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**National Question in Poland
Historical Research after 1945**

KRZYSZTOF ŻYDOWICZ

European University Institute, Florence

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National Transition in Poland
Historical Research after 1945

KRZYSZTOF ŻYDOWICZ

Abstract
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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The question of nation has long been one of the main themes in Polish historiography. It emerged in the first half of the 19th century, when the circumstances were these of foreign domination and absence of an own state. These factors might be held responsible for more than historical significance of research on Polish national community. It has always been burdened by the function of preserving and constructing national identity and tended to occupy central position in historiography¹. Above features provide also some explanation why there is a sub-theme that takes a significant share of research on national question. By and large, it focuses on opposition to foreign rule, defence against alien states and competition with non-Polish national movements until 1918. It might be also conceived as nation-building process in regional conditions, differing due to diverse situation of territories inhabited by the Poles. In numerical terms, titles in this mainstream constitute almost a half of overall production, with the rest devoted to general problems of nation-building on national level. Certainly, Polish nation was in significant part shaped against other nations. Separating these two elements - creating internal links and managing external relations - does not always make sense. Nevertheless, since this paper is not on Polish history, but on Polish historiography, such a measure seems justified. Thus, more specific regional issues will be treated in one section, while another will survey literature examining nation-building in general.

Support has just been manifested for the thesis that Polish history is not only history of the Poles. It looks even more true for history of Poland. The Polish state that existed till 1795 and the one that emerged after 1918 embraced considerable population beyond Polish ethnicity. In terms of national structure, particularly relevant seems to be the nomenclature featuring not *Poland*, but *Pierwsza Rzeczpospolita* (The First Republic), *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów* (Republic of Both Nations), *Rzeczpospolita szlachecka* (Republic of the Nobles), adopted in English *Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* or even *Druga Rzeczpospolita* (The Second Republic). It does not seem feasible to survey historical literature on national question in Poland without acknowledging

¹ For overlook of pre-1939 historiography consult M. H. Serejski, *Naród czy państwo?* [Nation or state?], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 80(1973)/4; social sciences survey in J. Kurczewska, *Naród w socjologii i ideologii polskiej. Analiza porównawcza wybranych koncepcji przełomu XIX i XX wieku* [Nation in Polish social sciences and ideology. Comparison analysis of some concepts from the turn of the 19th c.], Warszawa 1979

production dealing with national groups that found themselves in position of national minorities. Therefore, separate section will examine Polish historiography on defined groups in the interwar period and, in some cases, also after 1945.

Minority issue poses the problem of relations between the Poles and the non-Poles. It is in a sense similar question to this encountered when analysing pre-1918 years, but put a rebours. The dominating nations, i.e., the Germans or Russians, turned national minorities. Previous national minority, i.e., the Poles, turned dominating nation. Finally, many other nations - the Ukrainians, Jews, Belorussians - found themselves in new, but still alien state. Polish nation-building on regional level before 1918 was entangled in relations with dominating groups. Accordingly there is significant, at least in terms of numbers, historical literature on national question after 1918 that concentrates neither on Poles nor on minorities. In many cases, its primary interest is in relations between these groups. If one or another seems to be in the foreground, it is rather due to more active role it played and not to preferences of a scholar. In numerous other studies, non-Polish groups are analyzed as the challenge to Polish political thought. However the focus is on the Poles, minorities are omnipresent in the background. Thus, literature of these kinds constitutes the problem of its place in this survey. It is true that any serious study on smaller ethnic community can not neglect its position with regard to dominating ethnic group. In some cases this position was crucial. For instance, relation to the Poles was one of the very primary factors shaping Lithuanian national identity and the Lithuanian nation. The term *national minority* itself implies that its meaning is constituted largely by the sphere of relations with external elements. On the other hand, political programs of various parties concerning minorities belong mostly to history of the Poles.

Nevertheless, clarity of narration calls for some sort of distinction. Being conscious of the doubts, the author decided to separate some issues. In the individual section will be treated studies referring to minorities. In another one will find works devoted either to the sphere in-between, or to Poles' attitude toward their national minorities. Structures of these chapters will differ. The latter will only partly follow the pattern applied to minorities, i.e., examining them one by one. It will rather adopt the common attitude of analysing them in groups. Popular is the method of dividing the problem into clusters: Germans - Jews - eastern minorities - smaller minorities. The procedure looks fairly justified. Position of some of national groups considerably varied and one can hardly treat them en masse, while the other seemed to share their fate. This scheme in slightly modified shape is accepted in this paper also because some cases do not seem to be sufficiently researched to separate them in sub-chapters. Thus, the part on relations between Poles and their minorities will be organized

according to geographical and national criteria. Additional sub-section on minorities in general and the attitude of Polish political parties toward them will precede scrutiny of literature on specific subjects.

The author is aware of difficulties caused by adopted structure. The most striking one is that geographical-national order has been broken. For instance, German affairs are discussed in chapters devoted to: German minority in the interwar Poland, German-Polish relations after 1918, and German-Polish relations before 1918, i.e., Polish nation-building on the regional level. Some local cases, like the Silesian one, are even more fragmented. It is believed, yet, that one order had to be abandoned for the sake of maintaining another. The topical structure embraced will hopefully not prove useless and serve well as general skeleton of the work. In its confines, as this survey is supposed to examine Polish historiography, not Polish history, the effort is made to follow the former in its chronological development. When such progress is not evident or there is no traceable tendency in historical research, detailed questions will be discussed as they appeared in history.

Basically, only the Polish historiography is taken into account. It means that this study acknowledges works written within Polish scientific structures, either in Poland or elsewhere and either in Polish or any other language. Thus, authors that appear to be Polish but studied and published abroad are not recorded. On the other hand, this report lists scholars of Jewish, Ukrainian and Belorussian origin or nationality working in Poland.

In principle, this is a historiographical survey. Many works dealing with problems of national minority, national and social issues, national and regional identifications etc. do not fall into history. The author, however, is neither competent nor willing to enter the fields of sociology, political sciences or ethnography. But, there are many exceptions. They occur when certain study embraces some historical analysis, although there might be numerous works from these disciplines that the author failed to trace.

There is a perennial problem with names. Poles and non-Poles often used to accuse each other of distorting history or literature and sinister political intentions if given version of local name was not considered proper. It happened particularly often in Polish-German relations, recently also in Polish-Lithuanian ones². The author wishes to avoid trappings of this sort. Therefore, he prefers to bother the reader with complicated explanations of this minor issue rather than to deserve the label of impartial student. In terms of orthography, Polish

² For sample of German complaints see C. Tighe, *The "Tin Drum" in Poland*, [in:] Journal of European Studies 1989/19; for Polish see W. Jakóbczyk's review of K. H. Streiter, *Die Nationalen Beziehungen im Grossherzogtum Posen, Frankfurt a/M 1986*, [in:] Acta Poloniae Historica 60(1989). The bill issued in Lithuania in 1992 imposes on Polish language publications the use of Lithuanian versions of local names

names are given with Polish diacritical marks as far as technical considerations allow: in original titles, their translations and in the text. Titles and names in cyrillic are transliterated into latin. Few German, French, Lithuanian and Czech characters, also due to technical reasons, are not properly printed.

In terms of principle, the question is more complicated. Original titles are, of course, left unchanged. There is the problem with English. In general, the distinction is adopted between translations and the text. In the former, a Polish name is replaced by an English one provided there is such, like *Warsaw*, *Cracow*, *Silesia*, *Pomerania*, *Vistula* etc³. If there is not, an original name is left unchanged, however it might seem better to replace words like *Toruń* or *Grudziądz* with closer to English *Thorn* or *Graudenz*. It is so because of two reasons. Firstly, using a Polish name might carry specific historical or political notion, which will disappear when translated. Secondly, Polish and non-Polish names, even if referring to almost the same location, might have different meanings. *Warmia i Mazury* and *Wielkopolska* denote historical regions, while *Ostpreußen* and *Provinz Posen* stand for two administrative units. As far as the text is concerned, one might appreciate the advice of N. Davies to use the proper official name of given period unless there is an English name⁴. But as this text is supposed to be on Polish historiography, using German or Russian names seems to distort not history, but historiography itself. Thus, two names are given: official and Polish ones, like *Allenstein/Olsztyn*, or Polish and the one used by contending group, like *Lwów/Lviv*.

³ In some cases doubts arise what the proper English name is. Capital of Lithuania has been usually (except Lithuanian studies) named *Vilna* either in historical works or in official Foreign Office correspondence. But since recent events, in British newspapers prevails the version *Vilnius* and it is accepted also here. The state north of Ukraine has had many names: *White Rutenia*, *White Russia*, *Belorussia*, *Byelorussia*, *Bielorussia* and recently *Belarus*. In this case followed is the advice of two Belorussian professors in the United States who recommend *Belorussia*, see P. N. Vakar, *Belorussia, the Making of a Nation*, Cambridge Mass. 1956, pp. 1-4, I. S. Lubachko, *Belorussia under Soviet Rule*, Lexington 1972, pp. 1-4. The author does not try to invent English names himself, and thus sometimes misguiding terms like *Grand Poland* or forcefully Anglicized like *Mazuria* are abandoned

⁴ N. Davies, *The Heart of Europe*, London 1986, p. 486

PART ONE: POLISH NATIONAL QUESTION

NATION-BUILDING

Soon after 1945 H. Wereszycki and S. Kieniewicz addressed the question that was one of the focal points in Polish historiography at least since 1870s: history of nation or history of state?⁵ Both scholars, 30 years later to be among the most distinguished ones, agreed at least on one issue. In fact the contents of Polish history since mid-18th century was not the struggle to maintain or regain independence. Its real sense was rather gaining national consciousness and forming the modern nation. Both scholars disagreed on many points: importance of socio-economic conditions, degree to which state influenced shaping of the nation, periods of accelerated progress, exceptionality of Polish fate. Their articles, however, seemed to set certain perspective for further research.

But, the following years proved to be little productive. That was due mostly to official pressure exercised upon science and tailoring not only historical research to simplified doctrines and imposed conclusions. Its impact might be traced on the sample of first methodological conference of Polish historians. It was organized and designed to put the derailed bourgeoisie science on the right track. The thesis promoted there claimed to set the right perspective. Development of the nation was closely linked with new capitalist economic structures. A bourgeoisie nation that developed out of feudal one was the entirely new formation, and not a phenomenon shaped on the pre-existent basis of nationality. Working classes were the driving force of new processes and in fact notion of the nation proliferated from bottom to the top and not vice versa, but was grabbed by upper strata⁶. Soon the trend exerted influence on series of local conferences and printed publications, but it curbed rather than hastened

⁵ H. Wereszycki, *O problematykę najnowszej historii Polski*[For problems of modern history of Poland], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 1(1947)/1; S. Kieniewicz, *Historia narodu czy historia państwa*[History of nation or history of state], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 1(1947)/3-4

⁶ see articles of H. Batowski, W. Bortnowski, J. Dutkiewicz, N. Gąsiorowska-Grabowska, W. Jakóbczyk, B. Kurbis, A. Wojtkowski et al. in: *Pierwsza Konferencja Metodologiczna Historyków Polskich* vols. 1-2, Warszawa 1953

research on national problems⁷. A sort of modified summary of the period was the survey article of S. Piekarczyk. Briefly discussing the pre-war historical schools on Polish nation-building, he perceives them as flawed by inability to acknowledge the basic difference. It referred to nationality and bourgeoisie nation, with the latter having been formed starting with late 18th century. The post-war historiography must be credited for setting the right perspective. It introduced the thesis of patriotism lingering mostly in low social strata, but considered it something of ready-made character⁸.

Methodology revisited - sounded the main topic of discussion on first volumes of Polish history, prepared collectively and presented in 1957⁹. H. Wereszycki appeared as the top revisionist. Many his remarks sounded revolutionary in 1957, however now prove rather the personal courage of the scholar. Of more basic issues, the challenge was directed against linear linkage of national-liberation with working classes, labelling counter-revolutionary groups as anti-national, stressing the impact of capitalist economy on nation-building, and the very sense of "bourgeoisie nation" term, i.e., the foundations of previous research. In discussion that followed, J. Bardach, E. Halicz and C. Bobińska tended to argue, while S. Kieniewicz and W. Kula founded themselves in-between.

Of course the studio discussion did not set everything anew. In fact, the years of 1956-1958 were the period of political thaw with relatively large room for free discussion. The following years witnessed protracted search for right balance in historical science. Traditional approach based on mentioned assumptions was adopted in many studies¹⁰. First works of T. Łepkowski, one of main protagonists of this survey, are the example of slow evolution from implemented schemes of intrinsically tied social and national cases¹¹. On the other hand, J. Szacki, later top figure in social sciences, began with short but

⁷ W. Poterański, *Specyfika formowania się polskiego narodu burżuazyjnego i rozwoju ruchu robotniczego na Śląsku*[Specific features of forming Polish bourgeoisie nation in Silesia and development of workers' movement], [in:] Konferencja Śląska IH PAN vol. 1, Wrocław 1954

⁸ S. Piekarczyk, *Kilka uwag o sprawie kształtowania się i rozwoju narodowości polskiej*[A few remarks on forming and development of Polish nationality], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 62(1955)/2

⁹ See discussion following the paper of H. Wereszycki, *Pesymizm błędnych tez*[Pessimism of wrong thesis], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 64(1957)/4-5

¹⁰ See for instance Ż. Kormanowa, *Kwestia narodowa w rewolucji 1905-1907 roku*[National question in 1905-1907 revolution], Warszawa 1958

¹¹ T. Łepkowski, *Robotnicy i plebs w powstaniach narodowych(1794-1864)*[Workers and the lowest strata in national uprisings, 1794-1864], [in:] *Historia i Nauka o Konstytucji* 2(1954)/2; his *Spoleczne i narodowe aspekty powstania 1831 r. na Ukrainie*[Social and national aspects of 1831 uprising in Ukraine], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 64(1957)/6

solid excursion in history. He pursued a PhD dissertation on national ideology and social revolution among Polish gentry¹². In brief, he claimed that during 1815-1830 the term "patria" was in general universalist. Nevertheless, it embraced also ethnic-political community consisting of secondary national features. In 1830-1850 this category was replaced by "nation." The new notion was promoted by middle-low gentry, undergoing economic disaster of new political conditions and struggling to work out a satisfying formula for new reality. The process was overlapped by Romanticism replacing Enlightenment. In terms of national ideology, these two epochs border exactly where the frontier between "patria" and "nation" was. Also A. Kamiński focused on patriotic youth of early 19th century, but with much more detailed and much less generalized findings¹³.

In general, the trend of discussing strata that carried the notion of nation caught up. Gradually, two thesis emerged: one traced the roots of 20th century intelligentsia among the gentry and the nobles. Another tended to focus on the low strata, mostly peasants. Thanks to works of social scientist rather than historian, J. Chałasiński, prevailed the former theory. Accordingly, the small gentry was undergoing economic crisis and facing deterioration of their socio-economic foundations. In course of these transformations, they entered the process of urbanization and formed the core of Polish intelligentsia. This scheme endured till 1980s, when was challenged and considerably modified by review studies on peasant origins of intelligentsia¹⁴. Other production on national

¹² J. Szacki, *Z historii rozwoju ideologii szlacheckich rewolucjonistów lat 20-tych*[History of nobles' revolutionaries' ideology of 1820s], Warszawa 1955; his *O polskich rewolucjonistach szlacheckich drugiego i trzeciego dziesięciolecia XIX wieku*[On Polish nobles' revolutionaries of 1820s and 1830s], [in:] *Myśl Filozoficzna* 1955/4; his *Ojczyzna - Naród - Rewolucja. Problematyka narodowa w polskiej myśli szlachecko-rewolucyjnej*[Fatherland - Nation - Revolution. National problem in Polish nobles' revolutionaries], Warszawa 1962; complementary paper also of B. Leśnodorski, *Niektóre zagadnienia nacjonalizmu, patriotyzmu i inteligentkiego radykalizmu*[Some questions of nationalism, patriotism and intelligentsia radicalism], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1961/3

¹³ A. Kamiński, *Polskie związki młodzieży w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*[Polish youth organizations in the first half of 19th century], vol. 1, Warszawa 1959

¹⁴ H. Brodowska, *Ze studiów nad kształtowaniem się poczucia społeczno-narodowego chłopów w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*[Studies on forming socio-national conscience of peasants in Kingdom of Poland in the second half of 19th century], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniw. Łódzkiego* 34(1964); K. Groniowski, *W sprawie dróg i sposobów przenikania świadomości narodowej na wieś w latach 60-tych XIX wieku*[On methods of proliferation of national consciousness into countryside in 1860s], [in:] VIII Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich, Warszawa 1960; J. Chałasiński, *Od narodu szlacheckiego do ludowego*[From nobles' to people's nation], [in:] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 13(1969)/1; his *Przemiany samowiedzy narodowej w pamiętnikarstwie*

question till 1966 was rather marginal, however another social scientist, W. Markiewicz, began his studies on emigration, assimilation and national identity¹⁵.

The year of 1966 marked the millennium of Polish statehood and brought sometimes hot discussions on national past. In the like was the debate organized by quarterly *Z Pola Walki*, focusing on notions of *political nation* given the absence of an own state¹⁶. Among influx of sometimes useful publications¹⁷ appeared also studies designed as synthesis. They were the first of this sort in the post-war Poland and were preceded by little more than amateur or propaganda attempts abroad. Here might be counted the work written from nationalist positions by W. Zaleski. The author perceived nation as changing but innate community, and in fact introduced Polish nation as early as in 1966¹⁸. The contribution of much more value comes from T. Łepkowski. The scholar published crucial series of papers, climaxing in his monographic synthesis on history of the nation. It constituted the first attempt to give an outlook of nation-building process, and till today remains obligatory lecture for anyone willing to study national problem in Poland. Moreover, since its publication in 1967, there was no other attempt to review and rewrite Polish national history in such a synthesis. The 25-year old volume, however some of its thesis have been undermined in following detailed studies, remains unchallenged¹⁹.

Opolszczyzny[Transformations of national self-knowledge in memoirs of Opole region], [in:] *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 9(1965)/5; his *Przeszłość i przyszłość inteligencji polskiej*[Past and future of Polish intelligentsia], Warszawa 1973

¹⁵ W. Markiewicz, *Przeobrażenia w świadomości narodowej emigrantów z Francji*[Transformations of national consciousness of emigrants from France], Poznań 1960

¹⁶ J. Kowalski, *O niektórych współczesnych aspektach kwestii narodowej*[On some contemporary aspects of national question], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1966/1; *Ewolucja myśli marksistowskiej w kwestii narodu i państwa*[Evolution of marxist thought on nation and state], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1966/2; also the whole issue: *Z Pola Walki* 1966/3

¹⁷ See B. Leśnodorski, *Historia a współczesność*[History and the present day], Warszawa 1967; P. Łossowski, *Kwestia narodowa w rewolucji*[National question in revolution], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1967/3;

¹⁸ W. Zaleski, *Tysiąc lat naszej wspólnoty. Społeczne i gospodarcze dzieje narodu polskiego w zarysie*[Thousand years of our community. Social and economic history of Polish nation in outline], Londyn 1961

¹⁹ T. Łepkowski, *O narodzie i polskiej świadomości narodowej w epoce reform i powstań XVIII i XIX wieku*[On nation and national consciousness in the time of reforms and uprisings, 19-20th century], [in:] *Nowe Drogi* 1966/6; his *La formation de la nation polonaise moderne dans les conditions d'un pays demembre*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 19(1968); his *Polska. Narodziny nowoczesnego narodu, 1764-1870*[Poland. The modern nation is born, 1764-1870], Warszawa 1967; his *Poglądy na jedno- i wieloetniczność narodu polskiego w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*[Theories on multi- and monoethnicity of Polish nation in the first half of

The author examines one by one the problems constituting Polish national issue, like state, territory, economy, politics, other nations, culture, religion etc. The stress is in fact not on continuity, but on constant change and diversity with regard to many of these factors. For instance, the Poles were subjected to many state regimes, and each of them, be it Polish, Russian, Austrian, Prussian or French underwent considerable transformations. Accordingly, the problem of statehood was relegated into secondary positions inferior to nationality. The approach is manifested by temporal confines of "nation-building process": 1764, i.e., late Polish state to last further 30 years, and 1870 - the midst of alien domination. But, 1764 is important as beginning of first modern institutional transformations. The closing date of 1870 marks the ultimate uniting experience, the aftermath of 1863 uprising.

Leaving aside wide socio-economic background, matters of cultural unity and national consciousness seem to be considered of primary importance. Mechanism of "self-description by opposition" is thought the core that shaped identity. Consequently, national military experiences of 1794, 1807-1813, 1831, 1846-1848 and 1863 were events necessary to make this identity function. Thus, there would have been no modern Polish nation had the national uprisings not provided the momentous impulses.

Fragmentation of problems is not equalled by division into periods, and narration is more static than dynamic. By and large, three phases are listed, all specified according to state of national consciousness: 1764-1794, 1794-1831 and 1831-1864. In conclusion the author claims that in 1870 about 30-35% of Polish-speaking population consciously shared national identity. These numbers marked completion of forming the modern nation, yet to expand but not to melt among other groups.

In general, the study was well-received²⁰. There were of course many doubts as to detailed issues and some disagreement on more general ones. Institutional transformations on every level were neglected and thus uprisings overestimated, there was nothing that unique as claimed in Polish national history, division into periods was at least disputable etc. There seemed to be general consent, however, that the modern nation had its roots in transformations of late 18th century, matured and unified in course of the 19th, and after 1870 elements safeguarding its existence have already been formed. The paper provided in 1971 by J. Kawecki is based on scheme worked out by Łepkowski. The author proceeds with detailed examination of Enlightenment reforms in the

19th century], [in:] *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna a dziejach kultury polskiej*, Warszawa 1973; his *Naród polski w epoce rozbiorów*[Polish nation under the partitions], [in:] *Studia nad rozwojem narodowym Polaków, Czechów i Słowaków*, Wrocław 1976

²⁰ Z. Stankiewicz, J. Skowronek, R. Bender, *Narodziny nowoczesnego narodu polskiego*[The modern Polish nation is born], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 75(1968)/4

late 18th century and its links with forging new common identity²¹. S. Kieniewicz however has seen crucial mechanisms somewhere else²². Some elements of nationality - consciously realized ethnic community with no political notions - existed even in the Middle Ages. But, national consciousness was put in the forefront by capitalism and bourgeoisie revolution. Its development occurred mainly as the result of changing patterns between peasantry and nobles, and could be separated into 3 phases. The first was characterized by feudal stability, insignificant class tension and the peasantry remaining under traditional nobles' patriotic influence. In the second, mental and economic emancipation of peasantry ensued fallen uprisings and alien bureaucracy turned the ally. Finally, agrarian reform, education and new peasant-state relations shaped new consciousness. It appears that peasant's place in production structure seems the crucial factor in these mechanisms.

Two volumes that appeared in 1970 also introduced models of Polish national development. The one better written, more cohesive and also present in following years was constructed by K. Grzybowski²³. It assumes that there is a direct link between Polish nation and undefined community or unit of 11-23 centuries. The link is so strong that label "age-old Polish lands" is applied to what is nowadays Poland in early Middle Ages. Temporal phases are marked by socio-political development. They are: 1/first united state - 2/overcoming separatisms - 3/against alien domination - 4/renaissance competition of concepts of nationality - 5/decline caused by hijacking the national notion by nobles - 6/new transformations of 18-19 century. The final phase of forming modern nation is defined as 1860s-1918. In brief, nation-building for Grzybowski seems to be the struggle for homogeneity. The latter is understood in terms of consciousness and forged in process of responding to challenges and overcoming oppositions. Sections on the last stages of nation-building, i.e., the perfectly homogenized socialist nation, belong rather to ideology than historical science.

²¹ J. Kawecki, *U początków nowoczesnego narodu*[At the outset of the modern nation], [in:] *Polska w epoce Oświecenia*(ed. by B. Leśnodorski), Warszawa 1971. Similar approach and conclusions also 10 years later, see R. K. Lewański, *La Polonia dalla "nazione nobiliare" alla patria di tutti i ceti sociali*, [in:] *Risveglio delle nazionalita nel periodo napoleonico*, Pisa 1981

²² S. Kieniewicz, *Le developpement de la conscience nationale polonaise au XIXe siecle*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 19(1968); his *Rozwój polskiej świadomości narodowej w XIX wieku*[Development of Polish national consciousness in 19th century], [in:] *Pamiętnik X Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Lublinie*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1968; his *Drogi wiodące do niepodległości*[Roads to independence], [in:] *Droga przez półwiecze*, Warszawa 1969

²³ K. Grzybowski, *Ojczyzna, naród, państwo*[Fatherland, nation, state], Warszawa 1970

Interpretation of M. Żychowski is rather a set of essays than integrated scheme, and generally represents the odd merge of simplified marxism with nationalist leaning²⁴. In this vision the old term "fatherland", embracing both state and nation, combined in late 18th century with "patriotism," i.e., the notion of tradition of the past. This mixture was democratized by Romanticism and preserved by military struggles and art. It had to resist the burdens imposed by the upper strata and in some cases Catholicism, which was not necessarily an integrating factor. Finally, only marxism provided the answer for national question which was deteriorated and entangled in insoluble trappings of 20th century. The author lists also features constituting a model patriot and member of the nation. It is not sure whether he does it for the sake of reconstructing the stereotype, or maybe rather quite seriously. There is little trace of impact of this work on further studies.

The year of 1968 marked another anniversary - of 1918 reconstruction of Poland. The historical interest switched to the interwar period and apart from discussing traditional questions²⁵, received some new impulses. In the like was the discussion held by *Miesięcznik Literacki*, which coined the term "vertical integration," soon transformed into "national integration."²⁶ It was intended to signify the process of national identification in its relation to class identification, and underwent examination during historical conferences in 1969 and 1974. The new concept was in odd relation to homogeneity theory of Grzybowski, the issue that might be traced on example of L. Hass. He questioned usefulness of the term, allegedly suggesting that there was a past unity, which got broken and must be rebuilt. In fact, Polish nation did not emerge on the basis of ethnic community, but of the cultural community of the nobles, gradually joined by other groups. Similar processes occurred in Hungarian case and might be contrasted with Ukrainian or Rumanian history. Such a new formation later had to face social trappings, and the only solution is a new, socialist nation. Hence, in one interpretation "integration" meant false unity in frames of nobles' culture. In fact, it did not overcome social differences and was a challenge to the real homogeneity. In Hass' version integration stood as support for homogenization of the nation.

The trend undoubtedly should be credited for few volumes that appeared in late 1970s and tried to confront social, national and even religious communities. One of them is the joint product on social change in Kingdom of

²⁴ M. Żychowski, *Polska, ojczyzna, naród*[Poland, fatherland, nation], Warszawa 1968

²⁵ A. Czubiński, *Znaczenie odbudowy niepodległego państwa polskiego dla narodu polskiego*[Significance of reconstruction of independent Polish state for the Polish nation], [in:] *Roczniki Historyczne* 36(1970)

²⁶ *II Rzeczpospolita*[The Second Republic], [in:] *Miesięcznik Literacki* 1968/6

Poland from Napoleonic era till enfranchisement of peasants²⁷. The most noteworthy is perhaps the attempt to synthesize history not of Polish nation, but of Polish society, comprising the set of innovatory studies. One of the authors, A. Mączak, adhered to this approach even later and probably should be considered, together with Żarnowski, the chief "integratory" historian of Polish nation²⁸. The debate lost momentum in late-1970s and statistical material collected, mostly by J. Żarnowski, seems to weight more than theoretical schemes produced in its course²⁹.

The term "integration" was often used also in another sense. It did not mean the balance between social and national issues, but strengthening links between various geographical regions that before 1918 used to fall into three different state structures. The relative term was "regionalism," standing for manifestations of local identity based not on national foundations, but on traditional local patriotism. Thus, Ukrainian claims with regard to south-eastern voivodships can hardly be considered "regionalism." They were understood by both the Ukrainians and the government as first step toward independence, and more proper name for them is rather separatism. It is not the case of some other provinces: they desired neither to form another state unit nor to be attached to one of Poland's neighbors. In the interwar Poland this question was rather odd. Some provinces were denied autonomous status despite not marginal demands, like in case of Wielkopolska. Some provinces rejected autonomous regulations despite Warsaw's will to impose such upon them, like in case of the Vilnius region. Finally Upper Silesia, mixed case of regionalism and national separatism, was conferred autonomous status due to international obligations accepted by Poland.

