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National Question in Program Documents of Ukrainian Political Associations of Conservative-Clerical Direction in Western Ukraine (1920–1930)

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During the period of building of Ukrainian state, incipience of a multiparty system in society big interest caused by rich experience of Ukrainian political parties in Western Ukraine of interwar period. In the party spectrum of Western Ukraine were represented all areas of social and political thought. Some aspects of activity of conservative-clerical field were researched by M. Shvahuliak¹, M. Kuhutiak², Y. Slyvka³, I. Fedyk⁴, M. Moskaliuk⁵. The aim of this article is finding out the place of national issue in programs of conservative-clerical social and political organizations and parties – the Ukrainian Cristian Organization (UKA), the Ukrainian Catholic Union (UKS) and the Ukrainian Catholic National Party (UKNP), later the Ukrainian National Revival (UNA).

The peculiarity of Ukrainian political parties in Western Ukraine was that they were not in Ukraine, but in Polish state and national issue was priority. Its constituents are defined: 1) attitude to the policy of the Polish state and accor-

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¹ М. Швагуляк, *Пацифікація*, Львів 1993.

² М. Кугутяк, *Галичина: сторінки історії*, Івано-Франківськ 1993.

³ Ю. Сливка, *Західна Україна в реакційній політиці польської та Української буржуазії (1920–1939)*, Київ 1985.

⁴ І. Федик, *УНДО, ОУН: ставлення до Польщі*, Львів 1998.

⁵ М. Москалюк, *Українська католицька народна партія і проблема польсько-українського порозуміння. Українсько-польські відносини в Галичині*, Івано-Франківськ 1997.

dingly estimation of the Ukrainian region; 2) the ability to resolve it within the Polish state; 3) the attitude to the Soviet Ukraine and the processes taking place there; 4) implementation of independence and unity of the Ukrainian state.

On 4 August, 1925 the first UKA congress was held in L'viv. The leaders of organization were O. Nazarchuk, S. Tomashivskyi, T. Haluschynskyi. The congress declared that the UKA does not claim the status of political organization and strives to unite all Christian Catholic Ukrainian people, regardless of their party affiliation. The objective of the organization was to ensure that the party in its activities should not depart from the spirit of science and the Catholic Church. At the same time, the UKA as a political union sought to cooperate with national institutions and political parties with Christian perspective.

Considering the antireligious spirit of the majority of political parties, the Greek-Catholic bishops were not so excited when election bloc of national forces was founded in 1927. In newspaper "Nova Zoria" often began to publish articles calling to organize separate conservative party. However, the UKA congress which was held on 3 November, 1927 demonstrated that they are not ready to create clerical party, because of personnel and organization issues⁶. Much of the clergy from Stanislavdiocese Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church were opposing the Polish authorities. The ideas of "autonomy" from the Ukrainian Cristian Organization and one of its most valued ideologists – Bishop from Stanislav H. Khomyshyn didn't find the support among the majority of priests. At First, the UKA remained largely unknown organization, secondly, the Bishop from Stanislav gradually received the reputation of pro-Polish activist. Subsequent events have shown that the alliance between the UKA and the UNDO during the elections were situational. H. Khomyshyn didn't like that the UNDO had relations with left parties, and national democrats were disappointed because UKA activist were pro-Hungarian. As a result, in April 1928 the leadership of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union sent an ultimatum letter to T. Haluschynskyi – the leader of the UKA, where in critical form was demanded to leave the path of agreement. But decisions which were made during the 13th and 14th committee congresses of the UKA showed that followers of Khomyshyn didn't want to deviate from the prescribed course. The tendency of politicization of the Ukrainian Cristian Organization appeared.

On the pages of "Nova Zoria" newspaper the issue of autonomy of Galicia within Poland was discussed. Stanislav, Ternopil, Volyn and also most of L'viv (by the Sian river), Polissia, and the part of Lublin province were supposed to

⁶ Центральний державний історичний архів України (далі ЦДАУ) у м. Львові, ф. 684, оп. 2, спр. 217, арк.1–3.

become autonomous. Total area of the future autonomy had to be 115 thousand sq. km. with about 7 million people.

In May, 1928 there was an emergency meeting of the Central Committee of the UKA. The participants, discussing important issues of religious, cultural and political life, created a draft political program in which priority was the idea of autonomy of Galicia within Poland. The same month H. Khomyshyn organized meeting for Stanislav diocese priests, where he called to transform Cristian organization into political party⁷.

