

# **THE POLISH-UKRAINIAN PARTNERSHIP**

**Security · Politics · Society**

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# **PARTNERSTWO POLSKO-UKRAIŃSKIE**

**Bezpieczeństwo · Polityka · Społeczeństwo**

pod redakcją  
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## JERZY GIEDROYC AND UKRAINE. “UKRAINIAN CASE” IN “KULTURA”

**Summary.** The question of Ukraine had been treated by Jerzy Giedroyc in a unique way, which was measured by state integrity, efforts to internationalize the Ukrainian case and systematic observation of the changes taking place in Ukraine. All this can be called the “Ukrainian case” by diminishing the problem a bit. Such sensitivity to the political problems related to Ukraine, but also openness to the Ukrainian cultural heritage, was due to several factors deeply rooted in the pre-war period.

**Key words:** Ukraine, „Kultura”, Jerzy Giedroyc, „Bunt Młodych”

Since the beginning of “Kultura” magazine, the question of Ukraine had been treated in a unique way, which was measured by state integrity, efforts to internationalize the Ukrainian case and systematic observation of the changes taking place in Ukraine. All this can be called the “Ukrainian case” by diminishing the problem a bit. Such sensitivity to the political problems related to Ukraine, but also openness to the Ukrainian cultural heritage, was due to several factors deeply rooted in the pre-war period. What, therefore, was the reason of the eastern fascination of Jerzy Giedroyc? It was not only Ukraine, though mainly it, that remained in the interest of the Editor and the environment of “Kultura”<sup>1</sup>.

In 1966, Jerzy Giedroyc wrote a letter to Juliusz Mieroszewski: “I am an Eastern man”, which meant a deep sensitivity to the cases of Eastern Europe, especially to the political problems of the countries incorporated by the Soviet Union and under its influence over the nations inhabited the

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<sup>1</sup> See also: I. Chruślińska, *Jerzy Giedroyc i polsko-ukraińskie upiory przeszłości – zamiast wywiadu*, in: *Wiele twarzy Ukrainy, rozmowy Izy Chruślińskiej i Piotra Tymy*, Lublin 2006, p. 265–268; G. Motyka, *Aktualność ukraińskiej problematyki „Kultury”*, in: *Aktualność przesłania paryskiej „Kultury” w dzisiejszej Europie*, Lublin 2007, p. 79–88; L. Szaruga, *„Kultura” wobec „sprawy ukraińskiej”*, in: *Idem, „Kultura” – otwarta księga*, Kraków 2011, p. 195–206; J. Korek, *Paradoksy paryskiej „Kultury”*, Lublin 2000, p. 309–433; *Zamówienie do spraw beznadziejnych: Ukraina w „Kulturze” 1947–2000*, selection, commented and epilogue B. Berdychowska, Paris 2016.

territory of the Second Polish Republic before the war, especially the Ukrainian minority.

## “Bunt Młodych” and Promethean idea

Already in 1920s of the 20th century, Giedroyc was fascinated with the literature and history of Ukraine, when he was a student of the final year of law at the University of Warsaw, and started to attend the seminar of Professor Miron Korduba dedicated to the history of Ukraine. In his autobiography, he stated that it had been a great experience for him, and his colleagues had looked at him in amazement. Thanks to Professor Korduba, he gained an insight into the Ukrainian literature and numerous contacts with later Ukrainian activists<sup>2</sup>. At the beginning of the 1930s of the 20th century, “Bunt Młodych”, edited by Jerzy Giedroyc, intensified its interests in the Ukrainian case within the Polish context. In his book on this magazine, Rafał Habielski wrote that increasing interest in the Polish and Ukrainian relations was due to the growing belief that this issue was one of the most serious problems in Poland. In 1930, the Ukrainian case was intensified – pacification in Eastern Malopolska, which covered a few hundred villages carried out by the order of Józef Piłsudski, and killing of a deputy to Sejm, another supporter of the Polish and Ukrainian agreement, Tadeusz Hołówka, by Ukrainian nationalists, which was undoubtedly related to the establishment of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1929.<sup>3</sup>