Wielkopolska voiced its claims in 1919-1920 and soon after the May Coup of 1926. B. Wysocka tries to assess the real scope and significance of the movement. Generally she leans to conclusion that some cultural resentments were utilized by individuals and groups that saw their economic

²⁷ *Przemiany społeczne w Królestwie Polskim 1815-1864*[Social transformations in Kingdom of Poland, 1815-1864], Wrocław 1979; notions of religion and nation also on S. Kieniewicz, *L'Eglise polonaise et la cause nationale au XIXe siecle*, [in:] *Istituzioni, cultura e societa in Italia e in Polonia*, Galetina 1979

²⁸ *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku*[Polish society from 10th to 20th century], Warszawa 1979; A. Mączak, *Rządzacy i rządzeni*[The rulers and the ruled], Warszawa 1983

²⁹ J. Żarnowski, *Procesy integracyjne w Polsce międzywojennej*[Integration processes in the interwar Poland], [in:] *Pamiętnik X Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol.2, Warszawa 1968; his *Rozwój narodu polskiego w okresie międzywojennym*[Development of Polish nation in the interwar period], [in:] *Studia nad rozwojem narodowym Polaków, Czechów i Słowaków*, Wrocław 1976; articles in: *Drogi integracji społeczeństwa w Polsce XIX-XX w.*[Integration of society in Poland, 19-20th century](ed. by H. Zieliński), Wrocław 1976

interest in more loose links with Poland. This seems also to be the opinion of A. Czubiński, who analyzes both Wielkopolska and Pomerania³⁰. The latter region was focused on by scholar from Gdańsk R. Wapiński. He tends to see the reasons for curbed integration in heritage from the previous epoch rather than in conscious drive of the local population³¹. The Upper Silesian case is analyzed in works of M. Wanatowicz and P. Dobrowolski³². Another sub-Silesian province of some separate cultural features, Opole Silesia, was addressed by top figure of Polish social sciences, S. Ossowski³³. The small highland region in southern Poland, *Podhale*, was conceived in Warsaw as the example of "safe" regionalism. Strong vernacular patriotism of the area has never posed serious problems of political nature. Official publications often used to exploit it when discussing merge of pluralism and loyalty in Poland. The phenomenon turned explosive issue after 1939, when the Germans attempted to

³⁰ B. Wysocka, *Regionalizm Wielkopolski w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Wielkopolska's regionalism in the Second Republic], [in:] *Sprawozdania Pozn. Tow. Przyj. Nauk* 93(1975); hers *Regionalizm Wielkopolski w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Wielkopolska's regionalism in the Second Republic], Poznań 1981; A. Czubiński, *Problem tzw. separatyzmu dzielnicowego w Wielkopolsce i na Pomorzu w latach 1918-1926*[Problem of so-called regional separatism in Wielkopolska and Pomerania, 1918-1926], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 42(1983); L. Gomolec, *Regionalizm wielkopolski*[The Wielkopolska regionalism]; W. Jakóbczyk, *Dawniejszy regionalizm w Poznańskim*[Former regionalism in the Poznań region], both in: *Kronika Wielkopolska* 1986/3

³¹ R. Wapiński, *Główne elementy integracji Pomorza Gdańskiego z pozostałymi ziemiami polskimi w latach 1920-1970*[Main elements integrating Gdańsk Pomerania with other Polish lands, 1920-1970], [in:] *Zapiski Historyczne* 37(1972)/3; his *Między ojczyznami prywatnymi a ideologicznymi*[Between private and ideological fatherlands], [in:] *Zeszyty Nauk. Wydz. Humanist. UG* 10/11(1986); also R. Drzeżdżon, *Ruch regionalny na Kaszubach w latach 1920-1939*[Regional movement in the Kaszuby region, 1920-1939], [in:] *Biuletyn Zarz. Gł. Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego Pomerania* 7(1970)/5-6; H. Kutta, *"My" i "oni" na Pomorzu w latach 1920-1939*["We" and "they" in Pomerania, 1920-1939], [in:] *Zapiski Historyczne* 1991/2-3

³² P. Dobrowolski, *Związek Obrony Górnoszlązaków*[Union for Defence of Upper-Silesians], [in:] *Zaranie Śląskie* 1967/4; his *Ugrupowania i kierunki separatystyczne na Górnym Śląsku i w Cieszyńskim w latach 1918-1939*[Separatist groups and orientations in Upper and Cieszyn Silesia, 1918-1939] Warszawa 1972; M. Wanatowicz, *Stereotyp Galicjanina w środowisku górnośląskim w Polsce niepodległej 1922-1939*[Stereotype of a Galician in Upper Silesia in independent Poland, 1922-1939], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 29(1986)/1; hers and other articles in: *Ziemie Śląskie w granicach II Rzeczypospolitej*[Silesian territories within the Second Republic](ed. by F. Serafin), Katowice 1985; *Z problemów integracji i unifikacji II Rzeczypospolitej*[Unification and integration problems of the Second Republic](ed. by J. Chlebowczyk), Katowice 1980

³³ S. Ossowski, *Zagadnienie więzi regionalnej i więzi narodowej na Śląsku Opolskim*[Regional and national links problem in the Opole Silesia region], [in:] *Dziela*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1967

take advantage of it and to promote the new nation-ethnic group of "Goralenvolk." From many publications dealing with the affair one of the most serious ones looks to be the ethnographical rather than historical article of J. Bujak³⁴. Finally, from three general works attempting to introduce some systematization, only the one of P. Kwiatkowski refers exactly to the issue, and other attach to it somewhat different sense³⁵.

Apart from integration issues, there is hardly any special trend to be traced in 1970s historiography on Polish nation. Two the most advanced scholars, Łepkowski and Kieniewicz, switched to other issues, however the latter's monograph of 1863 uprising is not without significance to questions of national identity³⁶. Early 1970s brought some studies on Romanticism and the image of national question in the cultural context. One of their drifts was balance between universalist values, often held responsible for surge of national movements in mid-19th century, and unique Polish features, also said to facilitate national identifications. Some scholars discuss Łepkowski's interpretations: A. Zieliński claims that nation-building process began after 1815, and preceding years are thought rather to lay some foundations³⁷. The critical element is said to be widely conceived ideology and national myth, with their contents listed and analyzed in sometimes detailed manner. In general, this sphere is apparently taken as a cause, not result, of beliefs, customs and behavior. One of the students, A. Walicki, also concentrates on Romanticism, pursuing the thesis of crucial transformations occurring at that time. He repeats earlier remarks of scholars like A. Galos, that at the time historiography possessed many pieces, but they could hardly be put together. For such a work, interdisciplinary approach is a must, combined with enriching the set of categories at disposal. His works in a sense respond to the call, as they are continuation of Szacki's interest. In aggregate research on Romanticism consist

³⁴ J. Bujak, *Regionalizm a świadomość narodowa (na przykładzie regionalizmu podhalańskiego)* [Regionalism and national consciousness. The case of Podhale], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace etnograficzne* 10(1977)

³⁵ S. Herbst, *Regionalne badania historyczne w przeszłości i w Polsce Ludowej* [Regional research in the past and in the Peoples' Poland], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1956/4-5; Z. Mańkowski, *Regionalizm historyczny w Polsce. Uporządkowanie pojęć - problemy metodologiczne* [Historical regionalism in Poland. Regulation of terms - methodological problems], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 13(1981)/1-2; P. Kwiatkowski, *Ideologia regionalizmu w Polsce międzywojennej* [Ideology of regionalism in the interwar Poland], [in:] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 28(1984)/4

³⁶ S. Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe* [The January Uprising], Warszawa 1972

³⁷ A. Zieliński, *Naród i narodowość w polskiej literaturze i publicystyce lat 1815-1831* [Nation and nationality in Polish literature 1815-1831], Wrocław 1969; his *Początek wieku. Przemiany polskiej kultury narodowej w latach 1807-1831* [Start of the century. Transformations in Polish national culture 1807-1831], Łódź 1973;

of both analysis rooted in social sciences and highlighting intellectual trends, although Walicki himself much prefers the latter³⁸. Few marginal studies analyzed other images preserved in cultures³⁹. Visions of national community were later traced also in political literature, even this traditionally considered far from such themes⁴⁰.

The research was invigorated in late 1970s, again in the wake of 60th anniversary of regaining independence. Three partitioned sections of Polish nation were examined with regard to impact of three alien statehoods. The joint effort was one of the rare attempts to focus on divergence rather than unity and stress differences rather than similarities⁴¹. Again resurfaced the problem of own state. T. Łepkowski and J. Żarnowski allied in their defence of nations' endurance potential, based on non-material values organized around language. Żarnowski specified these values as ideology, art, science, education and customs. He differed gravely from Łepkowski when asserted that when Poland collapsed by the end 18th century the nation was strong enough to secure its 100 years of survival. In the scheme, more publicist than scientific, he appears to assume that nation is shaping its culture, and not vice versa. H. Jabłoński was then a historian holding the post of nominal head of Polish state. Not surprisingly, he produced the volume advocating the values of statehood tradition and national uprisings aiming at its regaining, more than a historical

³⁸ H. Łowmiański, *Pojęcia "naród", "lud" i "klasa" w pismach Joachima Lelewela* [Terms "nation", "peoples" and "class" in writings of J. Lelewel], [in:] *Naród i Państwo*, Warszawa 1969; G. Bujarski, *Polish liberalism 1815-1823. The Question of Cosmopolitanism and National Identity*, [in:] *Polish Review* 17(1972); A. Hermann, *Naród i rewolucja w polskiej literaturze romantycznej* [Nation and revolution in Polish romantic literature], [in:] *Pamiętnik Literacki* 64(1973)/2; A. Walicki, *The Conception of Nation in the Polish Romantic Messianism*, [in:] *Dialectics and Humanism* 2(1975)/1; also his *Philosophy and romantic nationalism. The case of Poland*, Oxford 1982

³⁹ J. Mizerska, *Elementy świadomości narodowej w pieśni polskiej w XIX wieku* [Elements of national consciousness in Polish songs of 19th century], [in:] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 16(1972)/4; S. Lorentz, *Rola zabytków w kształtowaniu świadomości narodowej* [Monuments' role in shaping national consciousness], [in:] *Zeszyty Historyczno-Polityczne* SD 11(1975)

⁴⁰ J. Kurczewska, *Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych* [Ideas and concepts of nation in Polish political thought of partitions period], Warszawa 1977; hers *Naród w socjologii i ideologii polskiej* [Nation in Polish social sciences and ideology], Warszawa 1979; *Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych* (ed. A. Walicki), Toruń 1974 and Warszawa 1977

⁴¹ L. Trzeciakowski (Prussian part), H. Wereszycki (Austrian) and S. Kieniewicz (Russian), all in: *Dzieje Najnowsze* 9(1977)

pronouncement at the time. R. Wapiński highlighted the impact of formalized structures on nation-building⁴².

In the late 1970s it seemed that in general interest switched to issues of cultural heritage, shared values and community of ideas. Earlier H. Brodowska proceeded with her studies on social and national consciousness among peasantry, pursuing very optimistic ideas as to patriotic fervor in rural low strata⁴³. Later national consciousness became popular theme, competing with statistical and social measures of nation-building progress. The phase placed by Łepkowski behind the crucial period, i.e., late 19th century, was under special focus, and was sometimes prolonged until 1918.

S. Kieniewicz in the article designed not necessarily as scientific pronouncement admitted grave doubts as to various phases of national development⁴⁴. He found himself not far from general skepticism when alleging that a process so complicated and diverse like nation-building escapes any attempts of systematization. They usually prove ill-tailored and artificial. Nevertheless, he himself was also lured, and introduced two general stages. The first consists of realizing ties with language, customs, culture and thus with Polish nation. The second embraces acceptance and support for independence claims. The moment in-between is like marxist transformation from "class in itself" to "class for itself," and seems equally impossible to precise. Its mechanisms are similarly elusive, and are analyzed on the sample of peasantry, traditional Kieniewicz's topic since 1947. Was a peasant consciously taking part in various manifestations of national life, i.e., newspapers, elections, anniversaries, cooperatives? Or might it be that for some reason such actions

⁴² T. Łepkowski, *Przetrwanie narodu i niepodległość państwa*[Survival of nation and independence of state], [in:] *Więź* 1978/11; J. Żarnowski, *Ojczyzną był język i mowa*[Language and tongue were the fatherland], Warszawa 1978; H. Jabłoński, *Niepodległość i tradycje państwowe*[Independence and state traditions], Warszawa 1978; R. Wapiński, *Organizacyjno-instytucjonalne aspekty procesów narodotwórczych*[Organizational-institutional aspects of nation-building processes], [in:] *Pamiętnik XII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich* vol. 2, Katowice 1979

⁴³ H. Brodowska, *Kierunki rozwoju świadomości społecznej i narodowej chłopów polskich w okresie kształtowania się nowoczesnego narodu*[Directions of forming social and national consciousness of Polish peasants during shaping of modern nation], [in:] *XI Powszechny Zjazd Historyków w Toruniu; her Świadomość społeczna i narodowa chłopów na progu niepodległości Polski w 1918 r.*[Social and national consciousness of peasants in the wake of independence in 1918], [in:] *Roczniki Dziejów Ruchu Ludowego* 1975/17; see also T. Krawczak, *Kształtowanie świadomości narodowej chłopów polskich w Galicji w latach 1864-1914*[Forming of national consciousness among Polish peasants in Galicia, 1864-1914], [in:] *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1978/11

⁴⁴ S. Kieniewicz, *Polska świadomość narodowa i społeczna 1864-1918*[Polish national and social consciousness, 1864-1918], [in:] *Kultura* 1977/39

suiting certain of his needs, and participation itself formed a conscious Pole out of him?

Other scholars were not so cautious, and national consciousness was targeted in a few studies and discussions more eager to achieve measurable results. They were flawed by what Kieniewicz described as presentism, i.e., looking for manifestations of consciousness, but not for the phenomenon in the making⁴⁵. Especially hesitance as to methods of measuring consciousness among the peasantry was not shared by other scholars: traditionally H. Brodowska, who continued her 20-year long research on the issue, J. R. Szaflik and A. Wojtas⁴⁶. By and large, the research indeed shifted to mechanisms than manifestations of national identity, however the results differed. Studies of J. Molenda, yet confined to two articles, seem to be especially well-rooted in thorough research done by the author himself. His proposal for development phases was the sole one accepted by Kieniewicz. Molenda searched through sources like memoirs, letters held in private archives or confiscated by the police, administration applications, official reports of various origin, church documents etc. Among many elements forging national consciousness, language is not counted among the crucial ones. The issues he concentrates on are: 1/stratification processes and the place of the peasants within the social structure of the modern Polish nation; 2/the modernization of agriculture and the development of education in the countryside, 3/territorial self-government and peasant organizations; 4/changes in the national consciousness of the peasants; 5/the social, political and national aspirations of the activists within the peasant movement. According to the author phase one, not entering the stage of political demands, among Polish peasantry persisted at least till 1910-1920. Nevertheless, it says little about the level of "patriotism." The author underlined commitment to ethnic values, even if terms like "nation," "independence" or even "Pole" are

⁴⁵ *Sprawozdanie z dyskusji w IH PAN poświęconej problematyce świadomości narodowej i społecznej na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*[Outline of discussion on national and social consciousness on Polish territories in 2nd half of 19th century], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 85(1978)/2; A. Molenda, *Uwagi o kształtowaniu się świadomości narodowej w pierwszym dwudziestoleciu XX wieku*[Remarks on forming national consciousness in the first two decades of 20th century], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 85(1978)/2;

⁴⁶ J. R. Szaflik, *Czynniki kształtujące świadomość narodową chłopów polskiego w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku*[Factors shaping national conscience by the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century], [in:] *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 26(1982)/12, 27(1983)/4; H. Brodowska, *Kształtowanie się świadomości społecznej i narodowej chłopów w XIX stuleciu*[Forming of social and national consciousness of peasants in 19th century], [in:] *Acta Univ. Lodzensis, Folia Historica* 24(1986); A. Wojtas, *Kształtowanie świadomości narodowej i państwowej chłopów*[Forming of national and state consciousness of peasants], Warszawa 1988

not acknowledged. This piety might prove of greater significance for nation-building than some political attempts. The passage to another phase occurred chiefly thanks to political peasant activists. Idea of independent Poland was beyond demands referring to personal and regional fate. It was tied with private lot by conscious propaganda, embracing critical appraisal of the past and the idea of new, democratic-republican Poland⁴⁷. There were not many papers on similar issues among industrial workers, as their parties and movements were usually analyzed in frames of research on left-wing political programs and theories⁴⁸.

In early 1980s appeared also some attempts to overview the question of consciousness. When discussed, it was usually specified not only as "national," but also as "social," the result of debates on integration. In 1982 A. Burda came out with the proposal of introducing also the category of "state awareness," and in the following years the term was indeed used in a few publications. The theory is probably the most evident Polish example of following the approach of J. Breuilly, and the very suggestion of constructing new category carries it even further. Burda agrees that each national movement is driven by desire to form an own state, and presence of political dimension is *conditio sine qua non* for each matured nation. The wider strata are subject of political life, the more vigorous national community is. National consciousness does not only extends to matters of state, but is also formed by the latter. In Polish history state awareness was lingering during all 19th century, and had crucial impact on the shape of modern nation. In fact, any phases of its development are marked by changing visions and attitudes of state⁴⁹. More cautious remarks were contained in volume containing works of many authors on the role of state and other factors in regaining 1918 independence⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ J. Molenda, *Transformations in the Social Structure and in the Consciousness and Aspirations of the Polish Peasants at the turn of the 20th century*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 57(1988); his *The Formation of National Consciousness of the Polish Peasants and the Part They Played in the Regaining Independence by Poland*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 63-64(1991)

⁴⁸ W. L. Karwacki, *Wiedza historyczna robotników polskich w latach zaborów*[Historical knowledge of Polish workers under partitions], [in:] *Polska klasa robotnicza*(ed. by S. Kalabiński), vol. 9, Warszawa 1980

⁴⁹ A. Burda, *U podstaw świadomości państwowej*[At the foundations of state awareness], Lublin 1982

⁵⁰ See papers of M. Nowak-Kiełbikowa, J. Żarnowski, F. Ryszka and others in: *Z perspektywy sześćdziesięciu lat*(ed. by H. Jankowska, M. Nowak-Kiełbikowa), Warszawa 1982

K. Symmons-Symonolewicz, the scholar of nationalisms, ventured to write a synthesis of Polish national identity patterns⁵¹. It was the first one of this sort and constituted also an attempt to present how his general theories work in a case study. Unfortunately, it was confined to the period till 1830s, and section referring to 19th century is regarded as the least successful. Two preceding parts distinct two phases of common identity awareness' development, but in general they fall beyond the scope of this chapter. The proposals were not much appreciated in Poland, and it is maintained that Symmons-Symonolewicz owed more to research of scholars there than historians in Poland might owe to him. Actually, as far as awareness problems were concerned, the agenda was occupied by remarks on links between writing history and being in history, i.e., the role of historian in forging the perception of national identity⁵².

The perennial debate evaluating methods of nation's struggle for own state, usually confined to popular literature, surfaced in 1980s. Brief and cool review was delivered by Kieniewicz⁵³. The uprisings of 19th century, always having been in the forefront and even in the center to scholars like Łepkowski, were examined by other students. E. Halicz, whose work features rather military events, only in a small section announced in the title of larger volume sticks to Łepkowski's thesis. A. Barszczewska-Krupa follows the same path in some minor works. Their conclusions might be summarized by the title of second chapter in Barszczewska's study: "The November Uprising as a Turning Point in the Consciousness of the Younger Generation."⁵⁴ Both authors assigned to guerilla warfare exceptional importance in terms of shaping feeling

⁵¹ K. Symmons-Symonolewicz, *National Consciousness in Poland. Origin and Evolution*, Meadville 1983

⁵² *Świadomość historyczna Polaków. Problemy i metody badawcze*[Historical consciousness of the Poles. Problems and methods of research](ed. by J. Topolski), Łódź 1981; S. Kieniewicz, *Historyk a świadomość narodowa*[Historian and national awareness], Warszawa 1982; J. Topolski, *Wiedza historyczna a świadomość narodowa i państwowa*[Historical knowledge and national and state awareness], [in:] *Ideologia i polityka* 15(1984)/3. Earlier also: *Historia i świadomość narodowa*[History and national awareness](ed. by W. Wesółowski), Warszawa 1970

⁵³ S. Kieniewicz, *Utrata państwowości i drogi jej odzyskania*[Loss of statehood of methods of regaining it], [in:] *Polish Western Affairs* 1979/2

⁵⁴ E. Halicz, *Polish national liberation struggles and the genesis of the modern nation*, Odense 1982; A. Barszczewska-Krupa, *Generacja powstańcza 1830-1831. O przemianach w świadomości Polaków w XIX w.*[The uprising generation 1830-1831. On changes in Poles' consciousness in 19th century], Łódź 1985; K. Molenda, *Wpływ ukształtowania się nowoczesnego narodu polskiego na walkę o niepodległość*[Forming of modern Polish nation and fight for independence], [in:] *Z perspektywy 60 lat*, Warszawa 1982; more ambiguous conclusions in J. Skowronek, *L'insurrection de 1830: revolution ou nationalisme?*, [in:] *Pologne: l'insurrection de 1830-1831*, Lille/Wrocław 1982

of community and forging the common national experience. It was so despite, but also due to military failures. Two revolutionary episodes of 1846-1848 and 1905-1908 were portrayed in articles that underlined links between national and social questions⁵⁵. On the other hand, voices rose to defend the concepts of organicism. The ideology was traditionally hold responsible for decrease in patriotic zest and sometimes even blamed for slipping into collaboration with the partitioning powers⁵⁶. The most passionate defence is certainly not the best-organized and in fraction historical. It is the study of scholar previously occupied with Polish national movement in very western borderlands, J. Benyskiewicz⁵⁷.

By and large, the ax of his narration consists of comparing organicism and military efforts with regard to their impact on Polish nation-building. The challenge momentarily resembling an onslaught is directed against Łepkowski and the thesis he is fathering, i.e., had there been no uprising, Polish modern nation would have not emerged. Actually, they constituted a disintegrating factor always bringing nation-building on the edge of disaster. Organized and run by handful of malcontents, beginning with late 18th century, they by no means could be considered a constructive common experience. Their influence was kept at bay thanks to stable edifice of institutional network. The latter facilitated laying solid foundations for national development, i.e., education, art, economic enterprises, legal organizations etc. This is the mechanism that produced the nation, deprived of its state, but well-organized and united. Another option strove to gain the state, but without nation, i.e., the phenomenon well-rooted in pre-19th century Polish history.

The attempt certainly was designed as sketched outline of nation-building in Poland, and thus might be counted among not many in the like. But, its reception was at least hesitant. Benyskiewicz was found guilty of overlooking thesis that emerged in the meantime, repeating old misconceptions, flawed historical basis, fragmentary narration and misleading approach in general. The

⁵⁵ J. Chlebowczyk, *Narodowowyzwoleńcze zagadnienie rewolucji*[National-liberating questions of revolution 1905-1908], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 91(1984)/2; S. Filipowicz, *Naród i rewolucja*[Nation and revolution], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 23(1981)/1-2

⁵⁶ First was H. Kozłowska-Sabatowska, *Ideologia pozytywizmu galicyjskiego*[Ideology of Galician Positivism], Wrocław 1978; J. Ziółkowski, *Pozytywizm, naród niepodległość*[Positivism, nation, independence], [in:] *Znak* 1983/342-343; S. Blejwas, *Realism in Polish Politics: Warsaw Positivism and National Survival in Nineteenth Century*, New Haven 1984; M. Król, *Konserwatyści i niepodległość*[Conservatives and independence], Kraków 1985

⁵⁷ J. Benyskiewicz, *Naród bez państwa. O czynnikach integracji i dezintegracji narodu polskiego*[Nation without state. On factors of integration and disintegration of Polish nation], Zielona Góra 1987

latter lies in not acknowledging two spheres of nation's relation with external elements: defensive, building internal links, and offensive, seeking political embodiment. All ways leading to independence were surveyed in 1988 by E. Duraczyński⁵⁸.

Some works of mid-1980s featured on cultural heritage and its carriers, with findings of R. Czepulis-Rastenis especially relevant to the question of origins of Polish intelligentsia⁵⁹. But the issues placed by Benyskiewicz in the center of his narration were present, still not overestimated, in many generalizing pronouncements on Polish nation-building that were published about 1984-1988. In 1986 appeared huge study designed by the author as history of the nation⁶⁰. It came from the same emigre school that in 1961 published Zaleski's image of thousand year old national community, and actually stuck to the same assumptions. It was, however, written by leader of the group and much more detailed, in terms of volume being probably unmatched and one of the greatest personal undertakings in historiography. The study seems to be equally historical work and historic document, but has not entered any wider scientific circulation.

In Poland discussion evolved around the quest for Polish national character and self-image, first introduced in 1979-1980 and stirred by periodical *Znak* in 1987⁶¹. Again T. Łepkowski appeared in the forefront as the unchallenged expert. The 1984 study was slightly modified and compressed, but in principles unchanged version of 1967 model. His other papers endeavored to discuss features of "Polishness" in the last 200 years, carriers of relevant notions and their fate in face of new challenges. Łepkowski lists various models of Polish nation as they emerged in history: first *nobles' nation*, by the end of 18th century superseded by *possessors' nation*. Later came *political nation*, *social elite nation* and contradictory *peoples-nation*. In the interwar period existed *elite-nation*, *peoples-nation* and *citizens-nation*, with attempts to introduce also *race-nation*. After 1926 *nation-state*(not nation state) was

⁵⁸ E. Duraczyński, *Drogi narodu polskiego do niepodległości 1918 roku*[Polish nations's ways to independence of 1918], Warszawa 1988

⁵⁹ *Ineligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*[Polish intelligentsia of 19-20th century](ed. by R. Czepulis-Rastenis), vols. 1-5, Warszawa 1987; R. Czepulis-Rastenis, *Ludzie nauki i talentu*[People of study talent], Warszawa 1988; *Naród - Kościół - Kultura*[Nation - Church - culture](ed. by A. Chruszczewski), Lublin 1986; B. Suchodolski, M. Suchodolska, *Polska, naród a sztuka*[Poland, nation and art], Warszawa 1988

⁶⁰ J. Giertych, *Tysiąc lat historii narodu polskiego*[Thousand years of Polish nation's history], vols. 1-3, Londyn 1986

⁶¹ S. Bednarek, *Charakter narodowy w koncepcjach i badaniach współczesnej humanistyki*[National character in conceptions and research of modern humanities], Wrocław 1980; *Wokół pojęcia polskości*[On "Polishness"], *Znak* 39(1987)/11-12, 40(1988)/3

officially promoted. Experience of World War II is said to construct the first all-embracing community, *nation-peoples-state*, which collapsed under the pressure of post-1945 years. During that time, two models were promoted: *nation-state* (i.e., the unity of nation with its state), and *peoples-nation* (i.e., the no-class national community). They were sometimes oddly merged in something Łepkowski calls *federal nation of Peoples' Poland*. Published abroad or in openly anti-regime periodicals, all these works were also written with much less attention paid to censorship. It meant that they included into analysis also the period after 1945⁶². Another voice came unexpectedly from W. Markiewicz, pursuing the research between history and social sciences. Since 1960s he has been enquiring into problems of assimilation and national identity in the emigree environment with some remarkable publications. Two his articles appeared in 1985, and both delivered loosely tied reflections on nation-building in Poland⁶³. Finally another nestor of historiography, S. Kieniewicz, addressed similar questions of "being a Pole" without own state. His pronouncement was designed as part of discussion on nation's features, and summarized the images of own statehood⁶⁴. The crop of discussion was study of Z. Mach, discussing theoretical models of constructing national or ethnic identities and remaining in frames of cultural anthropology⁶⁵. The author surveys contribution of three Polish social sciences schools to history of nation. They are centered around the names of F. Znaniecki, J. Chałasiński and S. Ossowski and their respective interpretations⁶⁶. He himself tends to treat nationality and ethnicity in terms of cultural phenomena. Their core consists of self-created myths and images, and

⁶² J. Goćkowski, *Łepkowski Tadeusz: charakter narodowy jako zagadnienie naukowe* [Tadeusz Łepkowski: national character as scientific problem], [in:] *Odra* 24(1984)/1; T. Łepkowski, *Mysli o historii Polski i Polaków* [Thoughts on history of Poles and Poland], [in:] *Zeszyty Historyczne* 68(1984); his *Polska XVIII-XX wieku: naród rewolucyjny?* [Poland in 18-20th century: the revolutionary nation?], [in:] *Puls* 26(1986); his *Historyczne kryteria polskości* [Historical criteria of Polishness], [in:] *Znak* 39(1987)/11-12

⁶³ W. Markiewicz, *Rozmyślenia nad narodem* [Meditations upon nation], [in:] *Spółczesństwo i socjologia*, Warszawa 1985; his *The Emergence of Modern Polish Nation*, [in:] *Polish Western Affairs* 26(1985)/2

⁶⁴ S. Kieniewicz, *Wizje Polski niepodległej* [Visions of independent Poland], [in:] *Polska XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1986; his *Jak być Polakiem pod zaborami* [How to be a Pole under partitions], [in:] *Znak* 39(1987)/11-12

⁶⁵ Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, Kraków 1989

⁶⁶ F. Znaniecki, *Modern Nationalities*, Urbana Press 1952; J. Chałasiński, *Naród jako jedność moralna w polskiej filozofii społecznej XVIII wieku a problem chłopski* [Nation as moral unity in Polish social philosophy of 18th century and peasants' problem], [in:] *Rewolucja młodości*, Warszawa 1969; S. Ossowski, *Analiza socjologiczna pojęcia ojczyzny* [Social analysis of category "fatherland"], [in:] *O ojczyźnie i narodzie*, Warszawa 1984

thus is characterized by not immanent, "real" features, but by conventional ones. The model is epitomized by case studies of small minority communities on south borders of Polish ethnicity and newcomers to some regions of Lower Silesia.

National self-image in its spacial dimension was accepted as another feature of national character. A few students asked how identity, constructed in absence of own statehood, was tied to problems of state's territorial shape. To the Poles the problem was embodied in alternative: historical or ethnical, and was thus obviously linked to diverse meanings of national-state community. Some, like R. Wapiński, did not only seek to trace these links, but also attempted to measure their impact on ages of Polish history. Here count valuable articles of J. Kolbuszewski, J. Tomaszewski, Z. Hemmelring, A. Łuczak and J. Bardach in the volume on notion of the borderlands⁶⁷.

With new developments in Poland and intellectual ferment caused by them, one might expect invigorated research on Polish nation-building, recently eclipsed by growing interest in national minorities. By now, students of the issue repeat phrases from 1970s on fragmented information and flawed tools, calling for interdisciplinary approach and typology network⁶⁸.

NATION-BUILDING, LOCAL STUDIES

The striking feature of studies seeking to portray nation-building on regional level is that the production, amounting to hundreds of titles, consists in 90% of works focusing on Polish-German borderlands. It seems to be chiefly the result of three factors. The first of them is the devastating impact of World War II, which facilitated perceiving the contents of Polish national history as hundreds year long self-description against the Germans. The second is official policy which helped this conviction to anchor and took advantage of it, mostly

⁶⁷ R. Wapiński, *Kresy: alternatywa czy zależność*[Borderlands: alternative or dependance], Wrocław 1985; his *W kręgu wyobrażeń o polskim terytorium narodowym w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku*[Among images of Polish national territory by the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 42(1986)/5-6; *Między Polską etniczną a historyczną*[Between historical and ethnographical Poland](ed. by W. Wrzesiński), Warszawa 1988;

⁶⁸ S. Ciesielski, Z. Fras, K. Kawalec, T. Kulak, *Naród i narodowość polska lat 1795-1945 w badaniach historycznych*[Polish nation and nationality of 1795-1945 in historical research], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

- for the sake of promoting orientalist historiographical and ideological concepts. The network of institutions in western regions was established on the basis of inherited pre-1939 structures. It comprised scientific institutes, universities, periodicals, conferences etc., and this system soon launched its research. The third reason is that tracing the process of gaining national consciousness is relatively easy when done in the pattern of opposing one group against the other. In the Polish case, in the East it was rather non-Poles that had to construct their identity against the Poles, traditionally superior and aware. In the South the phenomenon of ethnically mixed borderlands was relatively rare. Thus, the German-Polish territories in the West and North suggested themselves as promising ground for research. One exception was the small region of what used to be Austrian Silesia, inhabited by mixed population of the Czechs, Germans and Poles. The research on the area is almost the personal effort of J. Chlebowczyk⁶⁹. Other contributors are M. Fazan and more recently A. Stępiak and Z. Jasiński⁷⁰. T. Krawczak is also to be mentioned for his works on Podlasie and Galicja⁷¹.