Complicated relationships between A. Sheptytskyi and H. Khomyshyn became even worst, when on 24th September 1930 the Ukrainian Catholic National Party (UKNP) was created. H. Khomyshyn became an informal leader of the UNKP. Metropolitan rejected the idea of an independent Catholic party in any form and by any political program. In October, 1930 A. Sheptytsky appealed to the Ukrainian people with a statement which stressed the creation of another clerical organization – the Ukrainian Catholic Union (UKS). His press organ was the newspaper „Meta”. On 15 March, 1931 in this newspaper the Ukrainian Catholic Union charter was published. The charted intended to consolidate Ukrainian public, representatives of various parties in the Christian and Catholic spirit. The new clerical structure didn't claim the status of political organization and allowed its members to belong to different parties. At the conference on 12–13 July, 1930 in the presence of four bishops was noted that politics of no Ukrainian party is fully consonant with Catholic ideology, so that the course of separate Catholic party creation was announced. H. Khomyshyn hesitated with the title – “The Ukrainian Catholic Union” or “The Ukrainian Catholic Party”. Finally, on 24 September, 1930 at the meeting of conservative politicians in L'viv the Ukrainian Catholic National Party was founded⁸.

The program of the UKNP was based on ideas of O. Nazaruk, which were set out in the work called “The ideological basics of the Ukrainian Catholic National Party”, and to some extent state concept of S. Tomashivskyi, which had a basis of duumvirate of monarchy and the Greek-Catholic Church. S. Tomashivskyi claimed that Greek Catholicism, unlike russified Orthodox, retained the Ukrainian spirit and provided strong connection between Galicia and Western civilization. In addition, bishop H. Khomyshyn shared the views of S. Tomashivskyi on the normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations, highlighted in his work „Ten years of Ukrainian problem in Poland”⁹.

⁷ ЦДІАУ у м. Львові, ф. 358, оп. 1, спр. 164, арк. 10–15.

⁸ М. Москалюк, *Українська католицька народна партія і проблема польсько-українського порозуміння. Українсько-польські відносини в Галичині*, с. 224.

⁹ С. Томашівський, *Десять літ українського питання в Польщі*, Львів 1929, с. 22.

In October, 1930 the program of a new party, which had wide autonomy in Galicia within the Polish state was released. In this program was said that: “Our political activities we spread all over historical and tribal Ukrainian lands, which are gathered in Poland. The above mentioned lands form separate geopolitical and socio-economic unity with authentic tradition and own national and cultural identity, so that they have right to self-determination and sovereignty [...] Under legal means we will fight all those institutions which have to [...] hold or strengthen centralized regime”¹⁰. At the same time in the program the major role of Catholic church was highlighted.

Staying on autonomist positions, in a statement the UKNP put forward allegations of abuse to Polish authorities. The main reason, according to party leaders, was the Polish state centralism.

Bishop H. Khomyshyn saw his own out from the complicated ethnopolitical situation in Galicia. In February 1931, he wrote a pastoral letter „About the political position of the Ukrainian people in the Polish state”, in which he set out his own vision of understanding between the two nations. This work, as well as his pamphlet „Ukrainian problem,” published a year later, in fact, became a political reference point for Ukrainian Catholic National Party in solving the national question.

In a pastoral letter „About the political position of the Ukrainian people in the Polish state” H. Khomyshyn highlighted: “[...] there are different marks, which show that chauvinistic factors of Polish publicness bound to destroy us – Ukrainians! [...] Ukrainians in the Polish state interpretation are mostly like second class citizens, [...] international commitment to autonomy, even the rulings of the Polish Seymon the so-called Provincial Authority were abandoned”¹¹.

H. Khomyshyn responded sharply to derogatory publications of Polish press, which wrote that Ukrainians are non-native on their land. The Bishop wrote in his pastoral letter: “We live here for ages and have the right to use all goods of land where we live [...], we have a natural life to life, and you can’t make us kiss the hand which beats us”¹².

Such tone occurred at work “Ukrainian problem”. The bishop said: “There is a historical hatred and bottomless chasm between Ukrainian and Polish nations, Ukrainians are inclined to cooperate with Turkmens rather than with Poles. Poles as a nation, or as a state consider Ukrainians as a minor nation, as a tribe which can’t develop [...]”¹³.

¹⁰ Програмова заява Української католицької партії, Львів 1930.

¹¹ Пастирський лист Григорія Хомишина до Всечесного клира Станіславівської дієцезії про політичне положення українського народу в польській державі, Львів 1931, с. 13.

¹² Ibidem, n. 18.

¹³ Г. Хомишин, Українська проблема, Станіславів 1932, с. 161.

In such circumstances it was not surprising for H. Khomyshyn that there are Ukrainian secret organizations which choose terror and sabotage tactics of fight. The bishop from Stanislaw made it clear to the Poles that such policy will not bring good to their country, that “pacification” method will not solve Ukrainian problem and this can lead to further deterioration of relations, increasing of numbers of anti-Polish speeches and acts of protest. According to the bishop’s words, Poles would not be able to destroy Ukrainians because of the high level of their national identity.