“Bunt Młodych” presented the pro-Ukrainian option and a number of its writers were advocates of the Polish and Ukrainian rapprochement. The letter was in favour of mitigating the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians, sought to dialogue and understanding. It tried to make contact with the Ukrainian world, and convince Poland that the dialogue was possible and could provide the results. Habielski wrote that until 1934, the team of “Bunt Młodych” had seen the Ukrainian case through the prism of the interior affairs, only in the mid-1930s of the 20th century, the magazine programme was enriched with a geopolitical aspect of the integrity of Ukraine – the idea of the independence of that state. The reason of the evolution involved the political situation in the Soviet Ukraine (hunger caused by the collectivization policy), and the mood among Poles (solidarity with Ukrainians).

<sup>2</sup> J. Giedroyc, *Autobiografia na cztery ręce*, developed and commented by K. Pomian, Warsaw 1996, p. 22–23.

<sup>3</sup> R. Habielski, *Dokąd nam iść wypada? Jerzy Giedroyc od „Buntu Młodych” do „Kultury”*, Warsaw 2006, p. 132.

The culmination of the Ukrainian concept of "Bunt Młodych" involved two works – *Polish-Ukrainian Problems in Czerwieńska Land* by Aleksander Bocheński, Stanisław Łoś and Włodzimierz Bączkowski, leading publicists dealing with the issue of Ukrainian in the pages of the magazine and *Polish imperial idea* by Aleksander Bocheński, both issued in 1938. In the first work, it was stated that the current policy of the Ukrainian minority, consisting of broadly understood assimilation, did not produce the expected results, and further attempts by the Polonization of Ukrainians could lead to a rise of nationalist tendencies among them, so that some political concessions could be made which would lead to improve relations between Poles and the Ukrainian minority. What concessions did the authors of *Polish-Ukrainian Problems* have in mind? It was about introducing the Ukrainian language in offices, bilingual inscriptions to facilitate orientation of Ukrainians, permission to use Ukrainian colours, celebrating common holidays (anniversaries of battles), discontinuing administrative harassment, renouncing the use (as the endena did) of terms "Russians" instead of "Ukrainians", abolition of bilingual education, introduction of separate schools for Ukrainians and Poles, and admission of Ukrainians of a settlement orientation to cooperation in the state administration (to prevent from their illegal activities).

*Polish-Ukrainian Problems* connected two nationality policy issues with Promethean policy, as supporting by Poland of enslaved by the Soviet Union in order to weaken the influence of the Soviet Union and ultimately to burst this country from the inside. Normalization of relations with the Ukrainian minority had to contribute to the growth of mutual trust. In *Polish imperial idea*, Aleksander Bocheński postulated a change in law that would ensure the presence of representatives of minorities in Parliament.

### Design of the Polish and Ukrainian rapprochement

Design of the Polish and Ukrainian rapprochement was carried out on several levels, one of which was cooperation of "Bunt Młodych" with reporters and Ukrainian politicians, inter alia with Iwan Kedrynem of Lviv "Diła" postulating a change in legislation and political concessions for Ukrainians. According to the assurances of the editors, "Bunt Młodych" was the most popular magazine among the Ukrainian minorities<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 139.

Although the above comments are merely contributing to the problem, reminding them seems to be reasonable to better understand the policy of the Ukrainian policy of Parisian "Kultura". After the end of the war, when Giedroyc was outside Poland, a significant part of the views of "Bunt Młodych" was revived, while some lost its meaning.

"Kultura" very quickly accepted the new eastern boundary of Poland, as opposed to a substantial part, not to say the majority, of the Polish political emigration, especially that of London. A few years after the war, "Kultura" began to demand acceptance of the post-war *status quo* – and again against "Polish London". "Kultura" proclaimed that Poles should reconcile with the loss of Eastern Borderlands.