⁶⁹ J. Chlebowczyk, *Kształtowanie się świadomości narodowej i początków ruchu narodowego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*[Forming of national consciousness and outset of national movement in Cieszyn Silesia], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 66(1959)/2; his *O początkach ruchu narodowego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*[On the outset of national movement in Cieszyn Silesia], [in:] *Zaranie Śląskie* 23(1960)/2; his *Wybory do organów przedstawicielskich na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w 1848 roku*[Elections to representative bodies in Cieszyn Silesia in 1848], Katowice 1964; his *Wybory i świadomość społeczna na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*[Elections and social consciousness in Cieszyn Silesia], Katowice 1966; his *Węzłowe problemy i etapy rozwoju ruchu narodowego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*[Crucial problems and phases of national movement development in Cieszyn Silesia], [in:] *Cieszyński Rocznik Muzealny* 1(1969); his *Nad Olzą. Śląsk Cieszyński w XVIII, XIX i XX wieku*[By the Olza. Cieszyn Silesia in 18-20th century], Katowice 1971

⁷⁰ M. Fazan, *Gimnazjum polskie w Cieszynie jako ośrodek naukowy(1895-1922)*[The Polish gymnasium in Cieszyn as scientific center, 1895-1922], [in:] *Zaranie Śląskie* 1973/4; his *Polskie życie kulturalne na Śląsku Cieszyńskim na przełomie lat pięćdziesiątych XIX wieku*[Polish cultural life in Cieszyn Silesia in late 1850s], [in:] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 1982/1-2; his *Główne etapy rozwoju procesu kulturalnego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w okresie rodzenia się świadomości narodowej*[Main stages of cultural process' development in Cieszyn Silesia during the emergence of national consciousness], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 1985/3-4; A. Stępiak, *Kwestia narodowa i społeczna na Śląsku Cieszyńskim pod koniec XIX i na początku XX wieku*[National and social question in Cieszyn Silesia in late 19th and early 20th c.], Katowice 1986; Z. Jasiński, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa Polaków za Olzą(1920-1939)*[Cultural activity of the Poles behind the Olza, 1920-1939], Opole 1988

⁷¹ T. Krawczak, *Kształtowanie świadomości narodowej wśród chłopów Galicji w latach 1864-1914*[Shaping of national consciousness among Polish peasants in Galicja 1864-1914], [in:] *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 22(1978)/11; his *Kształtowanie świadomości narodowej wśród ludności wiejskiej Podlasia w latach 1863-1918*[Shaping of national

In terms of territory, five clusters seem to emerge: Warmia i Mazury/Ostpreußen; Pomorze Gdańskie i Zachodnie/Westpreußen, Pommern; Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen; Śląsk/Schlesien; Polish-German borderlands in general. Situation in these four regions was marked by some specific features, addressed also in research. Nevertheless, in general the comparison of methods used, problems tackled and conclusions reached does not reveal grave differences. Thus it might seem proper to treat all these groups together. But as this survey is expected to deliver some material on regional identifications, these clusters will be separated.

Warmia i Mazury/Ostpreußen

The earliest period taken into account when measuring Polish national development in the region was the first half of 19th century. As one could hardly speak of any organized movement, analysis has been centered upon the strength of ethnic community. Official papers and documents from church sources were usually used, with the latter considered more reliable⁷². First manifestations of national awareness and conscious attempts to strengthen ethnic community are located by S. Szostakowski and T. Sukiertowa-Biedrawina in 1830-1865. The impact of 1830-1831 uprising is considered particularly noteworthy impulse, as some Polish troops crossed the frontier and were greeted in many German states on their way to the exile in France. J. Jasiński highlights the anti-Russian warfare waged 30 years later, in 1863-1864. There was little enthusiasm saved for the insurgents in Germany, but Polish ethnic community in Ostpreußen was much more prepared to absorb the impulse⁷³. A. Wakar agrees, and the period of gaining momentum and becoming national movement is said to occur later, in 1880s. Its characteristic feature is that since the very

consciousness among rural population of Podlasie, 1863-1918], Biała Podlaska 1982

⁷² J. Obłak, *Język polski w kościołach i szkołach Warmii w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku* [Polish language in churches and schools on the first half of 19th century], [in:] *Zapiski Historyczne* 23(1957)/1-3; J. Wojtkowski, *Zasięg terytorialny języka polskiego w kazaniach na Warmii i Powiślu według akt akwizytacyjnych diecezji warmińskiej 1839-1858* [Territorial span of Polish language in sermons on Warmia and Powiśle, 1839-1858], [in:] *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 1957/4

⁷³ J. Jasiński, *Prusy Wschodnie a powstanie styczniowe* [Ostpreußen and the January Uprising], [in:] *KM-W* 1984/3; his *Warmia wobec powstania styczniowego* [Warmia and the January Uprising], [in:] *Rocznik Humanistyczny* 20(1972)/2

beginning, leaders of Warmia/Ermland movement did not attempt to build up on regional identity. Instead, they joined more matured and advanced centers in Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen. This seems to be rather typical when Polish regional initiatives are concerned. They were always stressing not local features, but the ones common with other Polish provinces, the paradox of regionalism in Poland. The reasons are not clear yet. Jasiński tended to highlight traditional links from pre-partitions period. Some, especially from the Poznań centers, focus on buoyant the Wielkopolska movement with its luring attractiveness. To others, conscious commitment to Polish culture was incompatible with strong regional patriotisms: they could jeopardize old national links and forge the new ones⁷⁴. Period from late 19th century till the aftermath of the war is perceived as gradual reinforcement of national movement by means of diverse initiatives. Many of them earned detailed articles that provide at least the outline of means the rural and uneducated minority resolves to when challenged by alien domination. They range from sport and gymnastic societies to local folklore, sobriety associations, "circles" action, mutual-improvement unions, folk literature etc. These largely non-political initiatives seem to be typical for earlier stages of national movements, and are burdened with reinforcing the community rather than with securing given political aims⁷⁵. The special role seems to played by

⁷⁴ E. Sukiertowa-Biedrawina, *Z zagadnień walki o szkołę polską w diecezji ełckiej w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*[On struggle for Polish school in Ełk diocese in the first half of 19th century], [in:] *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*(hereafter KM-W) 2(1958)/1; A. Wakar, *Przebudzenie narodowe Warmii 1886-1893*[Warmia's national awakening, 1886-1893], Olsztyn 1965; S. Szostakowski, *Prusy Wschodnie w polskim ruchu patriotycznym 1830-1865*[East Prussia in Polish patriotic movement 1830-1865], Olsztyn 1987; J. Jasiński, *Kontakty Warmii z innymi ziemiami polskimi u schyłku XVIII i na początku XIX wieku*[Warmia's contacts with other Polish territories in late 18th-early 19th c.], [in:] KM-W 1981/2-4; his *Z przeszłości szkolnictwa wiejskiego w pierwszej połowie XIX w. na polskiej Warmii*[Countryside education in Polish Warmia in the first half of the 19th c.], [in:] *Studia Warmińskie* 21(1984) and his earlier papers on schools and education

⁷⁵ W. Chojnacki, *Polska akcja narodowo-uświadamiająca na Mazurach przed I wojną światową*[Polish national-enlightening action in Mazury before World War I], [in:] *Zapiski Historyczne* 21(1955)/3-4; T. Sukiertowa-Biedrawina, *Świadomość narodowa na Mazurach i Warmii w pieśni ludowej*[National consciousness in Mazury and Warmia in folk songs], [in:] KM-W 1962/1; T. Swat, *Polska pieśń patriotyczna na Warmii i jej recepcja w okresie plebiscytu 1920 roku*[Polish patriotic song in Warmia and its reception in the plebiscite period of 1920], [in:] *Zeszyty Nauk. Wydz. Hum. UG* 4(1976); R. Otello, *Ruch gromadkarski w Prusach Wschodnich w latach 1848-1914*[The circles movement in Ostpreußen, 1848-1914], [in:] KM-W 1976/3; J. Jasiński, *Ruch trzeźwości na południowej Warmii w XIX wieku*[Sobriety movement in South Warmia in 19th c.], [in:] KM-W 21(1977)/3-4; H. Keferstein, *Napływ literatury polskiej na Warmię i Mazury w XIX i na początku XX wieku*[Influx of Polish literature on Warmia and Mazury in 19th and early 20th c.], [in:] KM-W 25(1981)/2-4; E. Muszalski, *Kultura polska na Mazurach*[Polish culture on Mazury], [in:]

the press. In the second half of the 19th century some local initiatives developed into stable institutions, struggling with financial and administrative problems, but gaining more and more readers. Analysis of their contents is intended to trace the images and notions carrying ethnic identities, like *history*, *religion*, *fatherland*, *Poles*, etc. A. Staniszewski has been recently doing this kind of research⁷⁶.

There is also no lack of more synthetic studies on the late 19th and early 20th century till 1920. The greatest contribution comes from J. Jasiński, the scholar responsible for a lot of detailed papers. In early 1980s he was approaching questions of consciousness as the final and decisive element shaping national relations. His opus magnum was monograph on 19th century Warmia/Ermland, result of author's studies and work of Center of Scientific Research of W. Kętrzyński in Olsztyn⁷⁷. The author proposes specifying three phases of national movement in Warmia/Ermland: anti-Prussianism and Warmian regional identity(1772-1830); emerging language-cultural community and dawn of national consciousness(1831-1884); Polish modern national movement(1885-1914). The stress is laid on similarity of mechanisms sustaining national revival in Ostpreußen and in other Polish German provinces, however here they were slower and occurred with less intensity. Thus, the disastrous result of 1920 plebiscite is misleading when interpreted in a sense that there were some formidable differences between this region and, say, Silesia. The volume, however, follows construction and growth of Polish movement. Processes aiming at its desintegration, present in early 20th century and having had its main impact after 1920, were neglected. Accordingly, one is left with unexplained decline of Polish identity in early 1930s, even before the Nazi's rise in Germany.

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⁷⁶ J. Jasiński, *Problematyka wyznaniowa i narodowa Gazety Olsztyńskiej w latach 1886-1914*[Religious and national issues in "Gazeta Olsztyńska" 1886-1914], [in:] *Studia Warmińskie* 24(1987); D. Bogdan, *Dzieje prasy w Prusach Wschodnich*[Press in Ostpreußen], [in:] *KM-W* 1982/1-2; A. Staniszewski, *Obraz Polski i Polaków na łamach prasy i kalendarzy mazurskich(1842-1914)*[The image of Poles and Poland in Mazury press and calendars, 1842-1914], [in:] *Przeł. Humanistyczny* 1983/1-2; his *Ojców mowy, ojców wiary. Historia i współczesność na łamach "Gazety Olsztyńskiej" 1886-1939*[History and the present day in "Gazeta Olsztyńska" 1886-1939], Warszawa 1989 and his other papers; T. Kulak, *Obecność Warmii i Mazur w endeckiej prasie dla ludu przed I wojną światową...*[Warmia and Mazury in nationalist folk press before 1914...], [in:] *KM-W* 1991/1-2

⁷⁷ J. Jasiński, *Świadomość narodowa na Warmii w XIX wieku*[National consciousness in Warmia in 19th c.], Olsztyn 1983; his *Poczucie regalistyczne, wyznaniowe i językowo-etniczne Mazurów w XIX wieku(do 1870 r.)*[Regalistic, religious and language-ethnical awareness of Mazurs in 19th c. till 1870], [in:] *KM-W* 29(1985)/3-4; his *Pour qui se considéraient les Mazuriens dans la premiere moitié du XIXe siècle?*, [in:] *Polish Western Affairs* 26(1985)/2

Apart from Jasiński, T. Grygier is the second to be named, but his research was done mostly in 1950s. It tends to focus more on anti-German dimension of national drive, presented as dominating element building national unity. The problem of lesser value was what made certain sections of the population be anti-German⁷⁸. All these questions surfaced when it came to would-be crucial years of 1918-1922. Collapse of German empire, social revolution, emergence of Polish state - all these circumstances created the opportunity for radical changes. It was not taken - and the answer why has not been delivered. This is another common pattern of Polish historiography that it much more eagerly highlights the drive *to* rather than *from* Polish nationality. The plebiscite results much too often were explained as unfair German play, unfavorable international circumstances, flawed Polish action etc⁷⁹.

The interwar period was covered in numerous publications, but in fact they started with a synthesis. It was written by W. Wrzesiński, one of the best Polish experts on relations with the Germans, but early enough to exploit more traditional issues of economic, legal and administrative advantages that safeguarded German superior position⁸⁰. Also the Catholic Church, usually considered an ally of Polish national movement, in the province of Ostpreußen

⁷⁸ T. Grygier, *Sprawa polska w Prusach Wschodnich w latach 1870-1900 w oświetleniu władz pruskich*[Polish case in Eastern Prussia according to Prussian authorities, 1870-1900], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 7(1951)/3-4; his *Walka o polskość Mazurów i Warmiaków w polskich rachubach politycznych lat 1870-1920*[Mazurs and Warmiaks' fight for Polishness in Polish political plans 1870-1920], [in:] *KM-W* 1962/1; his *Walka o polskość Warmii i Mazur w XIX i na początku XX wieku*[Fight for Polish Warmia and Mazury in 19th and early 20th c.], [in:] *Z Dziejów Warmii i Mazur*, Olsztyn 1958; his *Niektóre zagadnienia sprawy polskiej w Prusach Wschodnich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Some problems of Polish case in Eastern Prussia on the turn of the 19th c.], [in:] *KM-W* 1958/2. See also J. Patla, *Z zagadnień walki o polskość w XIX wieku na Mazurach Wschodnich*[On struggle for Polishness in Eastern Mazury in 19th c.], [in:] *Rocznik Białostocki* 1(1961)

⁷⁹ T. Grygier, *Z zagadnień ruchu polskiego na Warmii i Mazurach w latach 1920-1923*[On Polish national movement in Warmia and Mazury, 1920-1923], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 1954/1; Z. Lietz, *Plebiscyt na Powiślu, Warmii i Mazurach w 1920 roku*[Plebiscite in Powisle, Warmia and Mazury in 1920], Warszawa 1958; W. Wrzesiński, *Plebiscyty na Warmii i Mazurach oraz na Powiślu w 1920 roku*[Plebiscites in Warmia, Mazury and Powisle in 1920], Olsztyn 1974; more recently *Plebiscyty na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w 1920 roku*, Olsztyn 1986

⁸⁰ W. Wrzesiński, *Problemy świadomości narodowej na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w latach 1920-1939*[Problems of national consciousness in Warmia, Mazury and Powisle 1920-1939], [in:] *KM-W* 1962/1; his *Ruch polski na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w latach 1920-1939*[Polish movement in Warmia, Mazury and Powisle 1920-1939], Poznań 1963; his *Rola i znaczenie ludności polskiej w życiu Prus Wschodnich*[Role of Polish population in Ostpreußen], [in:] *Zeszyty Nauk. UG Historia* 1975/4; his *Warmia i Mazury w polskiej myśli politycznej 1864-1945*[Warmia i Mazury in Polish political ideas 1864-1945], Warszawa 1984

was depicted as another unwilling or even hostile element. Unfortunately, studies focusing on religious matters are usually concerned with uncovering anti-national stance of Roman-Catholic hierarchy. There is little effort having been made to enquiry how the absence of this adhesive factor was substituted and what was its impact on shape of national movement⁸¹. Polish teachers are featured in studies of B. Koziełto-Poklewski, W. Wrzesiński and T. Filipkowski. Their books are largely descriptive, but especially the volume of Filipkowski supplies the reader with useful statistical material. It contains 108 life stories of Polish teachers and employees of Polish educational institutions. The case study of gymnasium in Kwidzyn/Marienwerder is of casual value⁸².

Actually, there is no work on the interwar period that would resemble Jasiński's study on 19th century. Thus, there is no attempt to reconstruct the process of gradual deterioration of national movement, while the opportunity is still very alluring. Similar situation occurred in Lower Silesia in 19th century, but it preceded the period of modern national movements. Denationalization of Poles in western soviet republics after 1945 was until recently difficult to trace due to limited access to sources. Even today it still remains the current, undergoing process, and can hardly be approached in historical terms. Thus, the case of interwar national movement in Warmia and Mazury/Ostpreußen remains the not responded challenge. Works designed as outlines can barely match the problem⁸³. The student that is likely to tackle the

⁸¹ Earlier period in more ambiguous work of J. Jasiński, *Duchowieństwo katolickie a sprawa polska na Warmii w XIX wieku*[Clergy and Polish case in Warmia in 19th c.], [in:] *Zeszyty Nauk. Stow. PAX 1977/2*; later A. Soloma, *Walka ludności polskiej z wynaradawiającą polityką kościoła katolickiego na Warmii i Mazurach w okresie międzywojennym*[Polish population against denationalizing policy of Catholic Church in Warmia and Mazury in the interwar period], [in:] *Euhemer 17(1973)/4*; hers *Za każdą cenę. Niemiecki kler katolicki wobec ludności polskiej na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w latach 1919-1939*[At all costs. German catholic clergy against Polish population in Warmia, Mazury and Powiśle 1919-1939], Warszawa 1976

⁸² B. Koziełto-Poklewski, W. Wrzesiński, *Szkolnictwo polskie na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w latach 1919-1939*[Polish education in Warmia, Mazury and Powiśle 1919-1939], Olsztyn 1980; B. Pleśniarski, T. Wróblewska, *Gimnazjum Polskie i Liceum Ogólnokształcące w Kwidzynie 1937-1939, 1945-1970*[Polish secondary school in Kwidzyn, 1937-1939, 1945-1970], Gdańsk 1980; T. Filipkowski, *W obronie polskiego trwania. Nauczyciele polscy na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w latach międzywojennych*[In defence of Polish presence. Polish teachers in Warmia, Mazury and Powiśle in the interwar period], Olsztyn 1989, based on his earlier papers

⁸³ E. Sukiertowa-Biedrawina, T. Grygier, *Walka o społeczne i narodowe wyzwolenia Warmii i Mazur*[Fight for social and national liberation of Warmia and Mazury], Olsztyn 1956; W. Giertych, *Walka z germanizacją Warmii i Mazur w latach 1918-1939*[Strive against Germanization of Warmia and Mazury 1918-1939], [in:] *Problemy Studenckiego Ruchu Nauk. 5(1975)/1*

issue seems to be W. Gąsiorowski, since 1970s publishing mostly on various aspects of Polish youth life in Ostpreußen and in Germany. In 1989 appeared his book on Polish youth in the region, one of the most valuable and versatile works on national identity in conditions of alien domination. It should be credited for providing many hints as to changing nationality patterns and being far from forcefully-suppressed-minority schemes. The author does not deny enormous pressure exercised on part of the German state and population on the Poles. Apart from that, he traces mechanisms that allowed this pressure to penetrate and the opposite ones, that provided a sort of immunity⁸⁴.

After 1944 what used to be Ostpreußen underwent dramatic changes. The Germans were expelled; new Polish settlers arrived; no effort was spared to turn indifferent population into conscious Poles; out of the sudden, the Ukrainians from south-east were forcefully transferred to the region. In the literature chiefly so called *Mazurzy/Masuren* earned their scholars. The group is the example of nationally indifferent population, like *Silesians*, *Kaszubi/Kashuben* or simply *tutejsi* (locals, people of hereabouts) in the Polesie region. Scholars called by a German historiographer classic in their approach, i.e., K. Mańtek, E. Sukiertowa-Biedrawina and W. Wrześniński, are said to pursue the thesis of their vernacular Polish character⁸⁵. The new approach comes from social sciences with the name of A. Sakson. In his view, the phenomenon is typical for ethnic borderlands, and the group should also be considered the one bordering two cultures. In this approach, processes shaping local identities and these causing their disintegration seem more worth studying than the hollow work of imposing on them one nationality or another⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ A. Gąsiorowski, *Z dziejów Sokół w Niemczech 1889-1918* [On "Sokół" in Germany, 1889-1918], [in:] *Kultura Fizyczna* 26(1972); his *Z dziejów szkolnictwa polskiego na Warmii i Mazurach 1919-1939* [On Polish education in Warmia and Mazury 1919-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 24(1981)/3; his *O polską szkołę średnią na Warmii(1920-1933)* [For Polish secondary school in Warmia, 1920-1933], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 25(1983)/2; his *Młodzież polska Prus Wschodnich* [Polish youth of Eastern Prussia], Olsztyn 1989

⁸⁵ W. Wrześniński, *Kwestia mazurska na Działdowszczyźnie w latach 1920-1939* [The Mazury issue in Działdowo region, 1920-1939], [in:] KM-W 1959; E. Sukiertowa-Biedrawina, *Dawno i niedawno* [Long at not long ago], Olsztyn 1965; K. Mańtek, *Polskie są Mazury* [Mazury are Polish], Warszawa 1972

⁸⁶ A. Sakson, *Mazury jako społeczność pogranicza* [Mazury as borderlands community], his *Wpływ stosunków wyznaniowych na kształtowanie się procesów społecznych na Mazurach po 1945 roku* [Religion and shaping social processes in Mazury after 1945], both in: Olsztyńskie Studia Socjo-Etnograficzne Olsztyn 1985; his *Liczebność ludności rodzimej na Mazurach* [Amount of local population in Mazury], [in:] KM-W 1987/3-4; his *Mazury społeczność pogranicza* [Mazury - borderlands' community], Poznań 1990. The German survey in: J. Rogall, *Die Tragödie einer Grenzlandbevölkerung - polnische Forschungen über*

Pomorze Gdańskie i Zachodnie/Westpreußen, Pommern

It is characteristic that relatively little has been written on Polish national efforts till 1870s. The monograph of national movement before it entered the pre-nationalist phase, i.e., between 1815-1871, comes from the German scholar⁸⁷. Among the Poles, the majority of works dealing with that period perceives it as an introduction to later developments⁸⁸. In this scheme fits also the thesis appreciating an integrating impact of the uprisings' experience, and applying it also to Pomerania. The region in fact remained aside the anti-Russian guerilla, but is said to share its tradition, which later fed the national myth⁸⁹. The interesting exception is a short article on the notion of "Pomeranian" nationality in early 19th century, one of the very few that focus on quasi-national links having being forged in some regions⁹⁰. It reflects the phenomenon, already observed and described, that policy aiming at national homogenization adopted in Prussia was in significant part responsible for growth of national consciousness. Sections of population that did not feel commitment to any national community were forced to choose. Vast Polish-speaking groups perceived the official action as oppressing and aimed against them. In consequence they found themselves hesitant towards the state and leaning towards the Polish movement. One has to note that the official action in fact hastened its development and provided arguments for conceiving the state as alien. It remains also significant that it was not German national movement, but

die Masuren, [in:] *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 41(1992)/1

⁸⁷ P. Böhning, *Die nationalpolnische Bewegung in Westpreußen 1815-1871*, Marburg/Lahn 1973

⁸⁸ B. Osmałowska-Piskorska, *Pomorskie Towarzystwo Pomocy Naukowej 1848-1898*[Pomeranian Society of Scientific Aid], Toruń 1948; T. Cieślak, *Walka chłopów pomorskich o wyzwolenie społeczne i narodowe w latach 1845-1848*[Fight of Pomeranian peasants for social and national liberation 1845-1848], Warszawa 1955; T. Zakrzewski, *Polskie instytucje i organizacje w Toruniu pod zaborem pruskim*[Polish cultural institutions and organizations under Prussian partition in Toruń 1815-1894], Toruń 1975; J. Szewc, *Język polski w szkolnictwie średnim Pomorza Gdańskiego w latach 1815-1920*[Polish language in secondary schools in Gdańsk Pomerania 1815-1920], Gdańsk 1975

⁸⁹ A. Bukowski, *Pomorze Gdańskie w powstaniu styczniowym*[The Gdańsk Pomerania in the January Uprising of 1863], Gdańsk 1964

⁹⁰ L. Turek-Kwiatkowska, *Problem "narodowości" pomorskiej w historiografii regionalnej w I połowie XIX wieku*[The problem of "Pomeranian" nationality in regional historiography in the first half of 19th c.], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 28(1984)/1-2

official policy adopted by the state and implemented in every-day administration duties, that stirred national feelings among the Poles. Only later, in 1890s, German organizations joined the race.

Majority of works tends to concentrate on the years of 1870-1920, the period of heaviest pressure exercised by Prussia and of swift hardening of the Polish movement. The crucial issue seems to be education, and these problems are also in the center of research⁹¹. J. Szewc from Gdańsk contributed with many detailed studies carried out for more than 20 years, but has so far failed to produce more synthetic approach or go beyond the presentist description⁹². Other works also do not focus on mechanisms working among the youth, and more than examining memoirs, letters, diaries and school records, prefer to enquiry in state archives and official papers. W. Frąckowiak used to specialize in this kind of work in 1970s⁹³. In general, all this production more resembles the detailed data-basis, still preliminary to more comprehensive scheme⁹⁴. Some sort of material referring to grass-root level might be found in documents of various local cultural organizations. Many of medium- or even small-size towns were involved in such initiatives. Given that the documentation survived, it is very instructive in terms of social basis, directions of activity, the most popular enterprises, political influences etc. Many of such studies are carried out either by amateur local historians or in order to demonstrate long tradition of patriotism. Little wonder that they often tend to avoid or neglect

⁹¹ The exception is: T. Cieślak, *Przeciw pruskiej przemocy. Walka o ziemię na Pomorzu na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Against Prussian violence. Fight for land in Pomerania on the turn of the 19th c.], Warszawa 1955

⁹² see his works on Pomerania in general in: *Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne* 13(1970)/4, *Miesięcznik Diecezji Gdańskiej* 25(1981)/9-11, *Pomerania* 19(1983)/1-2; on Gdańsk in *Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanist.* 20(1977)/24; on Starogard in *Rocznik Gdański* 42(1982)/2; on Chełmno in *Rocznik Gdański* 48(1988); on Wałcz in *Rocznik Gdański* 49(1989)

⁹³ W. Frąckowiak, *Rola posłów polskich w walce o nauczanie początkowe w języku ojczystym na Pomorzu w latach 1888-1894*[Polish deputies in fight for initial instruction in mother tongue in Pomerania 1888-1894], [in:] *Roczniki Naukowe WSWF w Gdańsku* 2(1973), *Problemy polskiej oświaty elementarnej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w okresie liberalizmu pruskiego(1858-1870)*[Polish elementary education in Gdańsk Pomerania during the prussian liberalism period, 1858-1870], [in:] *Rocznik Gdański* 33(1973); his *Walka o polską oświatę elementarną na Pomorzu Gdańskim...*[Fight for Polish elementary education in Gdańsk Pomerania...], [in:] *Prace Wydz. Humanist. Bydgoskiego Tow. Nauk.* 22(1980)/14; his *Walka posłów polskich o język ojczysty w nauczaniu elementarnym na Pomorzu w okresie hakaty(1894-1914)*[Polish deputies in fight for mother tongue in elementary instruction in Pomerania, 1894-1914], [in:] *Rocznik Gdański* 40(1980)/2

⁹⁴ Not counted are numerous works on education, schools, teachers etc. by M. Aleksandrowicz, L. Burzyńska, P. Chmielecki, J. Konieczny, E. Myczka, J. Oleksiński, S. Rafiński, T. Ruczyński, E. Sławińska and others

more controversial issues. Some, however, remain very enlightening, and usually more detailed works surpass these designed to portray the movement in wider territory. It might be observed on the example of singing associations, with two of them, from Toruń/Thorn and Grudziądz/Graudenz, characterized in small monographs⁹⁵. Given relatively high education level, the press was traditionally the national stronghold. Unlike in Ostpreußen, more titles issued in medium or even small-size towns sustained consciousness of ethnic identity⁹⁶. Other cultural initiatives include variety of units, revealed on the example of the largest urban center in the region, Gdańsk/Danzig⁹⁷. But the city was not the largest and the most buoyant Polish hub, as may be learnt from works on miscellaneous patriotic initiatives. It seemed rather one of many medium-size centers like Grudziądz/Gradenz or Chełmno/Kulm, and the leading position was occupied by Toruń/Thorn⁹⁸.