H. Khomyshyn did not consider the Polish state so self-sufficient that can abandon the interest of minorities. He wrote: “A tourist which climbs the highest mountains many times is indebted to a small root, which gives him a footing before he falls into chasm”¹⁴. It was accented that escalation of the confrontation between the neighboring nations will weaken Poland, which will make it vulnerable to German pressure from the West and Russian Bolshevism from the East.

The first condition for the settlement of Ukrainian-Polish relations H. Khomyshyn saw in change of attitude of the Polish authorities to Ukrainian nation. But to make it is necessary that Ukrainians also change their attitude to the Polish state. That is why the bishop turned his thoughts to the Ukrainian leaders. First of all, Ukrainians must understand their position in a foreign country, use as base not permanent intolerance but realism. H. Khomyshyn treated the activities of Ukrainian nationalists in a special way. He understood that radical tactics of the OUN was caused by chauvinistic attitude of the Polish government. However, he considered the OUN as destructive element, which can rather cause more damage than profit. He confirmed the expressed opinion by the example of “pacification” of the Polish authorities in 1930, which was held not only against sabotage activists, but also against all Ukrainian population. H. Khomyshyn suggested that acts of political terror at this time would have been on hand for “chauvinistic factors of Polish society” to be able to make excuses for their crimes before the European peacekeeping organizations¹⁵.

Critical attitude of the bishop to the OUN is explained by the fact that nationalists, according to H. Khomyshyn, rejected the need for creation of religious state principles. In one of his pastoral letters “About the storm of spiritual ruin” he wrote: “That is why every act, even if you sacrifice your life for the life of your nation, if it’s against the rights of God, it is always a crime, a sin and it will not bring the nation good, it will only harm [...]. When it will be common that offence in the name of the nation, for nation or state is good and

¹⁴ *Пастырський лист Григорія Хомишина до Всечесного клира Станиславівської дієцезії про політичне положення українського народу в польській державі*, с. 21.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, с. 11.

allowed, then the feeling of true understanding, virtue and morality will be erased, then in this nation crime against brothers will be common [...] and then crime will be heroism, because they shall be committed in the name of Ukraine and for Ukraine”¹⁶.

Let’s pay attention that attitude of H. Khomyshyn to Ukrainian nationalists caused some confusions with A. Sheptytskyi. The thing is, that metropolitan took more diplomatic position regarding to the OUN. He did not judge everything that had connection with nationalism ideas, but rather tried to attract nationalist to church. Otherwise, as A. Sheptytskyi claimed, young men who supported the ideas of the OUN, “would be lost for Ukraine forever”. On 10 April 1932, religious newspaper “Meta”, posted the article of A. Sheptytskyi called “UKS and politics”. Metropolitan said that Catholics can belong to any political party or grouping, the program of which is not against Catholic religion or ethics and thus be a monarchist, conservative, democrat, conciliator in certain exceptional cases even extremist. Just last statement inspired the OUN to further the fight, at the same time encouraging to more proactive actions conciliators, to which H. Khomyshyn belonged. In the letter to A. Sheptytskyi on 2 May 1932, the Bishop of Stanislav in some extent reproached the Metropolitan for being too indulgent towards nationalists¹⁷.

We note, that H. Khomyshyn did not deny the future existence of independent Ukraine, and believed that “people who abdicate their ideas and hopes of a sovereign state, deny themselves and don’t worth existing in this world”. But he understood, that Ukrainians in the beginning of 1930s were not ready for this.

According to H. Khomyshyn, the period of forced stay with in Poland must be used rationally – to prepare ourselves spiritually, following the guidelines of the Catholic Church, to consolidate forces to prepare to fight for our country. Unifying force for the Ukrainian population must be Ukrainian Catholic National Party.

The Bishop understood patriotism specifically. He believed that expressing in demagogic manner, inciting people against the government it is a subversive work, not constructive. He was convinced „that the state should not be built by demagogy, rebellion against parasites, demonstrations, meetings, calls. It must be a creation of solid work, strong morals, reliance on God and church laws”¹⁸. The Bishop thought that in building of a sovereign state key role is played by three factors: “the power of the military, finances and spirit”. As Ukrainians in

¹⁶ *Пастирський лист Г. Хомишина про грозу духової руйни*, Станіславів 1933, с. 35–36.

¹⁷ ЦДІАУ у м. Львові, ф. 406, оп. 1, спр. 22, арк. 1, 16.