Although Parisian "Kultura" gathered a number of outstanding intellectuals, Juliusz Mieroszewski – *porte-parole* of Jerzy Giedroyc, who co-wrote the magazine's eastern programme, played the leading role among journalists<sup>5</sup>. Mieroszewski was a supporter of the perception of the eastern issues – understood not only as the problems of the states incorporated by the Soviet Union, but also against Poles to the Soviet Union, without emotions, complexes and prejudices. According to Mieroszewski, the task of the Polish eastern policy should be to arouse and intensify centrifugal forces in the Soviet Union to create a common front for states enslaved by the USSR<sup>6</sup>.

The predictions of Mieroszewski, made over the years in relation to the Soviet Union, can be regarded as extremely up-to-date, and consider their author as an analyst with a talent for strategic perception of geopolitical constellations. The example can be a statement as to whether and when the collapse of the Soviet Union was expected to occur in the 1970s of the 20th century in the political period of relaxation between the powers. Mieroszewski claimed at the time that Russia would cease to be imperialist when it lost its empire, so when national and liberal movements within the Soviet Union, backed by an external boom and internal crisis, would lead to its collapse<sup>7</sup>. It would be a truism to say that this contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union – twenty years later.

<sup>5</sup> See: Juliusz Mieroszewski. *Listy z Wyspy. ABC polityki „Kultury”*, selection, commented and epilogue R. Habielski, Paris-Cracow 2012.

<sup>6</sup> J. Mieroszewski, *Polska „Ostpolitik”*, „Kultura” 1973, No. 6/309, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 75.

## "Against the demons of the past"

An extensive article of Józef Łobodowski, published in 1952 in "Kultura", the theses of which were supported by the editors, was widely discussed. Its author presented a number of arguments in favour of the independence of Ukraine. He expressed the opinion that the sovereignty of this country was in the interest of Poland, because it would neutralize the Russian threat and would weaken any possible alliance between Moscow and Berlin. Łobodowski was in favour of the Polish and Ukrainian dialogue, with maximum respect for the sensibilities of the other party. He criticized the arguments of the Polish emigration (inter alia Władysław Studnicki, Jędrzej Giertych and Karol Żbyszewski), based on which independent Ukraine was to be a serious threat to Poland and, in the case of the next world war, a potential ally, of either the Soviet Union or Western Germany. Łobodowski critically assessed these voices on both sides of the dispute (Polish and Ukrainian), which did not take into account the national ambitions of both societies<sup>8</sup>.

The presence of Łobodowski in "Kultura" was an important starting point for a dialogue with Ukrainians. In "Kultura", he discussed the Ukrainian literature, published translations from Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian. "Kultura" granted him the literary awards twice, in 1961 and 1982, Zygmunt Hertz Award<sup>9</sup>.

One of the most important issues of "Kultura" was the one of 1952, in which a short list of Father Joseph Majewski was published. Fr. Majewski expressed the view that for many Polish immigrants had to be unacceptable that the post-war Polish borders were far more favourable than during the pre-war time. He confirmed that demanding the world's acceptance of the new western border – on the Odra River and Lusatian Neisse River, while simultaneously returning Eastern Borderlands, together with Lviv and Vilnius, to Poland, was like a pipe dream. Fr. Majewski stated that Poles lived with memories and saw the world through "the glass of the 19th century". "Just as we, Poles, have the right to Wrocław, he wrote in a letter to "Kultura", Szczecin, Gdańsk, so Lithuanians rightly insist Vilnius and Ukrainians – Lviv"<sup>10</sup>.

The short letter of the young priest caused numerous voices of opposition, including the criticism of Giedroyc, who, in the opinion of their au-

<sup>8</sup> J. Łobodowski, *Przeciw upiorom przeszłości*, „Kultura” 1952, No. 2/52–3/53, p. 14–66.

<sup>9</sup> About Łobodowski see: W. Iwaniuk, *Józef Łobodowski*, „Kultura” 1988, No. 12/495, p. 127–129; P. Libera, *Józef Łobodowski (1909–1988) – szkic do biografii politycznej pisarza zaangażowanego*, „Zeszyty Historyczne” 2007, No. 160, p. 3–34; *Między literaturą a polityką. O Józefie Łobodowskim*, eds. L. Siryk and E. Łoś, Lublin 2012.