⁹⁵ L. Witkowski, *Dzieje polskiego amatorskiego ruchu śpiewaczego w Grudziądzu*[History of amateur singing movement in Grudziądz], [in:] *Rocznik Grudziądzki 1970*; T. Zakrzewski, *Dzieje Towarzystwa Śpiewu "Lutnia" w Toruniu pod zaborem pruskim*[History of Singing Society "Lutnia" in Toruń under Prussian partition], [in:] *Rocznik Toruński 10(1975)*; regional outlines in: G. Hamada, *Polski ruch śpiewaczy na Pomorzu Gdańskim*[Polish singing movement in Gdansk Pomerania], [in:] *Życie Śpiewacze 19(1966)/3*; K. Kubik, *Słowo i pieśń w walce o polskość Pomorza Gdańskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Word and song for Polishness of Gdańsk Pomerania on the turn of the 19th c.], Gdańsk 1962

⁹⁶ T. Cieślak, *Z dziejów prasy polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w okresie zaboru pruskiego*[History of Polish press in Gdańsk Pomerania during the prussian partition], Gdańsk 1964 and his later papers on the press; K. Trzebiatowski, *Prasa i organizacje polskie w regencji gdańskiej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Press and Polish organizations in Gdańsk regency on turn of the 19th c.], [in:] *Rocznik Gdański 27(1968)*; A. Borkowska, *"Gazeta Grudziądzka" wobec sprawy niepodległości Polski w okresie pierwszej wojny światowej*[The "Gazeta Grudziądzka" and Poland's independence issue during World War I], [in:] *Zesz. Nauk. WSP Opolo Historia 22(1985)*; J. Banach, *Polska prasa lokalna wobec strajku szkolnego w Prusach Zachodnich w latach 1906-1907*[Polish local press and the school strike in Westpreußen, 1906-1907], [in:] *Prace Kom. Hist. Bydg. TN 15(1985)*; his *Pelpliński "Pielgrzym" czołowym pismem polskim...*[The Pelpin "Pielgrzym" as the leading Polish periodical...], [in:] *Studia Pelplińskie 19(1988)*; his *Polska prasa pomorska wobec walki o język polski...*[Polish press in Pomerania and the strive for Polish language...], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni 1990/5-6*

⁹⁷ U. Bednarek, *Polskie towarzystwa kulturalne w Gdańsku w latach 1870-1890*[Polish cultural societies in Gdańsk 1870-1890], [in:] *Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanist. 1958/1*; K. Sochaczewska, *Polskie towarzystwa kulturalne Gdańska w latach 1891-1910*[Polish cultural societies of Gdańsk 1891-1910], Gdańsk 1959

⁹⁸ T. Cieślak, *Przekształcenie Torunia w centrum polskości Pomorza Gdańskiego w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*[Turning Toruń into Polish center of Gdańsk Pomerania in late 19th c.], [in:] *Roczniki Toruńskie 12(1977)*; U. Wencel-Kalembkova, *Polskie obchody czterechsetnej rocznicy urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu*[Polish anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus' birth in Toruń], [in:] *Acta Univ. Nicolai Copernici vol. 9, Toruń 1973*; J. Bełkot,

Production on national movement in the region seems to confirm the opinion that it was only in negligible degree ideological in character. It was especially dynamic in constructing institutional and cultural background, and one might be even eluded that it did not enter the phase of political demands. But high support for Polish candidates to Prussian or German parliament proves that political success did not have to be built on ideological basis. Another conclusion seems to be that well-organized ethnic groups can found cultural ties strong enough to withstand external pressure.

First attempts to produce the complete history of Polish movement in the region come from early 1970s. In general, they did not manage to escape the trappings of perceiving the trend as driven exclusively by opposition to German state and Germanization policy. It certainly was one of the dominating factors constituting identity and strengthening awareness, but highlighting this aspect can hardly stand for exhaustive explanation. Polish community was seen like the German minority in later Poland, i.e., the relatively cohesive one. Shared ethnic features were usually conceived as national consciousness in the shape from preceding evolution stage, which evolved when subjected to hostile official policy. Thus, the process of nation-building was sometimes seen either as re-construction or as potentiality in the process of materializing⁹⁹.

The full-scale monograph was published in 1980 by S. Wierchosławski and emphasized institutional and organizational aspects of Polish movement. In the very analytical narration it is maintained that also in Pomerania functioned the nation-wide scheme. It consisted firstly of spreading national consciousness and commitment to culture and language, before final forging of political national unity. In the region, the process took place in 3 phases: 1/founding organizations and circles, building institutional basis(1860-1880); 2/weakened impact of old leading strata occupied with material transformations, with bourgeoisie and peasantry stepping in(1880-1890); 3/organized national movement divided into sub-phases of intensified access to the movement of new social strata and its radicalization(1890-1914). Wierchosławski's work can be compared to similar on Ostpreußen written by Jasiński¹⁰⁰. T. Wróblewska ventured to examine the question of national consciousness three years earlier in 1977, but in fact she provided only the kind

Toruńskie obchody jubileuszu Józefa Ignacego Krasickiego[Torun's celebrations of J. I. Krasicki's jubilee], [in:] *Rocznik Toruński* 16(1983)

⁹⁹ *Pomorze pod zaborem pruskim*[Pomerania under Prussian partition], Gdańsk 1973; K. Kubik, *Problem konsolidacji narodowej społeczeństwa polskiego na Pomorzu Gdańskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[National consolidation of Polish society in Gdańsk Pomerania on the turn of the 19th c.], [in:] *Zeszyty Wyzd. Humanist. UG* 3(1974)

¹⁰⁰ S. Wierchosławski, *Polski ruch narodowy w Prusach Zachodnich w latach 1860-1914*[Polish national movement in Western Prussia, 1860-1914], Wrocław 1980

of outline. The problem was recently re-examined and remarkably, alongside the Poles also the Germans found themselves under the investigation¹⁰¹. Wróblewska's later ambitious work on Polish organizations in Pomerania was rather heavily criticized for incomplete sources, not acknowledging earlier literature, shallow analysis, incomplete research and static picture¹⁰². Much more instructive is Borzyszkowski's volume on intelligentsia, the last significant contribution to the history of Polish national movement in Pomerania. In 7 chapters the authors analyzes respectively: conditions of emergence of Polish intelligentsia as social strata, process of its formation, social origins, professional distribution, cultural models, careers and living conditions, and relations with other sections of the society. The study strives also to provide statistical data with regard to national relations among certain professions. Together with works of Molik for Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen, Jasiński for Warmia i Mazury/Ostpreußen and Czepulis-Rastenis for Russian Poland the volume is the fair basis for general picture of making of the Polish intelligentsia. One of its achievements is documenting mostly rural character of Pomeranian Polish intelligentsia, uncommon in other regions. Thus, comparisons made to Lithuania or Slovakia seem valid, however other scholars see closer links with Provence or Catalonia. Other works of the author examine collaboration of landed proprietors, clergy, intelligentsia and petty-bourgeoisie in many fields and under guidance of distinguished personalities. The process is known in Polish history as organic work or organicism, and the example was provided by S. Sikorski, one of the greatest land-owners in Pomerania. Borzyszkowski's work is still carried on¹⁰³. Complementary to Borzyszkowski's book is another, written by

¹⁰¹ L. Turek-Kwiatkowska, *Przemiany świadomości historycznej społeczeństwa pomorskiego w XIX wieku*[Transformations of Pomerania society's historical consciousness in the 19th c.], Szczecin 1989

¹⁰² T. Wróblewska, *Polska świadomość narodowa na Pomorzu Gdańskim(1881-1914)*[Polish national consciousness in Gdańsk Pomerania 1881-1914], [in:] *Warmia i Mazury* 24(1977)/10; hers *Polskie organizacje na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1871-1914*[Polish organizations in Gdańsk Pomerania 1871-1914], Warszawa 1989

¹⁰³ J. Borzyszkowski, *Warunki rozwoju inteligencji polskiej w Prusach Zachodnich w II połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*[Forming of Polish intelligentsia in Westpreußen in late 19th-early 20th c.], [in:] *Zesz. Nauk. UG Historia* 1980/10; his *Inteligencja polska w Prusach Zachodnich 1848-1920*[Polish intelligentsia in Westpreußen 1818-1920], Gdańsk 1986; his *Z dziejów pracy organicznej na Pomorzu. Działalność gospodarcza Stanisława Sikorskiego w okresie zaboru pruskiego*[On organic work in Pomerania. Economic activity of S. Sikorski under the prussian partition], Gdańsk 1979; his *Rola inteligencji polskiej na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim w II połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*[Role of Polish intelligentsia in Vistula Pomerania in late 19th-early 20th c.], [in:] *Studia Pelplińskie* 19(1988)

K. Wajda. It discusses the workers of the region, and national issue is only one among others under the scrutiny¹⁰⁴.

There are some publications that deal with provinces that were not incorporated into Poland in 1918, but either remained in Germany or constituted the Free City of Danzig. Apart from small frontier regions, these territories embraced only insignificant population leaning towards Polish national identity. Unlike in Ostpreußen, the sphere of in-between was also negligible. In research on these provinces again on the foreground was placed the problem of education in national language, deserving few minor contributions and the monograph of K. Trzebiatowski¹⁰⁵. The position of Polish minority in general was usually depicted in standard works written to supply propaganda material on local anniversaries. They customary feature Polish liberation movement in struggle against the alien might. The question of Gdańsk/Danzig deserved a special place: it was linked with the Versailles affair and the outbreak of World War II. Both these issues were assigned particular importance, since both served as corner stones for orientalist historiographic visions. Thus, the interpretation featuring *scandalous Gdańsk decision of 1919* became the must, backed by research targeting Polish community in the Free City. In 1976-1979, the climax years of interest in national-liberation etc., four comprehensive volumes ventured to provide the complete picture of the Polish Gdańsk in the interwar period¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁴ K. Wajda, *Klasa robotnicza Pomorza Wschodniego w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*[The working class of Eastern Pomerania in late 19th-early 20th c.], Warszawa 1981

¹⁰⁵ Z. Rynduch, *Gimnazjum Polskie w Gdańsku(1922-1939)*[Polish gymnasium in Gdańsk 1922-1939], [in:] *Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanist.* 1(1958)/1; A. Poniatowska, *Z dziejów oświaty polskiej na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1919-1939*[On Polish education in Western Pomerania 1919-1939], [in:] *Roczniki Nauczycielskie* 1973; J. Mazurek, *Z dziejów walki o szkołę polską na terenie Ziemi Bytowskiej w okresie międzywojennym*[On fight for Polish school on Bytów Area in the interwar period], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 22(1979)/3; T. Szrubka, *Walka o szkołę polską na terenie Pomorza Środkowego w latach 1918-1939*[Fight for Polish school on Middle Pomerania 1918-1939], [in:] *Rocznik Koszaliński* 17(1981); K. Trzebiatowski, *Oświata i szkolnictwo polskie na Pomorzu Zachodnim w I połowie XX wieku(1900-1939)*[Polish education in Western Pomerania, 1900-1939], Poznań 1961

¹⁰⁶ J. Gaj, *Zarys historii polskiej kultury fizycznej w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku 1920-1939*[An outline of Polish physical culture in the Free City of Danzig, 1920-1939], Warszawa 1976; A. Drzycimski, *Polacy w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku 1920-1933*[Poles in the Free City of Danzig 1920-1933], Wrocław 1978; H. Polak, *Szkolnictwo i oświata polska w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku 1920-1939*[Education in the Free City of Danzig, 1920-1939], Gdańsk 1978; A. Romanow, *Prasa polska w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku 1920-1939*[Polish press in the Free City of Gdańsk, 1920-1939], Gdańsk 1979

From studies not in the like, one should mention publications of Z. Szultka and monographic synthesis of B. Kamieniarz and E. Raube¹⁰⁷.

Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen

The region of Wielkopolska has always enjoyed special position in popular mythology. Perhaps it was so for the area has been thought to nourish an opposition to what is traditionally considered as flaws of national character - much talk, exaltation, short-lived efforts and overwhelming mess. Hard work, good organization, endurance in carrying on plans, balance of character, thriftiness - this is all the region traditionally has been praised for. Origins of this image are rooted in the period of 1870-1918. The Polish community there constructed what is considered the model structure of well-organized nation in conditions of foreign domination. The historians from Poznań scientific centers, i.e., the University and the Western Institute, were little less than eager to confirm such vision. Since soon after World War II there have been works measuring the impact of Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen on other Polish-inhabited regions remaining under Prussian rule. In late 1970s emerged finally the unique volume devoted to regional contribution to Polish history. This undertaking has not been followed by similar concerning any other region, or at least the author of this survey failed to find any¹⁰⁸. Manifestations of regional pride seemed

¹⁰⁷ Z. Szultka, *Z badań nad stosunkiem ludności polskiej Pomorza Zachodniego do odradzającego się państwa polskiego*[On the stance of Polish population of Western Pomerania towards re-emerging Polish state], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 23(1979)/4; B. Kamieniarz, E. Raube, *Polonia na Pomorzu Środkowym w latach 1918-1945*[Poles in Middle Pomerania, 1918-1945], Koszalin 1979

¹⁰⁸ W. Jakóbczyk, *Wzór walki narodu o istnienie*[Model of nation's fight for existence], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 3(1947)/1; his *Próby oddziaływania na Śląsk burżuazyjnej inteligencji poznańskiej w latach 70-tych XIX wieku*[Attempts of bourgeoisie Poznań intelligentsia to exert influence on Silesia in 1870s], [in:] *Konferencja Śląska IH PAN vol. 1*, Wrocław 1954; A. Czubiński, *Rola Powstania Wielkopolskiego w walce narodu polskiego w walce o powstrzymanie niemieckiego "parcia na wschód"*[Role of Wielkopolska uprising in terminating German "Drang nach Osten"], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1968/5-6; his *Rola Wielkopolski w rozwoju polskiego ruchu narodowyzwoleńczego na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1918-1921*[Role of Wielkopolska in development of national-liberation movement in Upper Silesia 1918-1921], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1971/3; his *Rola Wielkopolski i Poznania w rozwoju polskiego ruchu narodowyzwoleńczego w zaborze pruskim...*[Role of Wielkopolska in development of Polish national movement in Prussian partition], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni*

from time to time even to surpass awareness of community with the rest of Poland. Aloud claims for autonomy were heard soon after 1919 and in the aftermath following the coup of 1926.

It was widely believed that in Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen low social strata, i.e. peasants and industrial and agrarian workers, achieved the highest level of national consciousness in comparison to other Polish territories. So far this theory has never been seriously challenged and due to local efforts, new arguments for its support have been surfacing. The problem that remains disputable is what was the exact reason for hastened gaining of national identity. The question is of some theoretical relevance to model vision of national movement. Since Łepkowski's synthesis till recently prevailed the marxist interpretation. It tended to see reasons for acceleration in faster development of capitalist relations in Prussia, implemented successfully from the top by Berlin governments. But scholars watching other areas under Prussian rule point out that also there one can observe relatively higher degree of organization within Polish ethnic groups. Some suggest that in fact it might have been the Germanization policy pursued by the administration that proved the crucial factor. Others add that except some areas, like Upper Silesia or Austrian Silesia, capitalism indeed took roots, but never very deep. Hence, crediting economic relations for general transformations seems to overestimate the phenomenon. The bourgeoisie, traditionally perceived as driving force of national movement, in Poland has never been strong enough to take place at the helm of national movement. But given these dilemmas, there is little written explicitly on the subject, and very few works have been devoted to backing arguments of both sides¹⁰⁹. Important contribution is the modest in size study, the result of enormous work of W. Molik, specialist on Polish intelligentsia in Germany. The author estimates that in mid-19th century Polish intelligentsia in the

1975/5-6; *Wielkopolska a powstania śląskie 1919-1921*[Wielkopolska and the Silesian uprisings 1919-1921], Poznań 1973; *Rola Wielkopolski w dziejach narodu polskiego*[Role of Wielkopolska in the history of Polish nation](ed. by S. Kubiak, L. Trzeciakowski), Poznań 1979; J. Chłosta, *Związki Wielkopolski z Warmią i Mazurami...*[Links between Wielkopolska and Warmia and Mazury...], [in:] *Życie i Myśl* 1985/7-8; S. Ratajczak, *Sprawy Górnośląska w Dzienniku Poznańskim i Kurjerze Poznańskim w latach 1890-1900*[Upper Silesian issues in the Poznań dailies 1890-1900], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 50(1991)

¹⁰⁹ F. Paprocki, *Udział chłopu wielkopolskiego w walkach narodowowyzwoleńczych w XIX wieku*[Wielkopolska peasant in national-liberation fights of 19th c.], [in:] *Dzieje wsi wielkopolskiej*, Poznań 1959; K. Wajda, *Wóz Drzymały. Wieś wielkopolska i pomorska w walce z germanizacją*[Drzymała's cart. Wielkopolska and Pomerania's village against Germanization], Poznań 1962; *Polityczna działalność rzemiosła wielkopolskiego w okresie zaborów 1794-1918*[Political activity of Wielkopolska craftsmen 1793-1918](ed. by Z. Grot), Poznań 1963; L. Trzeciakowski, *Walka o polskość miast poznańskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Fight for Polish cities in Poznań region on the turn of the 19th c.], Poznań 1964

Grossherzogtum Posen amounted to 2300-2500 persons, i.e., 0,3% of the population, and consisted mostly of clergy and village teachers. In comparison with Russian or Austrian Poland, it was relatively well-educated and much more democratic, mostly due to high official prussian requirements and rural origin of the candidates¹¹⁰. The clergy was a long underestimated element of Polish nation-building, contrary to religion or church as institution. After Molik, L. Bystrzycki addressed the issue in the detailed volume on Polish Roman-Catholic priests¹¹¹.

The symbolic dimension of endurance and faith is the issue of school strikes that swayed the country in early 1900s and resounded over Europe. Unfortunately, the symbolic dimension is exposed also in the literature, and probably more is known about the echo of the events than about their mechanism itself. It used to be presented as spontaneous protest of patriotic teenagers. Little enquiry has been made into links between religious and national questions or into patterns of family values¹¹².

In 1980s appeared in Polish research on national movement the first attempts to go beyond the sphere of measurable phenomena. They common feature is tackling the issue of national consciousness as the ultimate indicator. The Wielkopolska region caught up rather late, and not in the very systematic way. Valuable are brief outline proposals of W. Groblewski, especially as they refer to the period characterized by highly unavailable private materials, usually the basic sources in such kind of research. Late 19th century, with civilization progress, decreasing illiteracy, widened circulation of press etc. provide better opportunity, but apart from remarks of W. Jakóbczyk there is little said on the problem¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ W. Molik, *Kształtowanie się inteligencji polskiej w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim 1841-1870*[Forming of Polish intelligentsia in Grand Duchy of Poznań 1841-1870], Poznań 1979 and his other works, esp. *Polskie perygrynacje uniwersyteckie do Niemiec 1871-1914*[Polish voyages to universities in Germany, 1871-1914], Poznań 1989

¹¹¹ L. Bystrzycki, *Duchowieństwo polskie kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego w Wielkopolsce w latach 1815-1918*[Polish Roman-Catholic clergy in Wielkopolska, 1815-1918], Koszalin 1986

¹¹² L. Gomolec, *Strajki szkolne w poznańskim w latach 1905-1907*[Schools strikes in the Poznań region 1905-1907], Poznań 1956; T. Wilanowski, *Germanizacja gimnazjów w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim i opór młodzieży polskiej w latach 1870-1914*[Germanization of secondary schools and resistance of Polish youth 1870-1914], Poznań 1962

¹¹³ W. Jakóbczyk, *W sprawie świadomości narodowej Wielkopolan*[On national consciousness of Wielkopolska inhabitants], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 42(1986)/5-6; W. Groblewski, *Uwarunkowania rozwoju świadomości narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim w I połowie XIX wieku*[Conditions of development of national consciousness in Grand Duchy of Poznań in the first half of 19th c.], [in:] *Życie i Myśl* 36(1987)/3-4

The climax of Polish drive in Provinz Posen occurred in the winter of 1918/1919, in course of military uprising that in fact established national rule approved later by the Great Powers. Various aspects of the event are focused on in the joint study from 1968, with especially interesting paper on national consciousness, its emergence in different social strata and its impact on decision to join the insurgents. Military and political dimensions of the event, however, usually attract more attention and eclipse the problems of background. For the long time, examinations of the foundations was confined to highlighting links between social and national cases, with low strata taking the lead and emerging as hegemon of the process¹¹⁴.

The full synthesis of Wielkopolska's Polish national movement till 1918 was attempted in 1973 by L. Trzeciakowski. The author concentrated on transformation of Polish society into the Polish nation and credited also conciliatory orientation, refraining from traditional suspect towards it. The later study reflects the dilemma he calls "organicist or romantic stance" in its initial period, i.e., till 1864. It emerged at that time and was doomed to persist first as a practical question and later as polemics issue well into nowadays¹¹⁵. The past of the region itself was portrayed in huge regional history from early Middle Ages till recent times, with the last volume featuring the period of Prussian rule. The paradox remains that the unique study on economic measures adopted as chief weapon against alien domination has been written by the German historian. Produced on the wide basis of German and Polish sources, it might be recommended as one of the very few of this sort that have been written in Europe. Moreover, the problem as such seems to be unique itself¹¹⁶.

Organic work might be sometimes placed in more than central place and lead to general theories of mechanisms ruling the principles of national development. Such kind of approach conceives economic competition and institutionalized structures as the core of national question and tends to reduce it to one-sided manifestations. J. Benyskiewicz, specializing in Polish movement in the western peripheries of Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen, seems to follow this way. As the basis served his personal research on the period after 1918, done

¹¹⁴ M. Olszewski, *Powstanie Wielkopolskie 1918-1919*[The Wielkopolska uprising 1918-1919], Poznań 1963; *Powstanie Wielkopolskie*(ed. A. Czubiński), Poznań 1968; *Powstanie Wielkopolskie*(ed. by A. Czubiński, Z. Grot, B. Miśkiewicz), Warszawa 1978. See also Z. Dworecki, *Polskie rady ludowe w Wielkopolsce 1918-1920*[Polish peoples' councils in Wielkopolska 1918-1920], Poznań 1962

¹¹⁵ L. Trzeciakowski, *Pod pruskim zaborem. 1850-1918*[Under the Prussian rule, 1850-1918], Warszawa 1973; his *Dylematy Polaków w dobie niewoli*[Poles' dilemmas of the bondage era], [in:] *Życie i Myśl* 1984/3-4

¹¹⁶ R. Jaworski, *Handel und Gewerbe im Nationalitätenkampf. Studien zur Wirtschaftsgesinnung der Polen in der Provinz Posen(1871-1914)*, Göttingen 1986

in 1960s and 1970s. Another scholar of more substantial output is Z. Dworecki, also featuring the Polish minority in the Piła/Schneidemühl region¹¹⁷.

Śląsk/Schlesien

The problem of Polish nation-building in Silesia seems to be the example of fragmented research that can hardly lead to general model scheme. History of the region has been the subject of numerous local periodicals, like *Studia Śląskie*, *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, *Zaranie Śląskie*, *Śląskie Studia Historyczne*, *Kwartalnik Opolski* and minor ones. It has been focused on in many institutions including universities, scientific societies and other cultural and education centers. The result has been rather disappointing, for among many detailed works one can name just the sole synthesis dealing with ages of history. Its last volume is devoted to the recent history and provides the systematized outline of main problems, including the cluster of national affairs. Monograph is at the moment not available, with little more than outdated brief propaganda booklets that served as historical summaries and featured *national liberation movement*¹¹⁸.

In fact, Lower and Upper Silesia were regions of diverse character. The Polish population amounted to numbers constituting significant political problem only in the eastern areas. These territories became the object of acute conflict, and later also the historiographical research was focusing mostly on Upper Silesia. No special feature of national life has been credited in

¹¹⁷ Z. Rutkowski, *Życie ludności polskiej w Zielonej Górze w latach 1890-1939*[Life of Polish population in Zielona Góra, 1890-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 16(1960)/5; J. Głodek, *Z dziejów walki o polskie szkolnictwo mniejszościowe na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1929-1939*[On fight for Polish minority education in Lubusz region 1929-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 9(1966)/2; Z. Dworecki, *Działalność narodowa ludności polskiej w rejencji piłskiej w latach 1922-1932*[National activity in the Piła region, 1922-1932], Poznań 1969; J. Benyskiewicz, *Położenie Polaków w Marchii Granicznej w latach 1919-1943*[Situation of Poles in Grenzmark 1919-1943], Zielona Góra 1968; his *Związek Polaków w Niemczech na babimojszczyźnie*[Union of Poles in Germany in Babimost region], [in:] *Przegląd Lubawski* 2(1972)/2

¹¹⁸ W. Jakóbczyk, *Z dziejów odrodzenia narodowego Śląska w XIX wieku*[From Silesian national revival in 19th c.], [in:] *Roczniki Historyczne* 18(1949); K. Piwarski, *Walka o społeczne i narodowe wyzwolenie Śląska do roku 1914*[Fight for social and national liberation of Silesia till 1914], [in:] *Cesko-polsky zbornik vedeckych prac*, vol. 1, Praha 1955; works collected in *Szkice z dziejów Śląska*, vols. 1-2, Warszawa 1956;

historiography for its crucial role. The authors who published first studies seemed to be fond of biographies, and two the most distinguished leaders were portrayed in the years following the war. Unfortunately, only one of these rather brief and shallow sketches has been replaced by full-scale biography¹¹⁹. Despite obvious overlapping of social and national questions - there were very few Poles among middle or higher strata in pre-war Upper Silesia - the issues were rarely depicted as inseparable. Moreover, it was the thin strata of Polish intelligentsia educated in German universities that found its scholars¹²⁰. Indeed, it was rather the problem of cultural identity that emerged on the foreground, divided into many specific issues. Not the least of them was religion, till mid-19th century the sole common identity the majority of Polish-speaking Silesians could think about. The role of Catholic clergy varied, and its evaluations differ depending on the period discussed¹²¹.

Polish movement in Silesia provides the opportunity to examine cultural movement constructed from the bottom. In many other regions in the initial period culture was delivered by land-owners, bourgeoisie or intelligentsia, and the lower strata was just expected to join in. In Silesia, where all these Polish groups were virtually missing, different mechanisms were at work. Literature has been much credited for growth of national awareness. It appeared as newspapers or rather Sunday weeklies, books, calendars, leaflets, occasional publications etc. The simple religious prints were if not the core, than introduction to more advanced ones. The problem that has not been clarified is what was the exact mechanism of literature's impact. The habit of reading,

¹¹⁹ M. Tobiasz, *Pionierzy odrodzenia narodowego i politycznego na Śląsku* [Pioneers of national and political revival in Silesia], Katowice 1945; his *Wojciech Korfanty. Odrodzenie narodowe i polityczne Śląska* [W. Korfanty. National and political revival of Silesia], Katowice 1947; T. Gospodarek, *Przełom narodowy Karola Miarki* [National turning-point of Karol Miarka], [in:] *Sprawozdania Opolskiego Tow. Przyj. Nauk* 1(1956-1963); M. Orzechowski, *Wojciech Korfanty. Biografia polityczna* [Wojciech Korfanty. A political biography], Wrocław 1976

¹²⁰ B. Januszewski, *Z życia polskich studentów we Wrocławiu w latach czterdziestych XIX wieku* [Life of Polish students in Wrocław in 1840s], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 5(1959)/1; F. Szymiczek, *Stowarzyszenia akademickie polskiej młodzieży górnośląskiej we Wrocławiu 1863-1918* [Academic associations of Polish Upper Silesian youth in Wrocław 1863-1918], Wrocław 1963

¹²¹ Z. Surman, *Kler katolicki wobec spraw polskich na Górnym Śląsku przed Kulturkampfem (1867-1871)* [Catholic clergy and Polish affairs in Upper Silesia before Kulturkampf, 1867-1871], [in:] *Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska* vol. 2, Wrocław 1958; W. Dziewulski, *Kościół katolicki a polskość na Śląsku od czasów najdawniejszych do Wiosny Ludów* [Catholic church in Silesia till 1848], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 12(1966)/4; E. Mendel, *Antypolska działalność duchowieństwa katolickiego w Opolu w latach 1933-1939* [Anti-Polish stance of Catholic clergy in Opole, 1933-1939], [in:] *Kwart. Opolski* 1978/2

becoming more popular due to disappearing illiteracy, could just have been the means of cultural advancement. It was the latter that gradually introduced some sections of the population into nationality dilemmas. Theory that directly linked Polish character of the literature with national consciousness might prove somewhat simplified¹²². Some activities remained between literature and folk culture, with singing societies the most obvious example. Two monographs, traditional also in the sense of wide factual basis and much descriptive approach, provide information on the phenomenon and opportunity to make comparisons with similar works on Pomerania¹²³. Relatively little has been written on education, the issue of less controversial character than it was in the North¹²⁴.

Other elements were devoted less attention. The problem whether influx of immigrants from Russian or Austrian Polish provinces strengthened regional or national identity remains interesting. Also the question of service in German army during the war could be very instructive, especially that it was common experience of many thousand Poles. Invariably the *Sokół* (Falcon) societies, in theory of purely gymnastic character but in fact carrying out much wider tasks, turned cradles of nationally conscious youth. Their phenomenon seems to be an argument supporting the theory that nationalists were the most dynamic group at the time. They won the competition with for subordinating youth organisations in the like, leaving behind socialists or christian democrats. Also later in the interwar period, in the tough race against the ruling Sanacja

¹²² Z. Hierowski, *Rozwój uświadomienia narodowego u pisarzy górnośląskich* [National awareness among Polish Upper Silesian writers], [in:] *Zaranie Śląskie* 17(1946); B. Wiewiórka, *Gazeta Opolska w walce o język polski* ["Gazeta Opolska" in strive for Polish language], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 5(1959)/4; A. Wolny, *Poezja polska na Śląsku i jej rola w uświadomieniu narodowym w XIX wieku* [Polish poetry in Silesia and its contribution to national consciousness in 19th c.], Opole 1960; E. Mendel, *O roli polskiej książki w kształtowaniu świadomości narodowej Polaków...* [Role of Polish book in shaping Poles' national consciousness...], [in:] *Kwartalnik Naucz. Opolskiego* 11(1969)/1; Z. Bednorz, *Nad rocznikami dawnych gazet śląskich* [On annuals of old Silesian newspapers], Wrocław 1971; O. Słomczyńska, *Książka polska w Opolu 1800-1890* [Polish book in Opole 1800-1890], Opole 1978;

¹²³ J. Fojcik, *Materiały do dziejów ruchu śpiewaczego na Śląsku(1870-1939)* [On Polish singing movement in Silesia, 1870-1939], Katowice 1961; T. Gospodarek, *Walka o kulturę narodową ludu na Śląsku* [Fight for Polish folk culture in Silesia 1815-1863], Wrocław 1968;

¹²⁴ L. Górecki, *Walka o polskość szkoły ludowej na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1801-1872* [Fight for Polish folk schools in Upper Silesia 1801-1872], Katowice 1974; M. Pater, *Nauka języka polskiego w gimnazjach wrocławskich w latach 1840-1912* [Teaching Polish in Wrocław gymnasiums, 1840-1912], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 34(1978); J. Kwiatek, *Problemy narodowościowe w górnośląskiej szkole ludowej na przetomie XIX i XX wieku* [National problems in Upper Silesian folk schools in the turn of 19th c.], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 41(1983)

camp, nationalists were equally successful. They gradually gained the dominance over scouting, paramilitary, gymnastic and other youth movements¹²⁵.

