to Polish affairs.