<sup>10</sup> *Listy do redakcji*, „Kultura” 1952, No. 11/61, p. 157.

thors, unnecessarily publicized such opinion, leaving it without any comment. It was stated that the publication of the letter was a mistake that did not make "Kultura" popular among the numerous Vilnius and Lviv immigrants, and Fr. Majewski should answer to the court for treason. Most of the letters published in "Kultura" were kept in a tone of indignation at the words of Fr. Majewski, who was even referred to as Bierut supporter, was supposed to refer to the provision to Stalin by Bierut of Polish Eastern Borderlands. In response to a list of its readers, "Kultura" published its position on the eastern border of Poland and the independence of Ukraine. The editors expressed the view that both Poland and Ukraine as well as Belarus should be sovereign entities in federated Europe. The concept, according to the editors, was in the interest of independent Poland, because the existence of an independent state bordering with it from the east protected Poles from the Soviet imperialism, so it was the key issues from the point of view of the Polish geopolitical interests<sup>11</sup>.

In the same year, the Chronicle of Ukraine began to appear in "Kultura", as planned by Giedroyc since at least 1948.

In *Autobiography at four hands*, Jerzy Giedroyc admitted that the matter of Eastern Borderlands was the issues that differed the editors of "Kultura" and Polish London. The Polish emigration accepted the new border in the west quite soon, but it did not recognize the eastern border. "Emigration did not accept [...] eastern border, wrote Giedroyc, and mostly, I think, it has not accepted it until today, maybe because there is a very strong lobby of Lviv"<sup>12</sup>.

### Ukrainian editors on the pages of "Culture"

The result of the implementation of the Polish and Ukraine rapprochement project involved the cooperation of "Kultura" with numerous Ukrainian reporters and writers in the West. Jerzy Stempowski was a person who made it easier for Giedroyc to get in touch with the Ukrainian emigration during the post-war period. In July 1947, he wrote to Giedroyc about the possibility of establishing cooperation with three Ukrainian writers – Jurij Klena, Leonid Mosendza and Yevhen Malaniuk, who, as Stempowski asserted, was able to co-operate.<sup>13</sup> Thanks to the mediation of Stem-

<sup>11</sup> *Nota redakcyjna*, „Kultura” 1953, no. 1/63, p. 83.

<sup>12</sup> J. Giedroyc, *Autobiografia...*, p. 153.

<sup>13</sup> Jerzy Giedroyc – Jerzy Stempowski. *Listy 1946–1969*, selection, introduction and footnotes A.S. Kowalczyk, Warsaw 1998, p. 30.

powski, he managed to convince another Ukrainian writer to cooperate with "Kultura", i.e. professor Mykoła Hłobenko<sup>14</sup>.

In 1950, a young Ukrainian journalist, Bohdan Osadczyk, started to cooperate with the magazine of Giedroyc, and became involved with "Kultura" for years, and over time, became a friend of Giedroyc. Osadczyk came into contact with the environment of "Kultura" during the establishment meeting of the Congress of Cultural Freedom for the first time, when he met Jerzy Giedroyc and Józef Czapski<sup>15</sup>. The beginnings of cooperation were timid and sporadic. Osadczyk wrote on German topics; he was then a journalist of the German-language newspaper "Die Neue Zeitung", under "Berliner" nickname. It was Osadczyk who helped Giedroyc to make contacts with a number of Ukrainian writers and activists living in exile. Osadczyk made his debut in the June issue of "Kultura" in 1952 with "Chronicle of Poland and Ukraine", in a new column "Chronicle of Ukraine". Since then, he published mainly articles on the life of Ukrainian emigration, Ukrainian and Polish relations, political situation in the Eastern Bloc or in Germany, continuously until the dissolution of the magazine. In 1984, he was awarded the prize of the friendship and cooperation of "Kultura". Thanks to extensive contacts of Osadczyk, especially among Ukrainians residing in Germany, Giedroyc established cooperation with Boris Łewycki, a Soviet scientist and political activist who in his youth was a member of the UNO, and later he became a strong opponent of nationalism. The most intense period of cooperation of Łewycki with "Kultura" falls in 1960s of the 20th century, when he published articles on difficult issues related to the Polish and Ukrainian relations before and during World War II. The Literary Institute published his two books – *Terror and Revolution* (1965) and *USSR's National Policy in the Age of Khrushchev* (1966)<sup>16</sup>.