As it has been already mentioned, there are not many works trying to assess the character of values shared by Polish-speaking inhabitants of Upper Silesia. We lack the enquiries whether awareness of national community did necessarily imply perceiving Prussia as alien state. It has not been convincingly revealed what kind of attitude prevailed with regard to Poles from neighboring Russian or Austrian provinces and towards the claim for Polish independence. One often can not help the feeling that the experience of World War I and the plebiscite-military warfare period of its aftermath eclipsed the preceding period¹²⁶. The interwar years seem to be better explored, mostly due to studies of M. Wanatowicz. She focused on stereotypes that rose in the region as the result of contact with Poles from other areas, new administration and changed living conditions. In general, regional identity was much strengthened when part of Upper Silesia was incorporated into Poland. The newcomers, especially these from former Galicia, gained opinion that "though 'poor' and 'stupid', played the lord in Silesia". Thin intelligentsia created in the area and composed of newcomers rather than of the locals, was little integrated into wide population and was not in position to reverse the trend. Also beyond Silesia its inhabitants were not always admitted common national identity and suspected of alien cultural burden. Nevertheless these trends are not considered crucial. It is agreed

¹²⁵ E. Mendel, *Czynniki wpływające na kształtowanie się świadomości narodowej Polaków górnośląskich w latach pierwszej wojny światowej*[Factors shaping Poles' national consciousness in Upper Silesia during World War I], [in:] *Sprawozdania Opolskiego Tow. Przyj.* Nauk 7(1969); M. Wanatowicz, *Ludność napływowa i jej rola w polskim ruchu narodowym na Górnym Śląsku...*[Immigrants and their role in Polish national movement in Upper Silesia...], [in:] *Śląskie Studia Historyczne* 1(1975); *Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne "Sokół" na Górnym Śląsku*[Gymnastic society "Sokół" in Upper Silesia](ed. by H. Przybylski, J. Ślężyński), Katowice 1986; L. Pytlik, *Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne "Sokół" w tradycji życia narodowego w Rybnickiem*[Gymnastic Society "Sokół" in tradition of national life in the Rybnik region], [in:] *Kronika Rybnicka* 1984/1

¹²⁶ B. Szerer, *Na marginesie problematyki narodowej Górnego Śląska pierwszych lat XX wieku*[Marginal remarks on national problem in Upper Silesia in early 20th c.], [in:] *Sobótka* 13(1958)/3; K. Kwaśniewski, *Polski patriotyzm Ślązaków*[Silesians' Polish patriotism], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 15(1969); J. Byczkowski, *Ludność polska na pograniczu Śląska Opolskiego i Dolnego, 1848-1914*[Polish population between Opole and Lower Silesia], Katowice 1969; M. Pater, *Ruch polski na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1879-1893*[Polish movement in Upper Silesia 1879-1893], Wrocław 1969; his *Świadomość narodowa Polaków na Śląsku w XIX wieku*[Poles' national consciousness in Silesia in 19th century], [in:] *Sprawozdanie Wrocławskiego Tow. Naukowego* 35(1980); K. Popiołek, *Rozwój polskiej świadomości narodowej na Śląsku*[Development of Polish national consciousness in Silesia], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 42(1983)

that processes of economic, legal and cultural transformations combined with consciousness of national community led to integration of the region¹²⁷.

The actions that Polish national movement in Silesia resolved to in 1919-1923 are among a few viewed in quite the opposite way in Poland and in Western Europe. On one side it is people's patriotic uprising against alien violence, on another a rebel run by some nationalists and ruining efforts of the Great Powers. In Poland pre-war tradition was reinforced after 1945, especially as it delivered opportunity to stress both Polish resistance against German predatory misdeeds and predominantly folk character of the movement. The huge work of K. Popiołek, published in 1946, set the long-time perspective for such interpretation. It endured well into 1970s and surfaced as the in 1973, during the high tide of various publications issued in the wake of 50th anniversary of the 3rd Silesian uprising. The problem that seems the most relevant to development of national movement, i.e. why some people went to fight by one side, other by another, and some stayed at home, was rarely addressed, like in article of E. Mendel in the joint jubilee publication. Remarkably, the historians licensed by the official structures in Poland and the emigree scholars were not very far in their respective visions. The proof might be the work of T. Piszczkowski, strongly leaning towards the London nationalist camp¹²⁸. It took the next ten years before appeared works that did not take for granted that every Polish-speaking miner was naturally to join the insurgents. Instead, they ventured to investigate the character of links between the low-strata

¹²⁷ M. Wanatowicz, *Stereotyp Galicjanina w środowisku górnośląskim w Polsce niepodległej 1922-1939*[Stereotype of a Galician in Upper Silesia in independent Poland, 1922-1939], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 29(1986)/1; hers *Inteligencja na Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym*[Intelligentsia in Silesia in the interwar period], Katowice 1986; hers *Polskość górnoślązaków w opiniach innych dzielnic*[Polishness of Upper Silesians according to other regions], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 50(1991); hers and other articles also in: *Ziemia śląskie w granicach II Rzeczypospolitej. Procesy integracyjne*[Silesian territories in the Second Republic. Integration processes](ed. F. Serafin), Katowice 1985; and *Z problemów integracji i unifikacji II Rzeczypospolitej*[On integration and unification problems of the Second Republic](ed. by J. Chlebowczyk), Katowice 1980

¹²⁸ K. Popiołek, *Trzecie powstanie śląskie*[Third Silesian uprising], Katowice 1946; H. Zieliński, *The social and political background of the Silesian Uprisings*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 26(1972); T. Piszczkowski, *Plebiscyt i powstania na Górnym Śląsku*[Plebiscite and uprisings in Upper Silesia], Londyn 1972; J. Przewłocki, *Ludowy charakter powstań śląskich*[People's character of Silesian uprisings], Katowice 1973; *Pięćdziesięciolecie powstań śląskich*[Fiftieth anniversary of silesian uprisings](ed. by F. Hawranek, H. Zieliński), Katowice 1973; J. Ludyga-Laskowski, *Zarys historii trzech powstań śląskich*[An outline of history of three Silesian uprisings], Wrocław 1973; W. Ryzewski, *Trzecie powstanie śląskie*[Third Silesian uprising], Warszawa 1977

Poles and what they considered fatherland¹²⁹. Also the historical conference on Polish-German relations held in 1977 launched the new approach, based on investigating cultural links and barriers. In the stream that followed, some works featured the Silesian case studies, discussed in the section on Poles and non-Poles.

In the territories included into Germany after the partitions of Upper Silesia inhabited considerable number of Poles. Their fate was of much interest for scholars who wished to prove injustice done to Polish case by the Powers and to supply an argument for seizing the area after 1945. The minority was usually presented as rather dynamic and progressing, with negligent attention paid to cases and processes to the contrary. No wonder that picture delivered looked one-sidedly and was of little use with regard to question of mechanisms maintaining and de-constructing national identity¹³⁰. Recently A. Brożek published a paper that seems more relevant. The author was rather well prepared as he gained familiarity with regional identity problems during his research on so-called Ostflucht¹³¹.

¹²⁹ A. Kwiatek, *Ruch narodowowyzwoleńczy na Śląsku w latach 1919-1921 (próba definicji)* [National liberation movement in Silesia 1919-1921, definition attempt], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 26(1980)/1; K. Kossakowska, *Mit Ojczyzny w polskiej publicystyce górnośląskiej w okresie powstań i plebiscytu* [Myth of fatherland in Upper Silesian publicist prints during uprisings and plebiscite period], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 28(1982)/2; T. Kowalak, *Przyczynek do dziejów prasy na Górnym Śląsku w okresie walki o jego powrót do Polski* [On history of press in Upper Silesia during fight for its return to Poland], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny Prasy Polskiej* 22(1983)/2

¹³⁰ H. Zieliński, *Warunki rozwoju i przejawy polskiej świadomości narodowej na Opolszczyźnie w latach 1918-1939* [Development conditions and manifestations of national consciousness in Opole region 1918-1939], [in:] *Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Tow. Przyj. Nauk* 1(1950); J. Lubojański, *Die polnische Sprache in Westoberschlesien 1910-1939*, Warszawa 1958; M. Orzechowski, *Ludność polska na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1918-1939* [Polish population in Lower Silesia 1918-1939], Wrocław 1959; his *Ruch polski na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1922-1939* [Polish movement in Lower Silesia 1922-1939], [in:] *Sobótka* 18(1963)/1; S. Żyga, *Polskie banki ludowe na Górnym Śląsku pod panowaniem niemieckim w latach 1895-1939* [Polish folk banks under the German rule 1895-1939], Warszawa 1967; J. Ratajewski, *Ruch czytelniczy i biblioteki polskie na Śląsku Opolskim 1922-1939* [Polish readers' movement and libraries in Opole Silesia, 1922-1939], Opole 1970; J. Gruszka, *Polski ośrodek narodowy w Raciborzu* [Polish national center in Racibórz], Wrocław 1970; M. Lipowicz, *Polskie życie kulturalne na ziemi gliwickiej w latach 1922-1939* [Polish cultural life in Gliwice area, 1922-1939], [in:] *Zeszyty Gliwickie* 10(1973); E. Mendel, *Polacy w Opolu 1933-1939* [Poles in Opole 1933-1939], Wrocław 1980

¹³¹ A. Brożek, *Świadomość narodowa ludności na polskim obszarze etnicznym Śląska (do 1945)* [National identity on Polish ethnic territory in Silesia till 1945], [in:] *Watra* 3(1988)

Prussia in General

Sometimes it was difficult to address the problems confined only to certain regions, as their character called for more general approach. It was certainly the case of Polish activity in Prussian and German parliaments, relatively easy to trace on the basis of accessible sources. Three large works on these issues belong to political history and illustrate the very common problems of tactical choice between various attitudes available to a minority. The customary conclusion emerging from these works seems to be that interests of Poles were better served in opposition, and any deals with official structures finally proved to do more harm than good¹³².

Overall picture of education is closer due to monographs of more detailed questions. One of them is the position of Prussian state and the Germans themselves towards the Polish issue. Many scholars noticed that in fact denationalization policy was initiated in Berlin, not in the eastern borderlands. Accordingly, Polish national movement did not acquire anti-German nationalist edge, at least till late 19th century. Joint study of B. Grześ, J. Kozłowski and A. Kramski promotes the thesis that also the German stance was shaped by official administration. From neutrality, sometimes marked by friendship like in 1848-1849, it gradually evolved to enmity. Also W. Jakóbczyk notes that till 1866/1867 the ultimate goal was maintaining the cult and meeting the requirements of Prussian state. In many cases, this policy allowed some liberties and basically treated the Poles on equal basis with non-Poles. In the Bismarck's era appeared the first notion of German national interests. At the time it was believed that its fortress are bureaucracy, protestant clergy and land-owners. Theories of national integrity surfaced later, by the end of 19th century, and not only included but also highlighted German workers and peasants. The idea of nation-state replaced these featuring higher German culture or state rights as justification of assimilating drive. The dissent comes from J. Kokot, who sees Germanization since mid-18th century, and divides it into three stages: initiated

¹³² Z. Grot, *Działalność posłów polskich w sejmie pruskim(1848-1850)*[Polish deputies in Prussian parliament, 1848-1850], Poznań 1962; Z. Hemmelring, *Posłowie polscy w parlamencie Rzeszy Niemieckiej i Sejmie Pruskim 1907-1914*[Polish deputies in Reich's and Prussian parliaments, 1907-1914], Warszawa 1968; J. Benyskiewicz, *Posłowie polscy w Berlinie w latach 1866-1890*[Polish deputies in Berlin, 1866-1890], Zielona Góra 1976

by Frederick the Great, modified after the Vienna Congress and perfected by Bismarck¹³³.

The phenomenon of popular libraries, tackled in some regional treatises, was exhaustively treated by J. Wróblewski. His work is the noteworthy argument for thesis attaching to cultural and civilization transformations exceptional importance with regard to national movements. Also the theory perceiving low strata of population as the core of national drive is strongly reinforced in the volume against claims indicating political efforts of the elites¹³⁴. Two other works incidentally provide material for comparisons on school and education. One focuses on the wave of strikes in early 20th century, another on strive for national school in the interwar period. The ferment of pre-1914 years is generally considered as strengthening Polish minority, despite the fact that its claims have actually been suppressed. In the interwar period, even in the times of the Weimar Republic, Polish minority education was struggling and did not provide support for declining national movement. The comparison of two volumes could suggest that the reasons might not be exclusively in the sphere of potential at disposal of the minority and state. They ought to be traced also in different structures and tactics of Polish organizations¹³⁵. The impact of Kulturkampf of 1870s is measured by L. Trzeciakowski. He proves that Catholicism and Polishness did not necessarily go together till Bismarck's initiative, and found themselves allies when challenged by new German policy. Thus, in Poland anchored the conviction that Kulturkampf was a failure, and it was in late 1980s that H. Wereszycki attempted to review the problem, however in terms of general situation in the empire. L. Trzeciakowski ventured also to

¹³³ B. Grześ, J. Kozłowski, A. Kramski, *Niemcy w Poznańskim wobec polityki germanizacyjnej 1815-1920*[Germans in the Poznań region and the germanization policy 1815-1920], Poznań 1976; W. Jakóbczyk, *Prusy-Polacy-nacjonalizm*[Prussia-Poles-nationalism], Warszawa 1969; J. Kokot, *Problemy narodowościowe na Śląsku od X do XX wieku*[Nationality problems in Silesia, 10-20th c.], Opole 1973

¹³⁴ W. Jakóbczyk, *Biblioteki ludowe w zaborze pruskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Popular libraries in Prussian partition on the turn of the 19th c.], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 4(1961)/1; J. Wróblewski, *Polskie biblioteki ludowe w zaborze pruskim i na terenie Rzeszy Niemieckiej w latach 1843-1939*[Polish popular libraries in Prussian partition and German Reich, 1848-1939], Olsztyn 1975

¹³⁵ J. Kulczycki, *School strikes in Prussian Poland*, New York 1981; T. Musioł, *Przyczyny upadku polskich szkół mniejszościowych*[Reasons for fall of Polish minority schools], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 7(1961)/4; see also T. Narloch, *Geneza i tło walki o język w polskich organizacjach w zaborze pruskim...*[Origin and background of strive for language in Polish organizations in the Prussian partition...], [in:] *Koszalińskie Studia i Materiały* 4(1976)/3

give an outline of Polish national movement under the Prussian rule. It tends to focus on Wielkopolska and on the late 19th century¹³⁶.

Gymnastic societies and cooperative movement are other grass-root organizations that earned their monographs. Both maintain that such initiatives were preserving rather than forging national identity. They were being joined because of their national character, not because they responded to and fulfilled certain social needs¹³⁷. Of course there is no problem of this sort in case of Union of Poles in Germany, the main minority organization after 1918. It earned some legend due to memoirs and other non-scientific publications, especially of one of its former youth activists, E. Osmańczyk. M. Orzechowski produced works that contributed to this image, crediting the Union for reinforcing Polish endurance in Germany¹³⁸. W. Wrześniński challenged this vision when claimed that in some circumstances adopted tactics backfired and worked against Polish fortitude. Highlighting what was considered traditional national values and in general the tendency to look back proved to be in line with German propaganda, which used to present Poles and Poland as backward. Cultural advancement became linked with German culture and Polish national image got cracked. Wrześniński, one of the best specialists on German-Polish affairs, tried to summarize the problem in the general study on Polish minority in Germany after 1918¹³⁹.

¹³⁶ L. Trzeciakowski, *Pod pruskim zaborem 1850-1918*[Under the Prussian rule 1850-1918], Warszawa 1973; his *Kulturkampf w zaborze pruskim*[Kulturkampf in Prussian partition], Poznań 1970; see also J. Krasuski, *Znaczenie tzw Kulturkampfu dla sprawy polskiej*[Kulturkampf and the Polish case], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1969/2; R. Michalski, *Polskie duchowieństwo katolickie w zaborze pruskim wobec sprawy niepodległości Polski na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Polish catholic clergy and Poland's independence on the turn of the 19th c.], [in:] *Acta Univ. Nicolai Copernici* vol. 9(1978)

¹³⁷ S. Ochociński, *Spółdzielczość polska w zaborze pruskim do 1918 roku*[Polish cooperatives in Prussian partition till 1918], Warszawa 1967; K. Pietrzak-Pawłowski, *Spółdzielczość polska na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych 1918-1939*[Polish cooperatives in northern and western areas, 1918-1939], Warszawa 1967; B. Woltmann, *Polska kultura fizyczna na wschodnim pograniczu niemieckim(1919-1939)*[Polish physical education on German eastern borderlands 1919-1939], Poznań 1980

¹³⁸ M. Orzechowski, *Problemy świadomości narodowej ludności polskiej w latach międzywojennych w Niemczech*[Problems of national consciousness of Polish population in Germany in the interwar period], [in:] *Polacy w Republice Weimarskiej i III Rzeszy*, Olsztyn 1965; his *Rola Związku Polaków w Niemczech w kształtowaniu samowiedzy narodowej ludności polskiej*[Role of Union of Poles in Germany in forming national consciousness of Polish population], [in:] *Sobótka* 28(1973)/3

¹³⁹ W. Wrześniński, *The Union of Poles in Germany and its Attitude to Problems of Consciousness of Nationality(1922-1939)*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 20(1969); his *Polski ruch narodowy w Niemczech 1922-1939*[Polish national movement in Germany 1922-1939], Poznań 1970

PART TWO: NATIONAL MINORITIES

THE GERMANS

Among many national groups entangled in Polish history, the one that attracted particular attention after 1945 was the Germans. Whereas numerically stronger Slav minorities till late 1970s were rarely subject of interest, there was significant production on German problem as early as in 1960s, and it went on later. Its character was suiting political needs of the time, i.e. the advantage taken of German-Polish past by ruling elites for the sake of both international and domestic policy. Thus, the problem was seen predominantly in terms of relations between two states, not two ethnic groups; the research adopted deterministic approach towards outbursts of hostility; it was centered on political problems; it often used to take shape of response to West German historiography, represented by names like T. Bierschenek, R. Breyer, O. Heike, P. Nasarski and P. Swart; finally, the German ethnic community, especially after 1918, was treated as homogeneous group constituting one unit. The perspective was set by official interpretation of the fate of German population in the East after 1945, considered a sort of natural end of long historical process. Works focusing on this issue were designed as challenge to allegations circulated behind the Iron Curtain¹⁴⁰.

Probably above features apply particularly well to writings of A. Cygański, who sought to stress fundamental disloyalty of German minority towards Poland. Its later links with Nazism are presented as unavoidable consequence of previous attitude of this group, with neglect of the impact of Polish-German relations¹⁴¹. Curiously enough, one of the later publications by this author features German pacifist groups, but is equally little instructive as to

¹⁴⁰ St. Banasiak, *Przesiedlenie Niemców z Polski w latach 1945-1950*[Transfer of Germans from Poland, 1945-1950], Łódź 1968; K. Skubiszewski, *Wysiedlenie Niemców po II wojnie światowej*[Displacement of Germans after World War II], Warszawa 1968; T. Białecki, *Przesiedlenie ludności Niemieckiej z Pomorza Zachodniego po II wojnie światowej*[Transfer of German population from Western Pomerania after World War II], Poznań 1969

¹⁴¹ A. Cygański, *Z dziejów Volksbundu(1921-1932)*[From the history of Volksbund, 1921-1932], Opole 1966; his *Volksbund w służbie III Rzeszy*[Volksbund on the service of the Third Reich], Opole 1968; his *Hitlerowskie organizacje dywersyjne w województwie śląskim 1931-1936*[Hitlerite sabotage organizations in the Silesian voivodeship, 1931-1936], Katowice 1971

their image and sort of appeal in the German population¹⁴². Cygański was also the first Polish author to observe the community in Central Poland. Later he was followed with regard to other, also isolated however poor and rural groups in Central East regions, portrayed in two studies of 1969 and 1983¹⁴³. Mostly political, often clandestine organizations, with particular acknowledgement of Nazi or Nazi-influenced ones, attracted attention of K. Grunberg and S. Osiński¹⁴⁴. W. Rogala, R. Staniewicz and S. Potocki focus less on institutional aspect and more on general attitude of the minority, examining also the situation in different regions: Pomorze/former Westpreußen, Wielkopolska/former Provinz Posen and Silesia. Nevertheless, their works also fall into the mainstream of contemporary writings. The latter author attempted also the first larger synthesis on general position of Germans in Poland, highlighting its relative affluence and support received from Berlin¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴² A. Cygański, *Niemieckie organizacje pacyfistyczne i ich aktywność na Śląsku w latach 1926-1932*[German pacifist organizations and their activity in Silesia, 1926-1932], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 28(1975)

¹⁴³ A. Cygański, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce centralnej w latach 1919-1939*[German minority in Central Poland, 1919-1939], Łódź 1962; W. Śladkowski, *Kolonizacja niemiecka w południowo-wschodniej części Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815-1919*[German colonization in south east part of Kingdom of Poland, 1815-1919], Lublin 1969; J. Doroszewski, *Mniejszość niemiecka na lubelszczyźnie w latach 1918-1939*[German minority in the Lublin region, 1918-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 39(1983)/5-6; his *Antypolska działalność mniejszości niemieckiej na lubelszczyźnie w latach 1918-1939*[Anti-Polish activity of German minority in the Lublin region, 1918-1939], [in:] *Rocznik Lubelski* 25-26(1983-4); T. Stegner, *Die Polonisierung deutscher Protestanten in Kongreßpolen(1815-1914)*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 66(1992)

¹⁴⁴ K. Grunberg, *Nazi-Front Schlesien. Niemieckie organizacje polityczne w województwie śląskim w latach 1933-1939*[Nazi-Front Schlesien. German political organizations in Silesian voivodeship, 1933-1939], Katowice 1963; his *Niemcy i ich organizacje polityczne w Polsce międzywojennej*[Germans and their political organizations in the interwar Poland], Warszawa 1970; S. Osiński, *Polityczne organizacje mniejszości niemieckiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1933-1939*[Political organizations of German minority on the Gdańsk Pomerania, 1933-1939], Wrocław 1964; his *V kolumna na Pomorzu Gdańskim*[The Fifth Column on the Gdańsk Pomerania], Warszawa 1965

¹⁴⁵ S. Potocki, *Położenie ludności niemieckiej w Polsce 1918-1938*[Situation of German population in Poland, 1918-1938], Gdańsk 1969; his *Tendencje polityczne ludności niemieckiej w województwie pomorskim w latach 1920-1939*[Political tendencies of the German population in the Pomerania voivodeship, 1920-1939], [in:] *Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne* 12(1969)/18; W. Rogala, *Polityka niemieckiej mniejszości narodowej w Wielkopolsce w latach 1919-1923*[Policy of German national minority in Great Poland region, 1919-1923], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 13(1957)/2; A. Kucner, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce i dążenie rządu niemieckiego do utrzymania stanu posiadania w b. zaborze pruskim*[German minority in Poland and German government's attempts to maintain influence in former Prussian partition], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 14(1958)/4; R. Staniewicz, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce - V*

Somewhat more differentiated are studies carried by two other scholars. T. Kowalak was interested in problems of social organization of German community, enquiring into manifestations of economic self-support on the level of cooperatives. Local and national press found themselves under scrutiny as well. Unfortunately, analysis of contents of minority publications, its divergence and evolution is ordinarily eclipsed by problems of more institutional nature. Usually they provide the basis for revealing connections with official German finance and inspiration. The lingering conviction and overwhelming conclusion seems to be that this community was of little roots in the East. Accordingly, the process of German expansion and later presence there was chiefly due to artificial mechanisms. Thus it was burdened with problems of acute relations with other ethnic groups and followed by later post-war solutions¹⁴⁶. Another author going beyond political problems was A. Szefer. He merits attention as in fact the first student emphasizing internal diversity of German population in Poland. He undertook also the attempt to analyze the problem of Nazi competition with other orientations, embracing also the factors that sustained its final triumph¹⁴⁷.

The tendency to uncover separatist and hostile stance of German minority in Poland climaxed in the early 1970s, and seems to close certain stage in historiography. The years of 1970-1971 brought three volumes and some minor papers on destabilizing role of German minority in the East, depicting her

kolumna Hitlera?[German minority in Poland - Hitler's Fifth Column?], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1959/2; his *Mniejszość niemiecka w województwie śląskim w latach 1922-1933*[German minority in Silesia voivodeship, 1922-1933], Katowice 1965, *Niemcy w Polsce a odbudowa państwa polskiego*[Germans in Poland and the rebuilding of Polish state], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1968/5-6

¹⁴⁶ T. Kowalak, *Spółdzielczość niemiecka na Pomorzu 1920-1938*[German cooperatives in Pomerania, 1920-1938], Warszawa 1965; his *Prasa niemiecka w Polsce 1918-1939*[German press in Poland, 1918-1939], Warszawa 1971 and other minor papers on press; his *Zagraniczne kredyty dla Niemców w Polsce 1919-1939*[Foreign credits for Germans in Poland, 1919-1939], Warszawa 1972

¹⁴⁷ A. Szefer, *Z działalności Niemieckiej Socjalistycznej Partii Robotniczej w województwie śląskim w latach 1933-1938*[On activity of German Socialist Workers Party in Silesia voivodeship 1933-1938], [in:] *Zaranie Śląskie* 1964/4; his *O próbie zespolenia mniejszości niemieckiej w województwie śląskim w latach 1933-1939*[On attempts to unite German minority in Silesia voivodeship, 1933-1939]; [in:] *Sobótka* 20(1965)/2; his *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce i w Czechosłowacji w latach 1933-1938*[German minority in Poland and Czechoslovakia, 1933-1938], Katowice 1967; his *"Jako Niemcy czcimy Hitlera". Mniejszość niemiecka w II Rzeczypospolitej*["As Germans we revere Hitler". German minority in the Second Republic], [in:] *Odra* 9(1969)/3

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as exponent of Berlin's revisionism¹⁴⁸. But later this interest seemed to dry out. In general, the German issue became much less attractive, and number of publications hardly match this of previous 10 years. In particular, attention gradually diverted from problems of Nazism, disloyalty and links with Weimar Republic or Third Reich, and shifted to new matters.

In the old trend were contained articles of Z. Wartel and M. Mroczo, with the former stressing wealth of German population in Poland and the latter popular Polish initiatives interpreted as resisting irredentist tendencies and contributing to stability, not tension¹⁴⁹. In late 1970s also R. Dąbrowski went on with exploring the socio-economic matters. Majority of his publications that followed highlighted the privileged and superior position of German land-owners. However they are credited for agricultural progress, it was rather official support enjoyed before 1918 that secured their wealth¹⁵⁰. In the new tendency fall mostly studies on national education, probably the aspect of German position in the interwar Poland that contemporary Europe was the best acquainted with. Numerous conflicts appearing in the agenda of the League of Nations made it the symbol of mistreatment of minorities, but post-war Polish studies tend to argue that quite incorrectly. The most ambitious work seems to be the volume prepared by M. Iwanicki. It goes beyond mere analysis of infrastructure and institutional network, but seeks to assess the directions Germans were running their own education and the cluster of relative issues.

¹⁴⁸ L. Gondek, *Działalność Abwehry na terenie Polski 1933-1939*[Abwehr's activity in Poland, 1933-1939], Warszawa 1971; H. Kopczyk, *Niemiecka działalność wywiadowcza na Pomorzu 1920-1933*[German espionage activity in Pomerania, 1920-1933], Gdańsk 1970; *Irredenta niemiecka w Europie Środkowej i Południowo-Wschodniej przed II wojną światową*[German irredenta in Central and South East Europe before World War II](ed. by H. Batowski), Katowice 1971; E. Menclewski, *Narzędzie Berlina. Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce 1918-1945*[Berlin's tool. German minority in Poland 1918-1945], [in:] Przegląd Lubuski 3(1973)/1

¹⁴⁹ Z. Wartel, *Dążenie mniejszości niemieckiej do rozszerzenia swych uprawnień w Polsce po przewrocie majowym*[Aspiration of German minority to extend of her rights after the May Coup], [in:] Dzieje Najnowsze 9(1977)/2; his *Sprawa parcelacji majątków niemieckich w Polsce*[Partitions of German land propriety in Poland], [in:] Kwartalnik Historyczny 1976/3. Also S. Turowski, *Deutchstumbund i organizacje afiliowane na Pomorzu w latach 1920-1923*[Deutchstumbund and affiliated organizations in Pomerania, 1920-1923], [in:] Prace Komisji Historii Bydgoskiego Tow. Naukowego, vol. 10, Warszawa 1974

¹⁵⁰ R. Dąbrowski, *Położenie ekonomiczne mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce w okresie międzywojennego dwudziestolecia*[Economic position of German minority in Poland in the interwar period], Szczecin 1977; and other papers focusing mostly on land-owners in: *Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Szczecinie: Prace Wydz. Humanist. 1976/6* and *Prace Inst. Nauk Społ.-Filozof. 1976/1, 1979/2; Przegląd Zachodniopomorski 1978/2, 1983/4, 1987/3 1988/4, 1989/1-2; Zeszyty Naukowe Uniw. Szczecińskiego Studia Historyczne 1990/3*

Detailed study on Silesian education system was provided by T. Falecki, and more general work addressing cultural features of German community in Poland came from R. Dąbrowski¹⁵¹. Non-nazi or even anti-nazi organizations were focused in works of A. Cygański, L. Meissner and F. Hawranek of early 1970s¹⁵². Four interesting studies emerged from the Gdańsk University and were devoted to compact German groups in Pomerania. They constituted first known attempts to analyze small local communities in possibly all aspects, however in the rather brief manner¹⁵³. Particularly interesting, however not continued in course of profound research on the lowest level, are the articles on German attitude towards the Kaszub regional group. Consisting of peasants and fishermen, the group inhabited the territories West of Gdańsk/Danzig. It was drifting between German and Polish culture and was claimed by both Poles and Germans¹⁵⁴. Finally, more impartial approach to general problem of the role of German minority in the interwar Poland was employed in the general article

¹⁵¹ M. Iwanicki, *Polityka oświatowa w szkolnictwie niemieckim w Polsce w latach 1918-1939*[Policy of German education system in Poland, 1918-1939], Warszawa 1978; T. Falecki, *Niemieckie szkolnictwo mniejszościowe na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1922-1939*[German minority education system in Upper Silesia, 1922-1939], Katowice 1970; R. Dąbrowski, *Życie kulturalno-oświatowe mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce w dwudziestolecie międzywojennym*[Cultural and education life of German minority in Poland in the interwar period], Szczecin 1978

¹⁵² A. Cygański, *op. cit.*, F. Hawranek, *Niemiecka socjaldemokracja w prowincji górnośląskiej w latach 1929-1933*[German social-democracy in the Upper Silesia province, 1929-1933], Wrocław 1971; L. Meissner, *Niemieckie organizacje antyfaszystowskie w Polsce 1933-1939*[German anti-Nazi organizations in Poland, 1933-1939], Warszawa 1973. Their sole continuation in following years seems to be the study of H. Szczerbiński, *Niemieckie organizacje socjalistyczne w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*[German socialist organizations in the Second Republic], Warszawa 1986

¹⁵³ P. Hauser, *Landbund Weichselgau - zawodowa organizacja rolnicza mniejszości niemieckiej w województwie pomorskim w latach 1920-1939*[Landbund Weichselgau - professional agriculture organization of German minority in the Pomerania voivodeship, 1920-1939], [in:] *Zapiski Historyczne* 44(1979)/4; S. Turowski, *Mniejszość niemiecka na terenie miasta i powiatu Chojnice w latach 1920-1939*[German minority on the Chojnice town and district, 1920-1939], [in:] *Pomerania* 17(1980)/8-9; M. Widernik, *Mniejszość niemiecka w północnych powiatach województwa pomorskiego w latach 1920-1939*[German minority in the northern districts of Pomerania voivodeship, 1920-1939], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniw. Gdańskiego* 8(1978)

¹⁵⁴ P. Hauser, *Mniejszość niemiecka na Pomorzu wobec kwestii kaszubskiej w latach 1920-1939*[German minority in Pomerania and the Kaszub question, 1920-1939], [in:] *Studia Germano-Slavica* 2(1973); M. Andrzejewski, *Próby niemieckiej propagandy oddziaływania na ludność kaszubską*[Attempts of German propaganda to influence the Kaszubi population], [in:] *Zapiski Historyczne* 1984/2; on Kaszubi also: T. Boldaun, *Trybun Kaszubów. Opowieść o Antonim Abrahamie*[The Kaszubs' tribune. The story of A. Abraham], Gdańsk 1989

addressed rather to the foreign reader. It shown German case in the context of Polish ethnic diversity and sought to analyze it as part of general minority problem in the Second Republic¹⁵⁵.