¹⁸ В. Перевезій, *Українська греко-католицька церква в східногалицькому суспільстві 20–30-х рр. XX ст.* // *Вісник Прикарпатського університету* (1999), № 1, с. 76–79.

the Polish state can't have „neither the military nor the financial power”, the „spiritual” they must achieve themselves.

But the views of the Bishop H. Khomyshyn were supported by small part of Ukrainian politicians. The position of the Bishop was considered as divorced from the realities of life. The Ukrainian Catholic National Party worked slowly. As of April 1933, there was no serious center of the UNP behind Stanislav¹⁹. Due to the lack of people, H. Khomyshyn in April, 1932 proposed to rename the party into Ukrainian National Revival²⁰. The Bishop believed that the old name is „narrow ambitious”, „not promising”, which cannot provide the expansion of activities of the party.

In May, 1932 the UKNP was renamed into the UNA. According to the messages of „Nova Zoria” newspaper, the party changed its name because it was affected by nationalism and liberalism, but the UNA adopted ideological postulates of the UKNP, and stays on the same political positions.

Thus, the Ukrainian organizations of clerical-conservative orientation put in their programs the problem of solving national issue. They tried to solve it in gradual, evolutionary way, hoping for the Polish authorities to understand the position of Ukrainians. That's how the UKNP (UNA) despite their loyalty to the government, called for the autonomy of Ukrainian lands within the Polish State, without rejecting the future of independent Ukraine. The UKA and especially the UKS activity promoted the spiritual unity of Ukrainians, gave them moral support in defending their national rights.

KWESTIA NARODOWA W PROGRAMOWYCH DOKUMENTACH UKRAIŃSKICH POLITYCZNYCH ZJEDNOCZEŃ KLERYKALNO-KONSERWATYWNEGO KIERUNKU NA UKRAINIE ZACHODNIEJ (1920–1930)

(STRESZCZENIE)

W artykule zbadano działalność ukraińskich partii i społeczno-politycznych zjednoczeń Ukrainy Zachodniej: klerykalno-konserwatywnego kierunku ukraińskiej organizacji chrześcijańskiej, ukraińskie-go związku katolickiego i ukraińskiej katolickiej partii ludowej. Wyjaśniono miejsce kwestii narodowej w ich programach, stosunek do hasła autonomii Ukrainy Zachodniej w obrębie państwa polskiego i możliwej niezależności całej Ukrainy. Przeanalizowano również w tym kontekście postanowienia partyjnych konferencji, dyskusje prowadzone na łamach gazet i czasopism określonych politycznych organizacji. Przedstawiono ponadto poglądy na temat stosunków ukraińsko-polskich greckokatolickiego metropolity Anrzeja Szeptickego i biskupa Grigorija Chomyszyna.

¹⁹ ЦДІАУ у м. Львові, ф. 359, оп. 1, спр. 208, арк. 30.

²⁰ Ibidem, арк. 42.

**NATIONAL QUESTION IN PROGRAM DOCUMENTS OF UKRAINIAN
POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF CONSERVATIVE-CLERICAL DIRECTION
IN WESTERN UKRAINE (1920–1930)**

(SUMMARY)

In the article activity of Ukrainian parties and social and political associations of conservative-clerical direction in Western Ukraine – UKA, UKS, UKNP (UNA)– is explored. The place of national question in their programs is found out. The attitude to the slogan of autonomy of Western Ukraine within Poland and possible independence of Ukraine was researched. It analyzes the decision of party conferences, discussions on this subject on the pages of print media related to political organizations. Looks to character of Ukrainian-Polish relations of metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and bishop Hrygory Khomyshyn are exposed.

**NATIONALE FRAGE IN DEN PROGRAMMDOKUMENTEN
DER UKRAINISCHEN POLITISCHEN BÜNDEN
DER KLERIKAL-KONSERVATIVEN RICHTUNG
IN DER WESTUKRAINE (1920–1930-ER JAHRE)**

(ZUSAMMENFASSUNG)

In dem Artikel werden die Aktivitäten der ukrainischen politischen Parteien und sozialpolitischen Organisationen der westlichen Ukraine klerikal-konservative Richtung UKA, UCS, UKNP (UNF) untersucht. Es werden die nationale Frage in ihren Programmen und die Haltung zur Autonomie der westlichen Ukraine innerhalb Polens und einer möglichen Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine untersucht. Es werden die Entscheidung des Parteitages und Diskussionen zu diesem Thema auf den Seiten von Printmedien der entsprechenden politischen Organisationen analysiert. Die Ansichten über die Natur der ukrainisch-polnischen Beziehungen von griechisch-katholischem Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytsky und Bischof Gregor Khomyshyn wurden entdeckt.