Osadczyk also allowed Giedroyc to make contact with Iwan Łysiak-Rudnycki, who inspired the editor of "Kultura" to publish at the Literary Institute articles on the situation in Ukraine in the 1950s and 1960s. of the 20th century and recommended him the editor of a volume, i.e. Iwan Koszeliwec<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> See: A. Vincenz, *Mykoła Hłobenko*, „Kultura” 1957, No. 10/120, p. 13–15.

<sup>15</sup> B. Osadczyk, *Rola Jerzego Giedroycia w stosunkach polsko-ukraińskich*, in: *Jerzy Giedroyc. Redaktor, polityk, człowiek*, ed. K. Pomian, Lublin 2001, p. 158–169.

<sup>16</sup> See: B. Osadczyk, *Śmierć Borysa Łewyckiego*, in: *Wspominając ludzi „Kultury”*, selection and introduction by S.M. Nowinowski, Paris–Cracow 2016, p. 245–247.

<sup>17</sup> *Jerzy Giedroyc – Emigracja ukraińska. Listy 1950–1982*, selection, introduction and footnotes by B. Berdychowska, Warsaw 2004, p. 18.

## “Executed Renaissance”

The Polish and Ukrainian rapprochement project was implemented by Giedroyc on cultural grounds, by promoting the Ukrainian literary heritage. In 1957, he published an anthology of the Ukrainian poetry of 1920s of the 20th century *Executed Renaissance*. The volume was edited by Jurij Ławrinienko, who contributed to the growth of the anthology from three hundred to almost one thousand pages and included almost all major literary works that were made in Ukraine in the 1920s and 30s of the 20th century, and most of their authors were murdered. Giedroyc wanted to publish this volume, because, as he wrote to Osadczyk, “[...] this period of the Ukrainian literature had not been developed by anyone so far”<sup>18</sup>. Publishing of the anthology was a success, and it received a wide response in the press for emigrants, inter alia, in France, Germany as well as Russia and Ukraine. Józef Łobodowski called the book as the “prime work”<sup>19</sup>. No other publication of the Literary Institute devoted to Ukraine had such extensive and enthusiastic reviews.<sup>20</sup> According to Bogumiła Berdychowska, the anthology played an important role in restoring a Ukrainian reader a large part of his/her own cultural heritage. The book was illegally distributed to the Soviet Ukraine, where it was handed over from hand to hand, most often among the opposition associations<sup>21</sup>.

*Executed Renaissance* was issued in the Ukrainian language and for a Ukrainian reader, but a collection of documents *Ukraine 1956–1966* was developed in Polish, to bring the knowledge of contemporary Ukraine to a Polish reader. Iwan Łysiak-Rudnycki was the author of the idea to publish the book, which was developed by Iwan Koszeliwec, a journalist, translator, one of the most important figures of the Ukrainian emigration intellectual life<sup>22</sup>. The volume contained the documents confirming the size of the resistance movement in Ukraine and the scale of the arrests and political processes of the 1960s. of the 20th century.

It is also worth to mention another Ukrainian cooperant of “Kultura”, i.e. Jewhenim Małaniuk, one of the Ukrainian poets published in the magazine the most frequent.<sup>23</sup> He appeared on the pages of “Kultura” in 1948 for the first time. He left Europe and went to the United States quite soon.

<sup>18</sup> M. Ptasńska-Wójcik, *Z dziejów Biblioteki „Kultury” 1946–1966*, Warsaw 2006, p. 193.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> Jerzy Giedroyc – *Emigracja ukraińska...*, p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21.

<sup>23</sup> See: Jerzy Giedroyc – *Jewhen Małaniuk. Listy 1948–1963*, Warsaw 2014.

However, regardless of his decision supported by living considerations, he broke off cooperation with "Kultura" where his poems were published, mostly in the translation of Józef Łobodowski.