The trend to study cultural and education aspects persisted well into 1980s, enriched by some major attempts to review the general image of German history in Poland. The Silesian region proved particularly attractive, for two articles targeted various institutions of cultural life¹⁵⁶. R. Dąbrowski went on with his studies on both cultural and socio-economic background of German position. His contribution to German research in Poland emerged as one of the most thorough and versatile. Especially his two books, of 1977 and 1982 are the ultimate steps before producing a monograph of the minority¹⁵⁷. Another scholar of comparable literary output, P. Hauser, is also slowly approaching the full-scale monograph. So far, he went on with studies on German community in the Pomerania region, summarized in the volume printed in 1981. Also in this work petrification of nazism is presented rather as the continuation than opposition of traditional nationalism. Sometimes tough competition between these two orientations that took place among German minority is presented as deceiving. Uniform adoption of Nazism is regarded as not due to deteriorating relations with Poles and Polish state structures, but vice versa¹⁵⁸. Some sketchily treated publications on the minority as a whole were written by Hauser and Makowski, and weight mostly as proposals introducing some hierarchy of problems with regard to the wide scope of issue itself¹⁵⁹. They endeavor to

¹⁵⁵ E. Wynot, *The Polish Germans, 1919-1939. National minority in a multinational state*, [in:] Polish Review 17(1972)/1

¹⁵⁶ K. Puzio, A. Puzio, *Biblioteki mniejszości niemieckiej w województwie śląskim 1922-1939*[Libraries of German minority in the Silesia voivodeship, 1922-1939], [in:] Roczniki Biblioteczne 28(1984)/1-2; D. Sieradzka, *Niemieckie organizacje kulturalne na terenie województwa śląskiego w okresie międzywojennym*[German cultural organizations in the Silesia voivodeship in the interwar period], [in:] Kwartalnik Historyczny 88(1981)/3

¹⁵⁷ R. Dąbrowski, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce i jej działalność społeczno-kulturalna w latach 1918-1939*[German minority in Poland and her socio-cultural activity, 1918-1939], Szczecin 1982

¹⁵⁸ P. Hauser, *Mniejszość niemiecka w województwie pomorskim w latach 1920-1939*[German minority in the Pomerania voivodeship, 1920-1939], Wrocław 1981; his *Die Deutsche Minderheit in der Wojewodschaft Pomorskie in den Jahren 1920-1939*, [in:] Grenzrevision und Minderheitenfrage zwischen beiden Weltkriegen, Rostock 1982

¹⁵⁹ *Die Deutsche Minderheit in Polen 1918-1939*, [in:] Deutsches-Polnisches Jahrbuch 3(1985) and modified version also in: *Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen 1919-1932*, Braunschweig 1985; his *The German minority in Poland in the years 1918-1939. Reflections on the state of research and interpretation and proposals for further research*, [in:] Polish Western Affairs 32(1991)/2; his *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce w latach 1918-1939*[German minority in Poland, 1918-1939], [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Wrocław 1992;

weight the relations between Nazism, disloyalty, inertia, separatism or irredentism, being an attempt to rethink the image of German minority as such. It is flawed, like majority of studies on minorities, by its character of history of the elites, fact that the author admits himself in his publication of 1992. Many doubts raised by Hauser over long lingering simplifications were repeated by other authors in the mid-1980s¹⁶⁰. The discussion that has been taking place over the role of German minority was entered by O. Heike in 1985 and R. Breyer in 1986. In the Polish literature spoke with more traditional approach the scholar of international diplomacy, S. Sierpowski, who stressed the distabilizing impact of German minorities and official German policy¹⁶¹. Also A. Szefer and Cz. Madajczyk stucked to general outlines of their earlier publications¹⁶². In 1986 two students of rather traditional approach, J. Benyskiewicz and L. Trzeciakowski, made it clear that they consider German presence the result of processes inflicted from above. Ethnic transformations, cultural encounters and certain in-between sphere occurring at the borderlands are obscured. The apparent context of the colonization, Germanization and settlement issues was the "natural" or "artificial" origin of German population¹⁶³. The debate was

E. Makowski, *Die deutsche Minderheit in Polen 1919-1939*, [in:] *Grenzrevision und Minderheitenfrage zwischen beiden Weltkriegen*, Rostock 1982

¹⁶⁰ *Rola mniejszości niemieckiej w rozwoju stosunków politycznych w Europie 1918-1945*[Role of German minority in development of political relations in Europe, 1918-1945](ed. by A. Czubiński), Poznań 1984; J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów*[Republic of many nations], Warszawa 1985; his *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków*[Not only Poles' fatherland], Warszawa 1985

¹⁶¹ S. Sierpowski, *Mniejszości narodowe jako instrument polityki międzynarodowej 1919-1939*[National minorities as an instrument of international policy, 1919-1939], Poznań 1988; his *Mniejszość niemiecka na tle aktywności mniejszościowej Ligi Narodów*[German minority and the minority activity of the League of Nations], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992; compare also his earlier studies on the League of Nations

¹⁶² Cz. Madajczyk, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce w polityce Gustawa Stresemanna*[German minority in Poland in Stresemann's policy], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 23(1991)/3; A. Szefer, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce w koncepcjach politycznych Trzeciej Rzeszy lat trzydziestych*[German minority in Poland in political concepts of the Third Reich in the 1930s], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

¹⁶³ J. Benyskiewicz, *Porozbiorowa kolonizacja i germanizacja na ziemiach polskich geneza mniejszości niemieckiej*[Post-partitions colonization and Germanization on Polish territories - the origin of German minority], [in:] *Życie i Myśl* 1986/3-4; L. Trzeciakowski, *Osadnictwo niemieckie na ziemiach polskich w dobie zaborów i jego społeczne i narodowe skutki*[German settlement on Polish territories during the partitions and its social and national results], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 1986/11-12

carried further on by W. Kotowski, who posed as title of his study the most disputed question: loyalism or irredenta¹⁶⁴.

The above problem is certainly the one responsible for emergence of relatively many publications on German minority and for their partly vapid character as well. Many questions were considered of secondary importance and studied just for the sake of providing an answer for the principal one. The flood of works tackling political aspects of minority's activity left little room for works of other character, despite few valuable titles. German-Polish relations were usually studied as marked by intrinsic conflict of interests, and there are almost no studies on particularly interesting subject, i.e. not any ethnic group, but ethnically mixed areas taken as a whole. Promising topic of Upper Silesia and the notions of nationality in that region remain almost unexplored, despite their enticing character. For instance, participation in Polish warfare of persons who did not speak Polish at all is taken more as curious marginal feature than an introduction to central problem of personal commitments. Controversial issues, like emigration of Germans from Poland in 1920s, are not sufficiently explained even in quantitative terms. One might expect that with the problems of loyalty, irredenta and oppression gradually drying out, new ones will be given way¹⁶⁵. By now some old matters are reviewed. Another bitter period of German-Polish relations, i.e., the years of 1945-1948, has recently been assessed again in the series of studies by J. Misztal, while H. Szczerbiński acknowledged the question of Germans in Silesia till 1979¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁴ W. Kotowski, *Lojalizm czy irredenta? Mniejszość niemiecka wobec państwa polskiego w latach 1919-1939*[Loyalism or irredenta? Stance of German minority towards the Polish state, 1919-1939], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

¹⁶⁵ Claims for more impartiality in: J. M. Piskorski, *Przeciw nacjonalizmowi w badaniach naukowych nad przeszłością stosunków polsko-niemieckich*[Against nationalism in historical research on Polish-German relations], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 81(1990)/1-2

¹⁶⁶ J. Misztal, *Weryfikacja narodowościowa na Ziemiach Odzyskanych*[National verification on the Regained Territories], Warszawa 1990, and his later publications in: *Zeszyty Naukowe Polit. Śląskiej Nauki Społeczne* 58(1991) and 59(1991); H. Szczerbiński, *Ludność niemiecka na Górnym i Opolskim Śląsku w latach 1945-1979*[German population in Upper and Opole Silesia, 1945-1979], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe I.N.O. Uniw. Warsz.* 1991/17

THE BELORUSSIANS

The Belorussian issue appeared in Polish historiography in quite a typical way. The Belorussians, like Ukrainians and unlike Germans, were counted among the oppressed minorities. It was generally accepted that these groups were not only natural allies of the working class but the working class itself. Thus, the Belorussian problem was tackled as a part of wide social issue with some specific national features. The first studies adopted this approach and may be grouped in two clusters: they focused either on social aspects of the problem or on leftist streams of national movement. It is the general characteristics of works, usually medium-size articles, that appeared in 1960s.

The studies of J. Korus-Kabacinska and J. Tomaszewski highlighted social conditions of Belorussian population in the interwar Poland. The former attempted an overall outline confined to the short time period¹⁶⁷. The latter based his research on methods of social and economic history he specialized in, and his first works were the result of solid examination of either the author or his predecessors¹⁶⁸. They analyzed social problems in ethnically mixed region of Polesie Marshes, and however were not devoted to any single nationality or even the national problem as such, provided useful background for further research. It resulted in an article dealing with relatively unique problem, i.e. insignificant population of Belorussian industrial workers¹⁶⁹. Given almost total lack of scientific studies on the minority, the not much representative subject was the effect of author's previous preferences. The choice seems also to be a characteristic bid to link Belorussian and social questions.

Another approach exercised in the 1960 with regard to the Belorussians manifested itself in writings of one author, A. Bergman. She used to focus on the far-leftist wing of the national movement, i.e. communist party and other groups counted among "revolutionary left"¹⁷⁰. The most interesting

¹⁶⁷ J. Korus-Kabacinska, *Położenie ludności białoruskiej w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1924-1926*[Position of Belorussian population in the Polish Republic, 1924-1926], [in:] *Zeszyty Historyczne Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 2(1961)

¹⁶⁸ J. Tomaszewski, *Struktura społeczna województwa poleskiego w 1931 roku*[Social structure of the Polesia Voivodeship, 1931], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 69(1962)/2, his *Z dziejów Polesia. Zarys stosunków społeczno-ekonomicznych*[From the Polesia History. A sketch of socio-economic relations], Warszawa 1963

¹⁶⁹ J. Tomaszewski, *Robotnicy-Białorusini w latach 1919-1939 w Polsce*[Belorussian workers in Poland, 1919-1939], [in:] *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 5(1967)

¹⁷⁰ A. Bergman, *Białoruska Włościańsko-Robotnicza Hromada(1925-1927)*[Belorussian Peasant-Workers Hramada, 1925-1927], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1962/3, hers *Bronisław*

seems to be her study on Bronisław Taraszkiewicz, the key figure of Belorussian movement in Poland in the interwar period. It traces the ideological evolution of the person who could be regarded as an exemplary for educated Belorussians, and thus provides the means for understanding their political choices. It is also valid as an explanation of factors that determined the failure of Polish official policy towards Belorussians. The study was further developed in the wider sketch on Taraszkiewicz, analysing also his later fate and links with the communists¹⁷¹. Despite unavoidable limitations of the time and somewhat unusual vocabulary, the articles still stand as a useful guide. The remaining ones seem to be of lesser value, as despite having been designed as departing from official interpretation of Belorussian and communist history, they did not escape all its trappings. Particularly the assumption that both movements were natural allies seems to have somewhat misleading impact. These articles fail to explain sufficiently why communist movement did not take roots among the Belorussians and, in fact, sometimes tend to overlook this fact at all¹⁷².

By and large, the scarce research of the 1960s contributed little to general understanding of development of Belorussian national movement among the population. Paradoxally, it was in line with traditional, pre-war interpretations of Belorussian history. By the fact that scholars were targeting rather social than national issues, they confirmed lingering confidence that Belorussian nationalism as such is not worth studying, and is rather a piece of different problem. Both studies of the whole population and of political elites

Taraszkiewicz a lewica belwederska[Bronislaw Taraszkiewicz and the Belvedere left], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 75(1968)/1, hers *Komunistyczna Partia Zachodniej Białorusi w latach 1924-1928*[Communist Party of Western Belorussia, 1924-1928], [in:] *Rocznik Białostocki* 7(1968), hers *Kwestia Białoruska w Komunistycznej Partii Zachodniej Białorusi*[Belorussian question in the Communist Party of Western Belorussia], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 1971/2

¹⁷¹ A. Bergman, *Bronisław Taraszkiewicz. Szkic biograficzny*[Bronislaw Taraszkiewicz. The biographical sketch], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 63(1972)/2

¹⁷² J. Tomaszewski still claims that even the early Bergman's works reveal independent approach, see his *Studia nad najnowszą historią Białorusinów w Polsce*[Studies on the latest Belorussians' history in Poland], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992. In fact, Bergman's works can hardly be compared to standard soviet production of the time, like A. N. Macko, *Bor'ba trudiaschichsia Pol'shy i Zapadnoi Belorussi protiv fashizma*[The working of Poland and Western Belorussia in combat against fascism], Minsk 1963, or his *Rievoliutsionnaia bor'ba trudiaschichsia Pol'shy i Zapadnoi Belorussi protiv gnietu burzhuazii i pomiestchikov, 1918-1939*[Revolutionary fighting of the working of Poland and Western Belorussia against the oppression of bourgeoisie and land-lords, 1918-1939], Minsk 1972, V. F. Ladysev, *Naperekor vole naroda. Iz istorii politicheskogo bankrotstva belorusskoi natsjonalisticheskoi partii i organizatsii v Zapadnoi Belorussi*[Against the will of the nation. The story of political bankruptcy of Belorussian nationalist parties and organisations in Western Belorussia, 1934-1939], Minsk 1976

did not tackle growth of national consciousness as such. In general, the similar tendency can be observed also later, however with more and more exceptions. J. Tomaszewski added to his study on industrial workers the parallel work on peasantry, devoted to social preconditions of Belorussian movement¹⁷³. A. Bergman stucked to the problems of leftist groups, but gradually departed from previous, communist-centered interpretation. Particularly the phenomenon of the unique mass party "Hromada" was treated more as the independent manifestation of political strive for social and national goals against the old-fashion comments¹⁷⁴. This outlook modified also previous perspective on the leader of "Hromada" Taraszkiewicz, and was employed in his full-scale biography¹⁷⁵. Finally, the author enriched her writings on Belorussian political orientations by works on early liberal, christian-democratic and non-communist revolutionary groups¹⁷⁶. Apart from the last one, two other works can be hardly considered as something more than initial steps. In her 1984 book A. Bergman acknowledged all her previous writings. Alas, however she apparently attempted to produce something closer to synthesis of Belorussian political history in Poland, the work overlooked almost all non-leftist groups¹⁷⁷. Like the majority of author's work, it dealt predominantly with questions of political programs and was confined in scope to intellectual elites. The most useful seems to be the second part, being in fact a set of political biographies of mostly leftist activists. They could serve as a sample of maturing of Belorussian national movement and of its political limitations. In the same time, i.e. in mid-1980s, another specialist on Belorussian history, J. Tomaszewski, also produced works resembling very general synthesis. His two books on national minorities in the interwar Poland contain chapters devoted to Belorussians, and till today they remain the best

¹⁷³ J. Tomaszewski, *Wieś białoruska w granicach II Rzeczypospolitej*[Belorussian village in the Second Republic], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 63(1972)/2

¹⁷⁴ *Powstanie i działalność Białoruskiej Włościańsko-Robotniczej Hromady na Białostoczczyźnie*[Emergence and activity of Belorussian Workers-Peasant Hromada in the Białystok region], Białystok 1973, and A. Bergman, *Wracając do zagadnienia Hromady*[Again the Hromada question], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 67(1975)/2

¹⁷⁵ A. Bergman, *Rzecz o Bronisławie Taraszkiewiczu*[On Bronisław Taraszkiewicz], Warszawa 1977

¹⁷⁶ Respectively, A. Bergman, *Białoruski tygodnik 'Nasza Niwa'*(10/XI/1906-7/8/1915)[Belorussian weekly "Nasza Niwa", November 10, 1906 - August 7, 1915], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 79(1972)/3, hers *Antoni Łuckiewicz(1884-1946). Szkic biograficzny*[Antoni Luckiewicz, 1884-1946. A biographical sketch], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 65(1974)/4, hers *Przyczynek do historii Białoruskiej Organizacji Bojowej*[Contribution to the history of Belorussian Combat Organization], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 68(1977)/1

¹⁷⁷ A. Bergman, *Sprawy białoruskie w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Belorussian issues in the Second Republic], Warszawa 1984

writings to start with when reading on their fate¹⁷⁸. Given that these chapters appeared in 1985, one can hardly help the feeling that it took quite a long time to produce a sort of introduction to Belorussian history in Poland. The basic question concerning the author is whether the fate of national relations in the interwar period was pre-defined by circumstances or not, and if the latter, whether the best options were chosen. Thus, in a sense, both attempts construct some model schemes. They are also the first serious bids to estimate the exact number of Belorussian population, however whether the author succeeded here seems rather disputable. In theory, he acknowledges the existence of large sections of society that considered themselves not belonging to any nation at all. The problem is particularly relevant in Belorussian case, as there were 700,000 inhabitants in the like in the Polesie province, on Belorussian-Ukrainian borderland. But in practice, mostly on the basis of culture and language, Tomaszewski imposes upon them Belorussian nationality. That the author is at his best when tackling socio-economic issues he proved in general article that assembled his previous findings and put them into schematic frame¹⁷⁹.

A. Bergman did not manage to go beyond political orientations she used to deal with for 20 years, and the 1984 book remains her last important publication, followed later by rather marginal appendixes¹⁸⁰. The joint study on Ignacy Dworzczanin, another distinguished figure from Belorussian interwar history, was written with her participation¹⁸¹, and represents the now overwhelming tendency to widen the scope of research, unfortunately still confined to political life. The first attempt to systematize knowledge of Belorussian political parties was unpublished PhD dissertation of K. Gomółka, defended in 1981 on the Gdansk University. Other examples of this drift are works on single institutional manifestations of Belorussian national movement. W. Jarmołkiewicz, former activist of the Christian Democracy, produced the first overall study on this party, appended later by polemics of J. Tomaszewski¹⁸².

¹⁷⁸ J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów*[Republic of many nations], Warszawa 1985, his *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków*[Not only Poles' fatherland], Warszawa 1985

¹⁷⁹ J. Tomaszewski, *Byelorussians in the Social and Economic Structure of Poland(1921-1939)*, [in:] *Ethnic Minority Groups in Town and Countryside and Their Effects on Economic Development(1850-1940)*, Leuven 1990

¹⁸⁰ In 1987 she published her 7th work concerning Taraszkiewicz, *Jeszcze raz o Bronisławie Taraszkiewiczu*[Once again on Bronislaw Taraszkiewicz], [in:] *Lituanos-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica* 1987, vol. 2, and in 1990 on Luckiewicz, *Jeszcze raz o Antonie Łuckiewiczu*[Once again on Anton Łuckiewicz], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 1990/3-4

¹⁸¹ A. Barszczewski, A. Bergman, J. Tomaszewski, *Ignacy Dworzczanin, białoruski poeta i uczyony*[Ignacy Dworzczanin, Belorussian poet and scientist], Warszawa 1990

¹⁸² W. Jarmołkiewicz, *Białoruska Chrześcijańska Demokracja*[Belorussian Christian Democracy], [in:] *Wież* 29(1986)/11-12, J. Tomaszewski, *Białoruska Chrześcijańska Demokracja. Uwagi o kryteriach ocen*[Belorussian Christian Democracy. Remarks on criteria

J. Garniewicz is the first author to write on such typical for Eastern European national movements' institutions as non-political, mutual-improvement societies¹⁸³. Lower level education was examined by J. Wasiluk. He ventured to depart from political standpoint, commonly adopted when addressing the question and usually leading to remarks on instrumental role of the issue¹⁸⁴. S. Stepien wrote on attempts to form a united Belorussian group in the Parliament¹⁸⁵.

Recent years produced the studies adopting new approaches towards the problem. Their common feature is departing from principle of taking socio-economic conditions as the very foundation. They also no longer tend to focus on political elites, and try to investigate problems concerning national consciousness among wide population. The presage seemed to be the works of J. Turonek and A. Sadowski, which constituted also the first attempts to focus on post-war Belorussian reality in Poland. J. Turonek, the Belorussian himself, went public with his studies on national education system. The work was of largely descriptive character and, unfortunately, not very instructive as far as forging Belorussian consciousness is concerned¹⁸⁶. Later works of this author proved to be of more traditional interest and focused on the period of German occupation in the years of 1941-1944¹⁸⁷. The sociologist A. Sadowski in his PhD dissertation based on empirical research followed the transformations of

of evaluations], [in:] *Studia polsko-litewsko-białoruskie*, Warszawa 1988

¹⁸³ J. Garniewicz, *Białoruskie Towarzystwo Naukowe w Wilnie(1918-1939)*[Belorussian Scientific Society in Vilnius, 1918-1939], [in:] *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 16(1984)

¹⁸⁴ J. Wasiluk, *Szkolnictwo białoruskie w II Rzeczpospolitej na tle uwarunkowań społeczno-ekonomicznych*[Belorussian education in the Second Republic against the socio-economic background], [in:] *Nauka i Praktyka* 1989/3-4

¹⁸⁵ S. Stepien, *Działalność posłów białoruskich w Sejmie RP w latach 1922-1927*[Activity of Belorussian deputies in the Polish Parliament, 1922-1927], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 24(1981)/1

¹⁸⁶ J. Turonek, *Narys razvitsia shkolnitsva na Belastotschyznie(1773-1939)*[Sketch of development of Belorussian education system in the Bialystok region, 1773-1939], [in:] *Navukavy sbornik Belarusskovo gramadska-kulturnovo tavaristva i Belastotskovo navykava tavaristva* 1974; his *Bielarusskaie shkolnitsva na Belastotschyznie u paslivoenny periad*[Belorussian education in the Bialystok region in the post-war period], *Bielastok* 1976; his *Okupacyjna polityka szkolna w okręgu białostockim(1941-1944)*[Occupation school policy in the Bialystok region, 1941-1944], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 1976/3

¹⁸⁷ J. Turonek, *Status Białorusi w Komisariacie Rzeszy Ostland*[Status of Belorussia in the Reichskommissariat Ostland], [in:] *Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej* 20(1984), his *Geneza i działalność Białoruskiej Centralnej Rady(grudzień 1943-czerwiec 1944)*[Emergence and activity of Belorussian Central Council, December 1943-June 1944], [in:] *Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej* 21(1985)

Belorussian consciousness in the wake of urbanization processes¹⁸⁸. The new approach was perhaps the most productive when embodied in two publications from late 1980s on Belorussian national consciousness in historical perspective. E. Tarnowska and P. Wróbel examined factors shaping identification processes and tried to assess their importance for position of the population in Poland. The latter asserted that maturing Belorussian movement consciously gained anti-Polish character. It was unavoidable, for in course of previous decades the Polish culture attracted many from plebeian Belorussians. For years education was considered almost exclusively as gaining Polish national consciousness. Thus, one of the chief aims of modern 20th century Belorussian nationalism was to obliterate traces of Polish influence. In this approach, problems of nationality politics exercised by the Warsaw government with respect to the Belorussians look like being of lesser importance. The analysis is extended into post-1945 period, with focus on local level communities inside modern Poland¹⁸⁹. Particularly Wróbel adopted the perspective of analysing minority-majority relations and their impact on Belorussian identity. His work was preceded by much limited in scope attempt to analyze popular perception of Belorussians in Poland¹⁹⁰.

Political transformations in Poland in late 1980s allowed new publications on post-1945 Belorussian history in Poland that were not curtailed to official expectations. Previously it was the sort of works usually produced by the Białystok Scientific Society and the Belorussian Socio-Cultural Society, the latter having been run in fact by the Ministry of Internal Affairs¹⁹¹. E.

¹⁸⁸ A. Sadowski, *Przemiany świadomości białoruskiej mniejszości narodowej w warunkach przejścia ze wsi do miasta*[Transformations of Belorussian national minority's consciousness while moving from village to city], Warszawa 1973

¹⁸⁹ E. Tarnowska, *Świadomość narodowa mniejszości białoruskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej*[National consciousness of Belorussian minority in the Second Republic], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku* 53(1987)/10; P. Wróbel, *Kształtowanie się białoruskiej świadomości narodowej a Polska*[Shaping of Belorussian national consciousness and Poland], Warszawa 1990

¹⁹⁰ J. Tomaszewski, *Belorussians in the Eyes of the Poles, 1918-1939*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 51(1985)

¹⁹¹ See H. Majecki, *Białostoczczyzna w pierwszych latach władzy ludowej 1944-1948*[The Białystok region in the first years of the people's rule, 1944-1948], Warszawa 1977, *Studia z najnowszych dziejów ruchu robotniczego na Białostoczczyźnie*[Studies on the recent history of workers' movement in the Białystok region], Warszawa 1982, or *BTSK*[Belorussian Socio-Cultural Society], Białystok 1972. W. A. Serczyk stated in the work on Ukrainian minority of 1992: "It is a truism that according to Polish official sources produced in the last 40 years, in People's Poland has not existed any, not only Ukrainian, national minority". *Polaków sprawy Ukraińskie*[Poles' Ukrainian affairs], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

Mironowicz gave a brief summary of official policy towards Belorussians and their response in late 1945-1988 period, a summary of his PhD dissertation¹⁹². S. Janowicz, probably the best known Belorussian in the present-day Poland, published the set of essays which fall rather into popular writing than science¹⁹³. But the most ambitious work was carried on by A. Sadowski. He developed his previous approach in the minor study on Belorussian community in the Białystok/Bielastok region and particularly, in systematic and profound writing on Belorussians in Poland¹⁹⁴. As it constitutes an attempt of constructing certain model, let it be devoted some attention here.

The author in his analysis is predominantly concerned with the problem of hierarchy of values and its proliferation in an ethnic group. He tends to envisage a nation as constituted by shared cultural community and in his last book constructs a model of nation-building, applied particularly to Central Europe and exemplified by the Belorussian case. In brief, he considers religion the driving force of described processes. Increase of religious subjectivity is the initial stage of forming the feeling of nationality. It is essential, for it constitutes the cultural core of ethnic groups. Equipped and matured by shared cultural values, they become national communities and are ready to accept political trends. They result in increasing institutionalization of life and surfacing tendency to form own states. Chapter 3 of the work is an attempt to generalize conclusions drawn upon the Belorussian problem and apply them to Central Europe as such.

Sadowski's work stands as one of two approaches exercised in Poland with regard to the Belorussian question. One is centered around problems of cultural community, the other, represented by Bergman and Tomaszewski, considers social conditions the key element of Belorussian national movement. Both, however produced rather modest number of publications, provided satisfactory picture of certain problems¹⁹⁵. Some areas remain terra incognita, especially the problems of proliferation of national ideas on the grass-root level. Non-political organizations, associations, cooperatives, societies etc seem to

¹⁹² E. Mironowicz, *Uwarunkowania polityczne rozwoju ruchu narodowego Białorusinów w Polsce Ludowej*[Political conditionings of Belorussians' political life in People's Poland], [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Warszawa 1991

¹⁹³ S. Janowicz, *Białoruś, Białoruś*[Belorussia, Belorussia], Warszawa 1987

¹⁹⁴ A. Sadowski, *Białoruska mniejszość narodowa w Białymstoku*[Belorussian national minority in Białystok], [in:] Białystok w świetle badań socjologicznych, Białystok 1987; his *Narody wielkie i małe. Białorusini w Polsce*[Large and small nations. Belorussians in Poland], Kraków 1991

¹⁹⁵ For the brief survey of literature, see J. Tomaszewski, *Studia nad najnowszą historią Białorusinów w Polsce*[Studies on recent history of Belorussians in Poland], [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Warszawa 1991

deserve better treatment than they have received so far. It seems also that the minority character of Belorussian issue has not been sufficiently explored.