The publication of political declarations in "Kultura" was one of the forms of internationalization of the "Ukrainian case" and drawing attention to the imperial policy of the Soviet Union. Giedroyc was aware that the nations behind the iron curtain, which had not had their own state before the war, were practically alone in the struggle for freedom, especially in the 1970s of the 20th century, in the *détente* era when Western European states and the United States, in the name of the East-West lines, started to be interested in countries in the Soviet sphere of influence. In 1977, "Kultura" published "Declaration on the Ukrainian case" was signed by fourteen intellectuals from Central and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, to draw attention to the lack of independence of Ukraine and the imperialism of the Soviet Union. The declaration pointed out that countries such as Poland, Hungary or the Czech Republic were more likely to preserve their national identities and cultures than Belarusians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians, who were subjected to continuous Sovietization and Russification. The declaration stated – which from today's perspective should be considered a judgement about the characteristics of the prophetic – that the liquidation of the Soviet colonialism was in the interest of the country, because over the years it could lead to ethnic conflicts and mutual slaughter.<sup>24</sup> According to Bogumiła Berdychowska, this was probably the first document concerning the independence of Ukraine signed by Russians<sup>25</sup>.

## Conclusion

It is worth raising the question about the effectiveness of these treatments. What were the practical effects of Giedroyc's efforts to improve the Polish and Ukrainian dialogue and internationalization of the Ukrainian case before the emergence of a sovereign state?

Although after 1989 Poland entered the path of a permanent agreement with the Ukrainian people, as evidenced by the fact that it was the first on the world to recognize the independence of the country, and the intellectual heritage of "Kultura" was a reference for all governments formed after the Round Table, regardless of provenance, Giedroyc's achievements are

<sup>24</sup> *Deklaracja w sprawie ukraińskiej*, „Kultura” 1977, No. 5/356, p. 66–67.

<sup>25</sup> *Jerzy Giedroyc – Emigracja ukraińska...*, p. 47.

not widely known among the countries of Eastern Europe. Although Giedroyc received the merit order from President Leonid Kuchma, it was the lowest Ukrainian award. However, the effort of "Kultura" team was recognized by the Ukrainian intellectual associations, as measured by the known till these days *Executed Renaissance* as well as exhibitions and conferences devoted to the legacy of "Kultura" organized in Ukraine.

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## ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ГРОМАДСЬКОЇ ДИПЛОМАТІЇ ТА М'ЯКОЇ СИЛИ ПОЛЬЩІ В УКРАЇНІ

### Peculiarities of Public Diplomacy and Soft Power of Poland in Ukraine

**Summary.** The problems of strategy formation and realization of Polish public diplomacy at the present stage are considered in the paper. For a lengthy period of time, Poland is spreading information and is busy popularizing their own culture among foreign publics through Polish Institutes. During recent decades, owing to successful realization of post-communist reforms and due to cultural and historical factors, this state has managed to raise the standard of soft power salient globally and closely associated with their belonging to the West and safeguarding liberal-democratic values. These aspects have been decisive for the Polish public diplomacy aimed at target audiences of the public of the countries in the eastern neighbourhood. However, in the second half of 2015 political forces sceptical about the perspectives of the Euro-integration project and who believe themselves to be defenders of traditional values came to power. This caused changes in Poland's foreign policy and makes us revalue the realities and prospects of the Polish public diplomacy.

**Key words:** public diplomacy, soft power, Poland, Ukraine

Дослідження м'якої сили Польщі та засобів її нарощення на сучасному етапі є цікавим і актуальним питанням, зважаючи на важливе значення цієї країни у регіоні. Упродовж тривалого часу Польща вважалася одним із найвдаліших зразків посткомуністичних трансформацій, націлених на становлення демократичного правління, ринкової економіки та громадянського суспільства. Указані успіхи самі по собі дозволяли стверджувати, що ця держава володіє певним рівнем м'якої сили та здатна її нарощувати за допомогою відповідної стратегії та заходів громадської дипломатії. Проте внутрішньополітичні зміни

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