THE UKRAINIANS

The Ukrainian question has always been the grave one in Polish history. It emerged as early as in the 17th century, however more as a political than national problem. Since, it has been gaining importance, particularly in the interwar period, when Ukrainians were numerically the strongest minority. The conflict reached its climax during the years of 1943-1948, and in the next almost 20 years Ukrainian affairs remained a hot, political issue¹⁹⁶. The only articles written from the historical perspective that appeared at the time focused, like in the Belorussian case, on leftist political orientations¹⁹⁷. But later as the central question emerged the problem of forming of Ukrainian political movement in the 19th century and its ideological divergence. E. Hornowa must be credited for stirring this interest with her 3 studies from late 1960s¹⁹⁸. All reveal much on political outset of Ukrainian movement, however neglect the phase of pre-political activities and thus do not explain sufficiently the origins of described initiatives. In fact, one can not help the feeling that the author deals rather with effects than with causes. Jędrzejewicz's book on cultural maturing of Ukrainian movement in 19th century might be supplementary here, despite that it is written

¹⁹⁶ Writings touching upon recent events were unique. One of them is the work of M. Winnicki, *Osadnictwo ludności ukraińskiej w województwie olsztyńskim*[Settlement of Ukrainian population in the Olsztyn voivodeship], dealing with forced population transfer of Ukrainians from south-eastern regions of Poland

¹⁹⁷ See M. Szczyrba, *Komunistyczna Partia Zachodniej Ukrainy*[The Communist Party of Western Ukraine], [in:] *Nowe Drogi* 13(1959)/1

¹⁹⁸ E. Hornowa, *Powstanie Ukraińskiej Partii Socjaldemokratycznej w Galicji Wschodniej*[Emergence of Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party in Eastern Galicia], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu*, vol. 17; hers *Ukraińskie ugrupowania polityczne w Galicji w latach 1846-1867 i ich stosunek do Polaków w świetle dzieł Michała Drahomanowa*[Ukrainian political groups in Galicia and their attitude to the Poles in light of Michał Drahomanow's works, 1846-1867], [in:] *Sprawozdania Opolskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* 1967/8, series A/B; hers *Ukraiński obóz postępowy i jego współpraca z polską lewicą społeczną w Galicji 1876-1895*[Ukrainian progressive camp and its cooperation with the Polish left in Galicia, 1876-1895], Wrocław 1968

in more popular style¹⁹⁹. The same line of research is clearly continued in 1970s, with shift of attention from political manifestations to phenomena that conditioned and shaped them. E. Hornowa went on with her research on Drahomanow and his impact²⁰⁰. But the more important impulse came from studies of J. Kozik²⁰¹. His works represent a research on the very beginnings of articulating Ukrainian national aims against wide social and cultural background, and are based on variety of sometimes unique sources. They are important as adopting probably the most effective perspective as to studies on Ukrainian national movement, however in terms of actual conclusions they are certainly not the last word. There might be also some doubt as to author's view on the relation between liberal and national aspect of the 1848-1849 ferment in Europe. In general, Kozik managed to go deeper than Hornowa, especially in a sense that his works are not confined to political issues. Prevail rather the problems of prints, language, intellectual circles and mutual-improvement societies. Comparisons are made with reference to groups of similar position, esp. Serbs and Czechs, with some remarks on dependence and interdependence on their development. On that basis, the author seeks to place Ukrainian case in frames of a theoretical model. In brief, it assumes that socio-economic transformations precede national-cultural phase, focused on in both works. Then, first political claims emerge, and in Ukrainian history they are said to appear after 1850. In fact, the studies set the well-grounded line of examination, soon to be followed by other scholars, as Kozik's death thwarted his plans of continuing the research till the year of 1918. Thus, the Ukrainian research gained a sound foundation that lacked in Belorussian case.

Development of mid-19th century Ukrainian movement was followed in the series of articles and major attempts, undertaken by a few authors. S. Kozak contributed by his two books dealing predominantly with the impact of European romanticism²⁰². He seeks to prove that many of social, political and cultural trends present in the late 19th century among Ukrainian

¹⁹⁹ J. Jędrzejewicz, *Noce ukraińskie albo rodowód geniusza. Opowieść o Tarasie Szewczence*[Ukrainian nights or genius' origin. The story of Taras Szewczenko], Warszawa 1966

²⁰⁰ E. Hornowa, *Problemy polskie w twórczości Michała Drahomanowa*[Polish problems in Michal Drahomanow's writings], Wrocław 1978

²⁰¹ J. Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830-1848*[Ukrainian national movement in Galicia, 1830-1848], Kraków 1973; his *Między reakcją a rewolucją(studia z dziejów ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji w latach 1848-1849)*[Between reaction and revolution. Studies on Ukrainian national movement in Galicia, 1848-1849], Kraków 1975

²⁰² S. Kozak, *U źródeł romantyzmu i nowożytnej myśli społecznej na Ukrainie*[At the origins of romanticism and modern social thought in Ukraine], Wrocław 1978; his *Ukraińscy spiskowcy i mesjaniści*[Ukrainian conspirators and Messianists], Warszawa 1990

intelligentsia were rooted in the years of romantic influence. His work reveals also striking similarities between Polish and Ukrainian models of national mythology, and differ from findings of J. Kozak, who stresses presence of antagonism since the early phase of "Russian Trinity". R. Radzik in a series of publications from early 1980s also treated the problem, and focused on cultural and education trends²⁰³. The basis was his PhD dissertation on the first manifestations of Ukrainian national consciousness, written on the solid foundations of marxist method and inquiring into links between social conditions and forming national awareness. The ensuing articles were dealing with detailed aspects of the phenomenon. They were: construction of ideology, its appeal and transformations; institutions carrying out the notion of nationality and identity; and social landscape of the ongoing ferment. The author is also the one to tackle the lingering and often confusing problem of "Ukrainians" and "Ruthenians". By and large, the latter is the term applicable to what is considered as "nationality", the former to "nation", but sometimes also the author seems trapped. Radzik's work was partially doubled by Cz. Partacz from the small Ukrainian center in Koszalin. He too ventured to discuss the newly-born national action, but in the more shallow manner²⁰⁴. The Ukrainian professor from Cracow, W. Mokry, in his numerous publications usually has not gone beyond the problems of history of literature, but some of them look useful when studying cultural ferment in the movement²⁰⁵.

The characteristic feature of Polish studies on Ukrainian national movement was routine confinement to Habsburg empire and leaving the Dnepr Ukraine aside. It is shared also by works on the very late period of Galician history, before the First World War. The most ambitious publication is the synthesis of T. Dąbkowski which, however, preceded some later findings

²⁰³ R. Radzik, *Pierwociny ukraińskiej świadomości narodowej w latach 1830-1863*[Origins of Ukrainian national consciousness, 1830-1863]; his *Instytucjonalny rozwój ruskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1848-1863*[Institutional development of Ruthenian national movement in Eastern Galicia, 1848-1863], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 87(1981)/4; his *Spółeczne uwarunkowania formowania się ukraińskiej świadomości narodowej w Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1830-1863*[Social conditions of forming of ukrainian national consciousness in Eastern Galicia, 1830-1863], [in:] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 25(1981)/1-2; his *Ideologia ruskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji wschodniej w latach 1848-1863*[Ideology of Ruthenian national movement in Eastern Galicia, 1848-1863], [in:] *Studia historyczne* 26(1983)/4

²⁰⁴ Cz. Partacz, *Geneza ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji*[Genesis of Ukrainian national movement in Galicia], [in:] *Prace Instytutu Nauk Społecznych WSI w Koszalinie* 4(1984)

²⁰⁵ See W. Mokry, *Życie kulturalno-literackie Ukraińców w Galicji w pierwszym 30-leciu XX wieku*[Cultural-literary life of Ukrainians in Galicia, 1800-1830], [in:] *Slavia Orientalis* 30(1981)/1

applying to the same period²⁰⁶. It is the sole title that strives to analyze the wide scope of issues. The other are not as thorough as studies referring to mid-19th century, and tend to focus on detailed problems. Of these, the most inspiring seem to be the examinations of T. Filar and J. Miąso, addressing Ukrainian mutual-improvement initiatives²⁰⁷. J. P. Himka and F. Rzemieniuk noted the links between Greek-Catholicism and the national movement, crediting the former for strengthening and shaping the latter. One might wish that equal attention was given also to the opposite process, somewhat neglected²⁰⁸. Both elements, i.e. folk education societies and religion were traditionally strong elements in the region. More traditional is the article of A. Zielecki, who produced a brief survey of Ukrainian parliamentary efforts in the Galician Assembly²⁰⁹. Two overall summaries of the period were published by W. Maciak in 1987, and are an attempt to acknowledge the data collected so far in rough synthesis. To the same period refers the later essay on the phenomenon of pro-Moscow sympathies among some sections of Ukrainian ethnic population, especially lively among the small highlander Lemko group²¹⁰. Sketching general lines of development, these works are also the first scientific and reasonable bid to analyze the beginnings of Ukrainian nationalism and might

²⁰⁶ T. Dąbkowski, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji Wschodniej 1912-1923*[Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia, 1912-1923], Warszawa 1985

²⁰⁷ T. Filar, *Działalność ukraińskiej organizacji oświatowej "Proswita" w latach 1900-1939*[Activity of Ukrainian education organization "Proswita", 1900-1939], [in:] Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komitetu Naukowego PAN Oddział w Krakowie 30(1986)/1-2; J. Miąso, *Z dziejów szkolnictwa ukraińskiego w Galicji(1867-1914)*[On Ukrainian education in Galicia, 1867-1914], [in:] Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty 34(1991)

²⁰⁸ J. P. Himka, *Kościół grekokatolicki a procesy narodotwórcze wśród Ukraińców w Galicji*[The Greek-Catholic Church and nation-building processes among Ukrainians in Galicia], [in:] Znak 1985/4; F. Rzemieniuk, *Cerkiew grecko-katolicka w Małopolsce Wschodniej a ukraiński ruch nacjonalistyczny(na przykładzie wydarzeń z przełomu 1918-1919)*[The Greek-Catholic church and the Ukrainian national movement. The sample of 1918-1919 events], [in:] Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny 1989/6

²⁰⁹ A. Zielecki, *Polityka Ukraińskiego Klubu Sejmowego w sejmie galicyjskim w latach 1908-1914*[Policy of Ukrainian Parliamentarian Club in the Galician Parliament, 1908-1914], [in:] Roczniki Naukowo-Dydaktyczne WSP w Rzeszowie 44(1980)/3

²¹⁰ A. Maciak, *Kształtowanie się ukraińskiego obozu narodowo-demokratycznego w Galicji do 1918 roku*[Shaping of the Ukrainian national-democratic camp in Galicia till 1918], [in:] Studia i szkice z dziejów najnowszych, Warszawa 1987; his *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji przed I wojną światową*[Ukrainian national movement in Galicia before World War I], [in:] Więż 30(1987)/6; J. Moklak, *Geneza moskalofilstwa wśród Ukraińców galicyjskich*[Origins of pro-Moscow stance among the Galicia Ukrainians], [in:] Zustrzichi 1991/1

serve as comparison to emigree Ukrainian version²¹¹. They lead to the events of the Great War, and one of them might be even considered as a sort of linkage between maturing ferment and formed movement that surfaced after 1918. The similar use could serve two publications on events outside Galicia. The first is earlier Radziejowski's study on challenge to Ukrainian nationalism posed by revolutionary wave in the aftermath of the war, and another is thorough dissertation on the appeal of social question before the 1905 revolution²¹².

It is the striking point that whereas Ukrainian affairs of the Habsburg empire are well-studied and actually not leaving much room for further research, better documented period of the interbellum is covered by few and rather detailed works. One might list two basic reasons. Ukrainian movement could not have been easily identified with social conflict, and thus the method applied to Belorussians did seem operative here. The most significant title in this current was the book of J. Radziejowski, who went on enquiring into far-leftist groups' impact on the Ukraine²¹³. His previous work was designed more as the study on competition between nationalism and communism. Unfortunately, the 1976 publication on Ukrainian Communist Party in Poland was in fact a hermetic dissertation on problems of rather narrow elites, however is certainly incomparable to 1959 Szczyrba's monograph on the same topic. Another reason for scarce noteworthy historical production appear to be the acute character of interwar Polish-Ukrainian relations, which did not facilitate proceedings sine ira et studio. Nationalism, the most dynamic political orientation among the Ukrainian minority in Poland, was treated one-sidedly. Social and political reasons for its growth tended to be neglected for the sake of exposing either military and terrorist warfare waged by this orientation or its sinister political affiliations. The real place of nationalism in Ukrainian life, its attractive appeal and competition against other groups were usually overlooked. These flaws are clearly seen in publications from the early 1970s by A. B.

²¹¹ See *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism. Essays on Austrian Galicia* (ed. by A. S. Markovits and F. E. Sysyn), Cambridge Mass. 1982

²¹² J. Radziejowski, *Ruch narodowy i rewolucyjny na Ukrainie w okresie Centralnej Rady* [National and revolutionary movement in the Ukraine during the Central Council rule], [in:] *Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej* 9(1973); G. Żeberek, *Początki ruchu socjaldemokratycznego w Kijowie w latach 1889-1903* [Outset of the social-democratic movement in Kiev, 1889-1903], Kraków 1981

²¹³ J. Radziejowski, *Komunistyczna Partia Zachodniej Ukrainy* [The Communist Party of Western Ukraine. Key ideological problems], Kraków 1976. The English, somewhat modified version, was printed in Ukrainian center of Edmonton, Canada, in 1983

Szcześniak, W. Z. Szota and R. Torzecki, whose value rests mostly on detailed documentation²¹⁴.

In similar pattern, but with much more bias, are written four books of E. Prus²¹⁵. The author was allowed entry into many of soviet archives and used the sort of material unavailable to many historians. In spite of it, the outcome falls rather short of historical work and resembles more passionate journalism. Unfortunately, published in mass edition in mid-1980s, the books had probably larger impact on wide readers' market than any other writings on recent Ukrainian history. Three of them appeared in 1985. Particularly puzzling is the story of Andrij Szeptyćkij, Greek-Catholic archbishop of Lwów/Lviv and one of the most distinguished figures in the Ukrainian national movement. Undoubtedly controversial figure is presented as one of the most eminent exponents of nationalism. Simultaneously, complex problem of mutual relations between religion and national fervor, both entangled into each other, are deformed and simplified. More balanced appears to be much smaller essay on Szeptyćkij by R. Torzecki, who departed from his late-1960s style²¹⁶. Three leaders of Ukrainian nationalism receive their villains' portraits in another book, supplemented by detailed, however not sufficiently investigative portrait of the final stage of Nazi-Ukrainian relations. Finally, the last publication focuses more on Polish-Ukrainian relations during the last years of Nazi occupation and is chiefly devoted to listing various atrocities. Of similar lampooning character is the communication of historical ambitions coming from die-hard Polish

²¹⁴ A. B. Szcześniak, W. Z. Szota, *Droga do nikąd. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i jej likwidacja w Polsce*[Road to nowhere. Activity of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its rout in Poland], Warszawa 1973; R. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w polityce III Rzeszy(1933-1945)*[Ukrainian question in the policy of Third Reich, 1933-1945], Warszawa 1972; his *Geneza rozłamu w Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów*[Genesis of split in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists], [in:] *Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej* 5(1969)

²¹⁵ E. Prus, *Władysław Świątojurski. Rzec o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim(1865-1944)*[Bishop of St. George. On archbishop Andrij Septyćkij, 1865-1944], Warszawa 1985; his *Herosi spod znaku tryzub. Konowalec - Bandera - Szuchewycz*[Heroes of Trident. Konowalec - Bandera - Szuchewycz], Warszawa 1985; his *Z dziejów współpracy nacjonalistów ukraińskich z Niemcami w okresie II wojny światowej i okupacji*[The story of collaboration of Ukrainian nationalist and the Germans during the Second World War and the occupation], Katowice 1985; his *Atamania UPA. Tragedia kresów*[Hetmany of Ukrainian Insurrect Army. Tragedy of the borderlands], Warszawa 1988

²¹⁶ R. Torzecki, *Z problematyki stosunków polsko-ukraińskich*[On Polish-Ukrainian relations], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 17(1985)/2

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nationalist camp, featuring relations between Ukrainian national movement and the masonry²¹⁷.

Studies of more value were few. Three authors centered on educational issues: M. Iwanicki gave detailed description of rather institutional aspect in his thesis, while A. Chojnowski portrayed the severe tension over Ukrainian university²¹⁸. E. Misiło went public with his studies on the Ukrainian press, again dealing with their institutional position rather than their contents²¹⁹. Among other scholars prevailed analysis of political manifestations. A. Papierzyńska-Turek, later to become one of the most distinguished scholars of the problem, entered the stage with examination of Ukrainian parliamentary representation and its transformations. During the next 4 years she stucked to the same period, but attempted to produce the overall synthetic picture of Ukrainian question in parliamentary Poland. In late 1980s T. Biernacek added own findings on similar questions in few small remarks²²⁰. Ten years later R. Torzecki introduced his version of very similar problem. While in general using the same methods, he strives to challenge some earlier thesis and interprets balance of internal processes within Ukrainian movement and its relations to the Polish state. In general, however, main interest of the author lies by the Polish side, and the volume provides systematization of official policy with sketching the place of Ukrainian issue in government's plans. The many year research is based on Polish official sources, press of both nations and archives of Ukrainian emigree centers²²¹. In the meantime emerged two studies dealing with independence ambitions of the Ukrainians: one

²¹⁷ J. Giertych, *Ruch ukraiński a masoneria*[Ukrainian movement and the masonry], [in:] *Komunikaty Towarzystwa im. Romana Dmowskiego* 2(1980)/1

²¹⁸ M. Iwanicki, *Oświata i szkolnictwo ukraińskie w Polsce w latach 1918-1939*[Ukrainian schools and education in Poland, 1918-1939], Siedlce 1975; A. Chojnowski, *Kwestia ukraińskiego szkolnictwa wyższego w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*[Problem of Ukrainian higher education in the Second Republic], [in:] *Historia XIX i XX wieku*(ed. by A. Garlicki, J. R. Szaflik, M. Wojciechowski), Wrocław 1979

²¹⁹ E. Misiło, *Prasa ukraińska w Polsce(1918-1939)*[Ukrainian press in Poland, 1918-1939], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historii Prasy* 1984/4 and other papers on the press

²²⁰ A. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Ewolucja ideowo-polityczna ukraińskiej grupy poselskiej w Sejmie II Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1922-1927*[Political and ideological evolution of Ukrainian deputies' group in the Parliament of the Second Republic, 1922-1927], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 18(1975)/1; hers *Sprawy ukraińskie w II Rzeczypospolitej, 1922-1926*[Ukrainian affairs in the Second Republic, 1922-1926], Kraków 1979; T. Biernacek, *Ugrupowania ukraińskie w bloku mniejszości narodowych w 1922 roku*[Ukrainian groups in the minority block of 1922], [in:] *Studia i Materiały WSP Zielona Góra* 1985/1; also *Gwoli historycznej ścisłości*[For the sake of historical precision], [in:] *Slavica Orientalis* 1990/1-2

²²¹ R. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923-1929*[Ukrainian question in Poland, 1923-1929], Kraków 1989

analysing the state of nationalist camp in the aftermath of the war, and another trying to assess the dilemmas of wider range of orientations²²². J. Tomaszewski in his books on national minorities produced virtually first, however very general, synthesis of Ukrainian situation rather than history in the interwar Poland²²³. Finally, three interesting articles appeared quite recently, all trying to depart from rather dominating analysis of political history. A. Papierzyńska-Turek, specializing in the history of Orthodoxy in Poland, undertook analysis of mutual relations between church, religion, and national movement. J. Radziejowski again focused on the 1920s, but tracing the very forming of belligerent nationalism, by far the most profound Polish publication on the group, acknowledging also significant emigree literature. W. Serczyk sketched the reception of Ukrainian history in Poland²²⁴.

At the moment the Ukrainians, like Belorussians - another Slav nation turned minority in the interwar Poland - do not have a historical monograph. Its prerequisites must be especially works on non-communist and non-nationalist orientations, combined with research dealing with the problem of low-level notion of Ukrainian national identity. It seems also that nationalists deserve the kind of treatment Radziejowski introduced in his latest work, but extended in scope and time. W. Serczyk, long-time promotor of Ukrainianist interest in Cracow, in 1988 was optimist that scholars like A. Papierzyńska-Turek, J. Radziejowski and R. Torzecki are likely to carry the research further on. One might add also the names of Cz. Partacz, who prepares the book on Ukrainians from the Polesie region, and E. Misio.

²²² Cz. Partacz, *Ukraiński ruch narodowo-demokratyczny w Polsce w 1918 roku* [Ukrainian national-democratic movement in 1918]; W. Wałędziak, *Pomiędzy bezsilnością a rewolucją. Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Polsce w latach 1922-1939, realność celów i skuteczność metod działania* [Between impotence and revolution. Ukrainian national movement in Poland, 1922-1939. Reality of goals and effectiveness of methods], [in:] *Znaki Czasu* 1(1986)/3

²²³ J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów* [Republic of many nations], Warszawa 1985 *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków* [Not only Poles' fatherland], Warszawa 1985

²²⁴ A. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Religia i kościół w ukraińskiej myśli politycznej w Polsce w latach 1918-1939* [Church and religion in Ukrainian political thought in Poland, 1918-1939]; J. Radziejowski, *Kształtowanie się oblicza ideowego radykalnego nacjonalizmu ukraińskiego (1917-1929)* [Ideological forming of radical Ukrainian nationalism, 1917-1929]; W. Serczyk, *Polaków sprawy ukraińskie* [Poles' Ukrainian affairs]; all three in: *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

THE JEWS

Till the late 1970s in Polish historical literature the problem of Jewish community was treated in a rather peculiar way. It functioned as the issue of very limited interest, was examined by closed circle of mostly Jewish scholars, confined to very detailed, mostly economic and juridical problems, and was avoiding references to wider set of issues. Jewish history in Poland was very little treated as part of the Polish history, but rather a sort of separate set of problems. The curious image is that just like Jewish population was not integrated in surrounding societies, historical literature on their fate was quite in the like. *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (hereafter BŻIH), the periodical publishing papers of scholars working in the Jewish Historical Institute, is filled with articles of this sort, which with some exceptions will not be listed in this survey²²⁵. Given the significance of Jewish-Polish relations and their European perception as the symbol of intolerance and antisemitism, it certainly looks unusual. Two explanations come to mind, when trying to shed some light on the phenomenon. Firstly, enormous and in no small part popular literature on the German occupation in Poland used to underline common fate of Jewish and Polish populations, subjected to Nazi atrocities. It projected the image of Jewish-Polish relations backwards, and suspicion that Poles might ever be considered German predecessors or collaborators was thought pure imagination. Secondly, the Jews were the only pre-war Polish minority that after 1945 remained not only politically active, but also significant. It was not a unique opinion that the Jews, holding prominent posts in the communist hierarchy, were chiefly responsible for the terror of 1944-1956. The issue became a card in political gamble in mid-1960s, and surfaced with devastating impact in 1968 and later, in the wake of internal crisis and competition within the ruling elites. Thus, the Jewish question was definitely not a historical and academic one, having been heavily burdened with implications of very contemporary nature.

It looks that majority of studies of more general importance published before 1972 deal with the pre-1918 history. Chronologically first are the huge, but embroidering works written in exile and in Poland by M. M. Borwicz and B. Mark, designed as millennial summaries of Jewish history in

²²⁵ See for instance J. Bartyś, *Poziom gospodarowania w Żydowskich koloniach rolniczych Królestwa Polskiego przed uwłaszczeniem* [The Level of farming in the Jewish agricultural colonies in some provinces of the Kingdom of Poland before the enfranchisement], [in:] BŻIH 47-48(1963). Anyone interested may simply read annuals of this periodical

Poland²²⁶. Then come works designed as the statistical attempt to provide reliable data on Jewish community. They are focusing on the period before 18th century partitions and collapse of the first Polish state, and the years of 1918-1939 as well. The most important seem to be the works of S. Bronstein, A. Eisenbach and J. Lewinon²²⁷. A. Eisenbach, at the time the most competent student of Jewish history in Poland, added his descriptive paper on socio-economic conditions. More sociological technique was applied to rather similar topic by J. Szacki²²⁸. Eisenbach was slowly turning to analysis of juridical status of Jews, initiated by A. Wein in 1960, and his findings published in some articles in 1964-1965 were summarized in the book of 1971²²⁹. Not very distant approach, but limited to detailed studies devoted to particular questions was adopted by J. Tomaszewski. He began a series of articles with the paper on rather typical topic, i.e. Jewish industrial workers²³⁰. Such a group was indeed significant and exercised considerable influence upon the young Jewish generation. It was the cradle of socialism, which with zionism and religious conservatism constituted three dominating political orientations among Polish Jewry. But it was probably rather due to official expectations that the group was attracting initial attention among the scholars²³¹. Tomaszewski adopted typical for him method of thorough research on social and economic conditions, considered the basis of further analysis. He is also to be credited for carrying on

²²⁶ M. M. Borwicz, *1000 Years of Jewish Life in Poland*, Paris 1955, B. Mark, *History of Jews in Poland*, Warszawa 1957

²²⁷ S. Bronstein, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym*[Jewish population in Poland in the interwar period], Wrocław 1963; W. Ćwik, *Jewish Population of Royal Towns of Lublin Region in the 2nd Half of the 18th Century*, [in:] BŻIH 59(1966); A. Eisenbach, *Jews in Old Poland in the Light of Numbers*, [in:] Kwartalnik Historyczny 2(1959); his *Territorial Mobility of the Jewish Population of the Kingdom of Poland*, [in:] Revue des Etudes Juives 126(1967); J. Lewinon, *Jews in Old Poland in the Light of Numbers*, [in:] Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski, Warszawa 1967

²²⁸ A. Eisenbach, *Materiały do struktury ekonomicznej i działalności ludności żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim w latach osiemdziesiątych XIX wieku*[Materials on economic structure and activity of Jews in Kingdom of Poland in the 1880s], [in:] BŻIH 29(1959); J. Szacki, *Rola Żydów w życiu ekonomicznym Polski w latach 1863-1896*[The Role of Jews in economic life of Poland, 1863-1896], [in:] BŻIH 30(1959)

²²⁹ A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równych praw dla Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*[The question of equal rights for Jews in the Kingdom of Poland], Warszawa 1972; A. Wein, *O żydowskich wysiłkach anulowania ograniczeń praw obywatelskich w Królestwie Polskim*[On Jewish efforts to annul civil rights limitations in the Kingdom of Poland], [in:] BŻIH 36(1960) and others

²³⁰ J. Tomaszewski, *Robotnicy żydowscy w Polsce w latach 1921-1939*[Jewish workers in Poland, 1921-1939], [in:] BŻIH 51(1964)

²³¹ See B. Mark, *Proletariat żydowski podczas walk 1905 roku*[Jewish proletariat during the 1905 struggles], [in:] BŻIH 17/18(1965); his *Robotnicy żydowscy podczas rewolucji 1905 roku*[Jewish workers in the eve of 1905], [in:] BŻIH 13/14(1955)

Jewish studies in Poland into 1970s: his following articles were also written using similar technique²³². The most general is the work of 1975 on socio-economic background of Jewish population, stressing particularly its internal stratification and differentiation. The widest group, small owners and traders, were devoted a study confined to the period of economic depression of early 1930s. In the more political dissertation, local Jewish communities were scrutinized as the battleground of harsh political competition among various political orientations. Socio-demographic measures were applied also in Z. Sułowski's article on pre-20th century demographic problems of the Jewry, accomplished in mid-1970s²³³.

As far as cultural and political problems are concerned, many authors tended to concentrate on Jewish population in Warsaw, in the interwar period in terms of numbers second only to this of New York. The most systematic study features Jewish press, other are either very general or fragmentarily written²³⁴. The first interesting publications on Polish impact appeared in 1977 and 1978. The emigree writer J. Lichten attempted to approach on the basis of his own observations the model of assimilation and cultural convergence. At the same time while in Poland S. Kowalska-Glikman did not venture to draw schemes and chose more concrete issue of mixed marriages²³⁵. H. Piasecki carried on research on leftist groups, which resulted in monograph of Jewish section on the Polish Socialist Party and continuation of Mark's writings on Jews and 1905 revolution. J. Tomicki followed him 4 years later,

²³² J. Tomaszewski, *W sprawie materialnego położenia Żydów polskich(1918-1939)*[On material position of Polish Jews, 1918-1939], [in:] Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce(hereafter BŻIHWP) 25(1975)/2; his *Położenie drobnych kupców żydowskich w Polsce w latach Wielkiego Kryzysu(1929-1935)*[Position of lower middle-class merchants in Poland during the Great Crisis, 1929-1935], [in:] BŻIHWP 27(1977)/2; his *Walka polityczna wewnątrz gmin żydowskich w latach trzydziestych w świetle interpelacji posłów*[Political fight in Jewish communities according to deputies' interpellations in the 1930s], [in:] BŻIHWP 23(1973)/1

²³³ Z. Sułowski, *Mechanisms of Jewish Demographic Expansion in Polish Towns in the period during XV-XIX Centuries*, [in:] Zeszyty Naukowe KUL 17(1974)

²³⁴ M. Fuks, *Prasa żydowska w Warszawie 1823-1939*[Jewish press in Warsaw, 1823-1939], Warszawa 1979; R. Sakowska, *Z dziejów gminy żydowskiej w Warszawie 1918-1939*[On the history of Jewish community in Warsaw, 1919-1939], [in:] Warszawa II Rzeczpospolitej, Warszawa 1972; H. Kroszczor, *Kartki z historii Żydów w Warszawie, XIX-XX w.*[Pages from history of Jews in Warsaw, 19-20c.], Warszawa 1978

²³⁵ S. Kowalska-Glikman, *Matżeństwa mieszane w Królestwie Polskim*[Mixed marriages in the Kingdom of Poland], [in:] Kwartalnik Historyczny 84(1977)/2; hers *Jeszcze raz o matżeństwach mieszanych w Królestwie Polskim*[Once again on mixed marriages in the Kingdom of Poland], [in:] Kwartalnik Historyczny 89(1982)/4

when pictured another branch of workers' movement, the Bund²³⁶. All these studies were not acknowledged in a brief synthesis of Jewish interwar history sketched by A. Zamoyski. Because of this, and as it was designed for foreign reader, the paper turned to be rather shallow. It matters as an attempt to give the outline with some, however traditional, general interpretations²³⁷. By and large, these titles stand for the post-war research on Jewish question till mid-1980s²³⁸.

The situation underwent radical change in mid-1980s. Undoubtedly it was due to general rise of interest in minorities that occurred at the time. But probably the decisive factor was international conference organized in Oxford in September 1984. It was devoted to Polish-Jewish relations and turned the gathering of more than 100 historians from around the world. It launched two long-lasting initiatives: Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies based in Oxford, designed to act alongside American Foundation for Polish-Jewish Studies in Boston, and the periodical *Polin* first issued in 1986. Out of 4 regional coordinators, J. Tomaszewski was the one heading the research in Poland. In the second half of 1980, two respective institutions were established in Poland. In Warsaw J. Tomaszewski, A. Chojnowski and P. Wróbel became the core of Warsaw University based *Center of Studies on Jewish History and Culture in Poland*. At the same time in Cracow emerged similar interdepartmental unit of the Jagiellonian University, headed by J. Gierowski. The former unit has been focusing rather on the recent, and the latter on pre-19th century history.

Since these structural changes till today, the historical production dealing with Jewish history in Poland has grown enormously. As just 5-6 year period is in question, this output will be surveyed not according to chronology, but to certain mainstream topics²³⁹.

Unlike research on other minorities, political issues were customarily left aside. The exceptions are few. W. Jaworski and H. Piasecki presented two compact studies focusing rather on competition among the parties

²³⁶ J. Lichten, *Uwagi o asymilacji Żydów polskich od wybuchu pierwszej wojny światowej do końca drugiej wojny*[Remarks on assimilation of Polish Jews, 1914-1945], [in:] *Zeszyty Historyczne* 42(1977); H. Piasecki, *Żydowska Organizacja PPS*[Jewish Organization of the Polish Socialist Party], Wrocław 1978; his *Żydowska klasa robotnicza w rewolucji 1905 roku*[The Jewish working class in 1905 revolution], [in:] *BŻIHWP* 1976/2; J. Tomicki, *The General Union of Jewish Workers(Bund) in Poland, 1918-1939*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 45(1982)

²³⁷ A. Zamoyski, *The Jews in Poland, 1795-1939*, [in:] *History Today* 1976/3

²³⁸ It is surveyed in the small article by J. Lerski, *The Post War Research on Polish-Jewish Relations*, [in:] *Symposiones*, vol. 1, London 1981

²³⁹ For survey, see A. Chojnowski, *The Jewish Community of the Second Republic in Polish historiography of the 1980s*, [in:] *Polin* 1(1986)

than on any group in particular. They left unexplored the problem of mechanisms that were responsible for strength of given organizations among the Jewry and concentrated on programs and tactics. J. Holzer continued examinations started by H. Piasecki on Jewish and Polish leftist groups²⁴⁰. Prevailed the tendency to explore cultural and social background, and it was often common feature that enquiry was not confined to the interwar period. It strove to discover roots going back to 19th century or even addressed the post-1945 reality.

A. Eisenbach in the widely conceived studies stucked to his favorite subject of Jewish emancipation in course of 19th century. He examined gradual evolution of juridical status of Jews as it underwent crucial changes in the wake of industrial and social transformations in the last phases of protracted East European feudalism. The process was described in the international context confined to the 19th century. The analysis was carried into 1918-1939 by J. Bronisławski²⁴¹. Jewish cooperatives of 1920s and 1930s were depicted by A. Pakentregger on the example of the town of Kalisz. Interesting continuation of the problem is the book printed two years earlier by M. Grinberg, who followed transformations of these structures in the new reality of late 1940s²⁴².

Little light is shed on the role of religious communities. As far as the years after 1918 are concerned, two local studies on Dabrowa Basin and Poznań are at hand. Unfortunately, both feature western and industrialized regions with very much secular Jewry, while the typical kahal was the one of

²⁴⁰ W. Jaworski, *Żydowskie partie polityczne w Zagłębiu Dąbrowskim*[Jewish political parties in the Dabrowa Basin], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/3-4; H. Piasecki, *Przeciwieństwa ideologiczne pomiędzy Poalej-Syjonem a Bundem, 1901-1907*[Ideological antagonisms between Poalej-Syjon and Bund, 1901-1907], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/1-2; J. Holzer, *Relations between Jewish and Polish left wing groups in interwar Poland*, [in:] *The Jews in Poland*, Oxford 1986; his *Żydowskie dążenia polityczne w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*[Jewish political aims in the Second Republic], [in:] *Znak* 1983/1-2

²⁴¹ A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku na europejskim tle porównawczym*[Emancipation of Jews in Polish territories in the 19th century against the European background], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 74(1983)/4; his *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVIII i XIX wieku*[On the history of Jewish population in Poland in 18th and 19th century], Warszawa 1983; his *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785-1870 na tle europejskim*[Emancipation of Jews in Polish territories against the European background, 1785-1870], Warszawa 1988; J. Bronisławski, *Status prawny Żydów w Polsce pod zaborami i w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Legal status of Jews under the partitions and in the Second Republic], [in:] *Wiadomości Historyczne* 1984/3

²⁴² A. Pakentregger, *Spółdzielczość żydowska w Kaliszu w latach międzywojennych*[Jewish cooperatives in Kalisz in the interwar period], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/1-2; M[aria] Grinberg, *Żydowska spółdzielczość pracy w Polsce w latach 1945-1949*[Jewish cooperatives in Poland, 1945-1949], Warszawa 1986

central and eastern, rural and backward provinces²⁴³. Jewish intellectual strata and its cultural activity became the field of interest for a few authors. M. Fuks, going on with his research on press centers, published another study on Białystok newspapers and attempted a brief sketch on Jewish intelligentsia in Poland in general²⁴⁴. M. Grinberg delivered a paper on the Vilnius Institute, one of the most distinguished Jewish scientific centers in Eastern Europe, while Z. Hoffman analyzed the sample of secular secondary school²⁴⁵. Jewish artist circles in Poland were devoted articles featuring literature, fine arts and cinema. Especially the last of these phenomena, of world-wide circulation and world's largest annual production, deserves more profound study on its impact on Jewish public on many continents²⁴⁶.

Problems of cultural identity lead directly to questions of traditional values, new trends, isolationism, Polish influences and assimilation. It remains the striking feature of the East European Jewry that it was relatively little integrated into social and cultural systems of surrounding nations. In fact, there is no Polish study aspiring to find a sufficiently convincing explanation of this fact. Moreover, there is also a confusion as to what methods should be employed when addressing the problem. There is little agreement whether the key is to be looked for among social, economic or cultural factors, and whether the research should focus on Jews, non-Jews or mutual relations between these

²⁴³ W. Jaworski, *Żydowskie gminy wyznaniowe w Zagłębiu Dąbrowskim w okresie międzywojennym w świetle akt archiwalnych*[Jewish communities in the Dabrowa Basin in the interwar period in the light of archival documents], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/1-2; I. Kowalski, *Żydowska gmina wyznaniowa w Poznaniu w latach 1930-1939*[Jewish community in Poznan, 1930-1939], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/3-4

²⁴⁴ M. Fuks, *Prasa żydowska w Białymstoku(1918-1939)*[Jewish press in Białystok, 1918-1939], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/3-4; his *Żydowska inteligencja w Polsce 1918-1939*[Jewish intelligentsia in Poland, 1918-1939], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/3-4; on press also W. Jaworski, *Prasa żydowska w województwie śląskim*[Jewish press in Silesian voivodeship], [in:] BŻIHWP 41(1991)/4; I. Szajn, *Prasa Bundu w Polsce(1918-1939)*[The Bund's press in Poland, 1918-1939], [in:] Kwart. Hist. Prasy 1982/2

²⁴⁵ M[aria] Grinberg, *Przyczynek do historii powstania Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Wilnie*[On the emergence of Jewish Historical Institute in Vilnius], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/1-2; Z. Hoffman, *Prywatne żydowskie gimnazjum koedukacyjne w Krakowie(1918-1939)*[Private Jewish co-educational school in Cracow, 1918-1939], [in:] BŻIHWP 38(1988)/3-4

²⁴⁶ J. Malinowski, A. Rodzińska, *Jewish Artistic Circles in the Interwar Poland*, [in:] Polish Art Studies 1989/10; W. Stradomski, A. Rodzińska, *The Jewish Cinema in Inter-War Poland*, [in:] Polish Art Studies 1989/10; E. Prokop, *In Quest of Cultural Identity. Polish-Jewish Literature in the Interwar Period*, [in:] Polish Review 32(1987)/4; J. Malinowski, *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i żydowskie środowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce 1918-1923*[The "Jung Idysz" group and the Jewish circle of "Nowa Sztuka" in Poland, 1918-1923], Warszawa 1987

groups. A. Cała proceeds with investigation of Polish society²⁴⁷. I. Hurwic-Nowakowska and J. Lichten in his modified version of 1977 article pay more attention to the Jews²⁴⁸.

J. Tomaszewski himself is resolved to concentrate rather on Jewish-Polish encounters. He set the perspective in polemic on the methods of carrying on research, aimed partly against approaches exercised in the United States and Israel. The scholar challenges and refuses to adopt the platform of pursuing a sort of exclusively Jewish historiography. Instead, he claims that considering the past as in terms of "development and regress" or "progress and decline" of Jewish population in Poland as such leads to nowhere. The Polish Jews were living in certain environment, and it is the relation between these two elements that is particularly promising topic for a historian²⁴⁹. In practice, he carries on his postulates by adopting rather the principle of placing an issue in wide context than focusing on character of Jewish-Polish relations as such. This is how he approached the protracted problem of citizenship and two events that earned Poland the label of antisemitic and intolerant state: the pogroms in Lwów/Lviv and Pińsk in the aftermath of the war, enquiring into mechanisms that led to outbreaks of hatred. The Pinsk tumult was also addressed by J. Lewandowski²⁵⁰.

The phenomenon of pogroms resurfaced in Poland also after World War II, climaxing in riots in Kielce in June 1946. It was professionally tackled by K. Kersten, with the principal aim of reassessing the lingering conviction of secret police provocation. The conclusion seems to be that the event was rather

²⁴⁷ A. Cała, *Kwestia asymilacji Żydów w Królestwie Polskim(1864-1897)*[The question of assimilation of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, 1864-1897], [in:] *Znak* 38(1986)/4-5; the same in English in: *Polin* 1(1986); hers *Wizerunek Żyda w polskiej kulturze ludowej*[Image of a Jew in Polish folk culture], Warszawa 1986; hers *Wizerunek Żyda w polskiej kulturze ludowej*, [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

²⁴⁸ J. Lichten, *Notes on Assimilation and Acculturation of Jews in Poland, 1863-1943*, [in:] *The Jews in Poland*, Oxford 1986; I. Hurwic-Nowakowska, *Proces asymilacji ludności żydowskiej w Polsce po wojnie(1947-1950)*[Assimilation of Jewish population in Poland, 1947-1950], [in:] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 1988/4

²⁴⁹ J. Tomaszewski, *Kilka uwag poświęconych najnowszym dziejom Żydów polskich*[A few remarks on the recent history of Polish Jews], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 75(1984)/1; his *Some Methodological Problems of the Study of Jewish History in Poland between the Two World Wars*, [in:] *Polin* 1(1986)

²⁵⁰ J. Tomaszewski, *Lwów, 22 listopada 1918 r.*[Lwów, October 22, 1918], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 75(1984)/2; his *Pińsk, Saturday 5 April 1919*, [in:] *Polin* 1(1986); his *Wokół obywatelstwa Żydów polskich(1919-1939)*[On citizenship problems of Polish Jews, 1919-1939], [in:] *Narody. Jak powstawały i wybijały się na niepodległość*, Warszawa 1983; J. Lewandowski, *History and Myth: Pińsk, April 1919*, [in:] *Polin* 2(1987); his *Mitohistoria*[Mythical history], [in:] *Krytyka* 34-35(1991)

the result of trappings produced by protean in shape myths, embodied anew into freshly emerged problems of communism and anti-communism²⁵¹. The post-war years are addressed in a few other papers. Economic problems of wider scope, also extended till the aftermath of the war, found students in M. Grynberg and W. Wiślicki. J. Mieczkowski attempted to outline the history of post-war period and to provide the political landscape of Jewish community. I. Hurwic-Nowakowska adopted uncommon approach of examining internal links within Jewish population in third study on 1945-1950 years. S. Łach sketched unknown episode of Jewish settlement in the former German territories incorporated into Poland after 1945²⁵². The period is certainly of great interest, however none of the articles mentioned above ventures to tackle the impact of the war on Jewish attitude towards Poland and Poles, and the appearance of communist rule, the new element in their mutual relations. All these articles venture to contribute to the search for crucial elements that forged the position of Jewish population, and might be considered an introduction into the most controversial, following period of 1948-1956. So far, it seems to be too close to be examined sine ira et studio. Nevertheless, such an examination must come any way, if one of the most contentious chapters of Jewish history in Poland is to be closed.

Small monographs of local Jewish populations were popular tests before more ambitious attempts. These articles, of rather miscellaneous value, belong more to local history than to construction of models on the basis of samples. They also pay little attention to Jews seen as one of the ethnic groups on given area²⁵³.

²⁵¹ K. Kersten, *Pogrom kielecki - znaki zapytania*[The Kielce pogrom - question marks], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

²⁵² M[ichał] Grynberg, *Problemy zatrudnienia ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w pierwszych latach po II wojnie światowej*[Problems of employment of Jewish population in Poland soon after World War II], [in:] *BŻIHWP* 36(1986)/1-2; W. Wiślicki, *Uwagi o sytuacji gospodarczej ludności żydowskiej w Polsce*[Remarks on economic situation of Jewish population in Poland], [in:] *BŻIHWP* 37(1987)/1, 2, 3-4, 38(1988)/1-2; I. Hurwic-Nowakowska, *Analiza więzi społecznej ludności żydowskiej w Polsce powojennej(1947-1950)*[Analysis of social bond of Jewish community in Poland, 1947-1950], [in:] *BŻIHWP* 36(1986)/1-2; J. Mieczkowski, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w latach 1945-1949*[The Jewish population in Poland 1945-1949], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniw. Szczecińskiego Acta Politica* 1991/4; S. Łach, *Osadnictwo ludności żydowskiej na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych Polski w latach 1945-1946*[Jewish settlement in Northern and Western Poland, 1945-1946], [in:] *Śląski Przegląd Humanist.* 1989/8a

²⁵³ J. Barański on Raciąż[BŻIHWP 36(1986)/3-4], S. Gawlik, on Brzeg[BŻIHWP 36(1986)/1-2], R. Renz on Przytyk[BŻIHWP 38(1988)/3-4], P. Wróbel on Białystok[*Przegląd Historyczny* 79(1988)/2], S. Janucki on Bielsk Podlaski[*Zesz. Nauk. P. Białost.* 1991/12], J. Grzywna and M. Meducka on Kielce[BŻIHWP 40(1990)/3-4, BŻIHWP 34(1984)/1-2]

With these experiences, Polish historiography became slowly approaching the full-scale history of Jews in Poland, and particularly in the Second Republic. P. Korzec published his work contemplating the position of Jewish population in the interwar realities, and M. Landau attempted a synthesis referring to 1920s²⁵⁴. In Poland the Warsaw group of scholars seems to be the closest to more overwhelming conclusions. P. Wróbel in 1991 completed his work on Jewish history in Poland before 1918, and J. Tomaszewski in 1990 published the modest volume on the period 1918-1939²⁵⁵. Both studies, clearly pursued as one unit, are only an outline indeed, and their value lies mostly in systematization of problems. They constitute also an attempt to reinforce the trend of more widely conceived research that emerged after overproduction of detailed studies.

OTHER MINORITIES

The Ukrainians, Jews, Belorussians and Germans were the most numerous groups sharing with the Poles their history. They also attracted the majority of scholars and seized the largest share of historical literary production, what seems to be fairly natural. But this survey would be incomplete if it finished here. There are two groups of studies one should not neglect. Firstly, they are works on smaller minorities. Secondly, they are studies that however not address any particular national minority, embrace in fact also their problems. Let us begin with the latter.

This sort of dissertations is usually occupied with non-Roman-Catholic religious groups. The Poles are widely perceived as the Roman-Catholic nation, and in the most common sense this opinion holds true. Belorussians, Jews, Germans, Ukrainians and many other nations present in Polish history were in majority non-Roman-Catholic. Of course, the whole issue is not that simple: some Polish-speaking groups were Protestant, like in East Prussia or Austrian Silesia; Orthodox - mostly gentry and later land owners in the East, or even Muslim - in the North-East. On the other hand, sections of

²⁵⁴ P. Korzec, *Juifs en Pologne. La question juive pendant l'entre deux-guerres*, Paris 1980; M. Landau, *The Jews as a National Minority in Poland, 1918-1928*, Jerusalem 1986

²⁵⁵ P. Wróbel, *Zarys dziejów Żydów na ziemiach polskich od końca XIX w. do 1918 r.* [Outline of history of Jews in Polish territories from the end of 19th century till 1918], Warszawa 1991; J. Tomaszewski, *Zarys dziejów Żydów w Polsce w latach 1918-1939* [Outline of history of Jews in Poland, 1918-1939], Warszawa 1990

German, Jewish or Belorussian populations were Roman-Catholic, while Slovaks and Lithuanians were Roman-Catholics in general. Thus, it might be said that religious divisions tended - the later the more intensively - to overlap national ones, but they have never been close enough that one might disregard their non-identity.

Orthodoxy was the religion of almost all Russians, the majority of Belorussians, and significant sections of Ukrainians. Since suppression of Greek-Catholic faith in 19th century it was second only to Roman-Catholicism. Little wonder that it is rather well covered in Polish research. The principal contribution comes from four works of M. Papierzyńska-Turek, the author responsible for previously mentioned publications on the Ukrainians, also in the religious context. Her other studies focus on the Orthodox Church as such and on its position in the state, and these works taken as a whole provide fairly satisfactory picture. She is also the author who tends to see Orthodoxy linked with national issues, and thus her publications are particularly instructive²⁵⁶. Controversies between state and church and the problems of union and neo-union with Rome, touched upon by Papierzyńska-Turek, were subjects of special studies of A. Chojnowski and B. Łomacz²⁵⁷. View from the inside and competitive synthesis was delivered by F. Kiryłowicz, but his work is more history of Orthodox Church than, like in Papierzyńska's writings, of Orthodoxy. Similar remark might be made with regard to two smaller articles of H. Wyczawski and T. Wyszomirski²⁵⁸. A. Friszke used the term "eastern Churches" in his paper, also referring predominantly to the Orthodox one²⁵⁹.

Before 1918 the Orthodoxy was well installed in official structures of the Romanov's Empire. The young Russian nationalist movement that emerged after 1904 did not manage to confiscate it to form the core of Russian

²⁵⁶ M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Kościół Prawosławny w Polsce 1918-1927*[Orthodox Church in Poland, 1918-1927], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 8(1976); hers *Akcja neounijna i kontrowersje wokół rozumienia polskiej racji stanu*[The neo-union action and controversies on the Polish *raison d'état*], [in:] *Studia Religioznawcze* 19(1985); hers *Prawosławie w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Orthodoxy in the Second Republic], [in:] *Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 4(1987); hers *Między tradycją a rzeczywistością. Państwo wobec prawosławia, 1918-1939*[Between tradition and reality. The state towards Orthodoxy, 1918-1939], Warszawa 1989

²⁵⁷ A. Chojnowski, *The Controversy over Former Uniate Property in Interwar Poland*, [in:] *Nationality Papers* 16(1988)/2; B. Łomacz, *Neounia*[Neo-union], [in:] *Więź* 26(1983)/1

²⁵⁸ H. Wyczawski, *Cerkiew prawosławna w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Orthodox Church in the Second Republic], [in:] *Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin 1980; T. Wyszomirski, *Kościół prawosławny w Polsce w latach 1918-1939*[Orthodox Church in Poland, 1918-1939], [in:] *Novum* 22(1980)/3

²⁵⁹ A. Friszke, *Kościół wschodnie w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Eastern Churches in the Second Republic], [in:] *Więź* 31(1988)/7-8

nationalism. For Russians living on the Polish territories the Orthodoxy sustained the imperial patriotism rather than Russian nationalism. After 1918 the Russian Orthodox hierarchy in Poland, deprived of its privileged position and facing mostly non-Russian faithful, looked to Warsaw for support. Thus, in Poland the Orthodoxy has never been for any national group what Roman-Catholicism was for the Poles and Greek-Catholicism for the Ukrainians. Both have already been discussed. Both were the religions particularly frequently used as a vehicle for pursuing national aims and a goal targeted by these aiming at their suppression. Other Churches seem more confined in history to religious affairs, and accordingly attracted less attention. Rather minor studies deal with protestant communities and protestant churches. Apart from remarks not having much to do with national problems, B. Reiner analyzed religious-national puzzle in the Upper Silesia region, while K. Karski outlined the position of protestantism in the whole country²⁶⁰. The encyclopedic work of K. Krasowski is the reference book not only to Orthodoxy and Protestantism, but to all Churches in the interwar Poland²⁶¹.

The term "smaller minorities" may be somewhat misleading, so let it be explained. Belorussians, Jews, Germans and Ukrainians happened to share Polish history as the most numerous ones. Each of these groups within Poland in early 1920s exceeded 1 million. Other were far behind, with two of them, i.e. Lithuanians and Russians, amounting to respectively 200,000 and 150,000 at the largest. They might rather deserve the label "medium-size". Finally, there were groups not exceeding a few thousands: Czechs, Slovaks, Latvians, Tartars, Gypsies, Karaites and Armenians. Some of these groups, like Russians, Gypsies or Karaites were scattered throughout the country, some inhabited usually the regions bordering their kin-states, like Lithuanians, Slovaks or Latvians. Few of these communities were subject of special studies. J. Tomaszewski in his two often mentioned works on minorities deals with them all in one chapter²⁶². But the small size could be also an advantage for historiographic interest.

²⁶⁰ B. Reiner, *Z badań nad sytuacją prawną mniejszości wyznaniowych w województwie śląskim(1922-1939)*[On legal status of religious minorities in the Silesian voivodeship, 1922-1939], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 15(1969); his *Z problemów narodowościowo-wyznaniowych w województwie śląskim(1922-1939)*[On national-religious problems in the Silesia voivodeship, 1922-1939], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 30(1976); K. Karski, *Protestantyzm w Polsce w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*[Protestantism in Poland in the interwar period], [in:] *Novum* 22(1980)/3

²⁶¹ K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Churches in the Second Republic], Warszawa 1988

²⁶² J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów*[Republic of many nations], Warszawa 1985; his *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków*[Not only Poles' fatherland], Warszawa 1985. Recently appeared the new summary, in fact a small booklet, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce XX wieku*[National minorities in Poland in the 20th century], Warszawa 1991

Accordingly, in recent times other authors produced works that might be taken as well-done monographs that none of "large" minorities had so far. Surprisingly enough, their choice does not reflect the scale of the question. There are relatively many studies on Lithuanians and Tartars, while almost none on Russians.

Of course, Lithuanian issue was something more than a problem of national minority in Polish history. In 19th century it was also the problem of Polish national identity and in 20th also of international policy. The first cluster of issues is well-reflected in studies of J. Bardach and J. Ochmański, who traced mechanisms that shaped Lithuanian nation²⁶³. Both found an attentive scholar in P. Łossowski, the best expert on Polish-Lithuanian relations in Poland²⁶⁴. The Lithuanian question as the minority one was tackled by B. Makowski when writing his PhD dissertation. The author was concerned with almost all aspects characterizing the minority, however he did not go into problems of national consciousness and preferred to treat the community as already formed and stable. It is perhaps the most significant doubt one might have about the work. Other are of more detailed nature, like for instance the exact number of Lithuanians in Poland, the issue always hotly disputed but approached by Makowski on the basis of profound research in many sources. Some of his findings were published in separate articles²⁶⁵, to be enriched and completed in the monograph issued in 1986, the first full-scale one on an interwar-period

²⁶³ J. Bardach, *O powstaniu nowoczesnego narodu litewskiego*[On the emergence of modern Lithuanian nation], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1966/2; J. Ochmański, *Litewski ruch narodowo-kulturalny w XIX wieku(do 1890 roku)*[Lithuanian national-cultural movement in 19th century till 1890], Białystok 1965; his *Litewski ruch narodowo-kulturalny w XIX wieku(od 1890 roku)*[Lithuanian national cultural movement in the 19th century from 1890], Białystok 1966; his *The National Idea of Lithuania from the 16th to the first half of the 19th Century. The problem of cultural-linguistic differentiation*, [in:] *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe*(ed. by I. Banac and F. Sysyn), Cambridge Mass. 1987

²⁶⁴ P. Łossowski, *Gazeta "Ausra" i początki narodowego ruchu litewskiego*[The "Ausra" newspaper and the outset of Lithuanian national movement], [in:] *Studia z Dziejów ZSRR Europy Środkowej* 1(1965); his *Po tej i tamtej stronie Niemna. Stosunki polsko-litewskie 1883-1939*[On this and that bank of Neman. Polish-Lithuanian relations 1883-1939], Warszawa 1985

²⁶⁵ B. Makowski, *Prasa litewskiej mniejszości narodowej w Polsce w latach 1920-1939*[Press of Lithuanian national minority in Poland, 1920-1939], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny Prasy Polskiej* 17(1987)/1; his *Z dziejów litewskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie 1920-1939*[On Lithuanian Scientific Society in Vilnius, 1920-1939], [in:] *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 12(1979); his *Szkolnictwo litewskie w Polsce w latach 1920-1939*[Lithuanian education system in Poland, 1920-1939], [in:] *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 12(1979); his *Zmiany w położeniu ludności litewskiej w Polsce w latach 1935-1939*[Changes of position of Lithuanian minority in Poland, 1935-1939], [in:] *Rocznik Białostocki* 16(1989)

minority published in Poland²⁶⁶. That the issue is yet not exhaustively researched prove the still new publications, like the one of specialist on German affairs, R. Dąbrowski²⁶⁷.

The Tartars have posed the problem of character of their community. The first studies were addressing the question whether it was more religious, ethnic or cultural minority. Remained disputed whether they might be treated as separate nation or the group Polonized so strongly that distinctive features ceased to constitute a national minority out of them. All agreed that religious links were the strongest ones. But, given that Arab language was confined only to liturgy and in daily life prevailed Polish and identification with Poland as their fatherland, scholars tended to locate them on the margins of Polish nationality²⁶⁸. A. Miśkiewicz in the late 1980s did not concentrate on this puzzle, however he made some marginal remarks, and tried to produce the overall picture of Tartar community in Poland between the wars. Himself the Tartar, he gave the inside view in PhD thesis published in 1990 and preceded by few sketchy articles²⁶⁹.

The Gypsies were focused on in few studies of not necessarily historical and scientific character. The most popular are books of J. Ficowski, more an amateur and publicist than professional scholar²⁷⁰. L. Mróz is the author of noteworthy volume devoted to the present day and paying little attention to the past²⁷¹. A. Bartosz produced two papers, but his approach is

²⁶⁶ B. Makowski, *Litwini w Polsce, 1920-1939*[Lithuanians in Poland, 1920-1939], Warszawa 1986

²⁶⁷ R. Dąbrowski, *Położenie gospodarcze ludności litewskiej w Polsce w latach 1918-1939*[Economic position of Lithuanian population in Poland, 1918-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 1989/1-2

²⁶⁸ M. Konopacki, *O muzułmanach polskich*[On Polish Muslims], [in:] *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1962/3; his *Pod białostockimi minaretami*[Under the Białystok minarets], Białystok 1972; M. Gawęcki, *Les Tartares Musulmans Polonais*, [in:] *Ethnologia Polona* 7(1981); P. Borawski, *Tatarzy polsko-litewscy: grupa etniczna czy etnograficzna*[Polish-Lithuanian Tartars. Ethnic and ethnographic group], [in:] *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 18(1987); J. Sobczak, *Położenie prawne tatarskich wyznawców islamu w II Rzeczpospolitej*[Legal status of Tartar faithful of Islam in the Second Republic], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 79(1988)/3; A. Kołodziejczyk, *Z życia muzułmanów warszawskich w latach 1918-1939*[Life of the Warsaw Muslims 1918-1939], [in:] *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 1989/20

²⁶⁹ A. Miśkiewicz, *Tatarzy polscy w latach 1918-1980*[Polish Tartars 1918-1980], [in:] *Novum* 22(1980)/8; his *Mniejszość tatarska w Polsce w latach 1919-1939*[Tartar minority in Poland 1919-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 77(1986)/2; his *Tatarzy polscy 1918-1939*[Polish Tartars 1918-1939], Warszawa 1990

²⁷⁰ J. Ficowski, *Cyganie polscy*[Polish Gypsies], Warszawa 1953; his *Cyganie na polskich drogach*[Gypsies on Polish roads], Kraków 1985

²⁷¹ L. Mróz, *Cyganie*[Gypsies], Warszawa 1971

an ethnographical rather than historical one and confined to only some regions²⁷². The Karaites, small and exotic minority that came from Little Asia and settled in very few spots of interwar Poland, till mid-1980s earned only a thin volume. It was written by one of them, A. Zajączkowski, but there is only one brief chapter dealing with their history. More enlightening is an article of J. Tomaszewski, who like in case of Belorussians and Jews turned to be one of most active Polish scholars of the problem. Analysis of the Karaite military service provided for J. Jaroszyński the means for highlighting loyalty of the minority to Poland in course of the ages. The article remains also the proof that pre-1939 approach towards the Karaites and Tartars persisted well into nowadays: these "display minorities" had their loyalty maybe even overvalued. J. Garniewicz treats them together when sketches the picture of their literary life in Vilnius, the hub of both groups. After 1945 part of the population remained in Soviet Lithuania; another part moved to Poland and dispersed in few urban centers, one of them Gdańsk, portrayed by J. Sykała²⁷³.

Russians, the relatively numerous and rather affluent minority that found themselves in reborn Poland after the collapse of Romanov's empire, were not devoted a serious study, or the author of this survey failed to trace any. One can hardly treat a two-page notice of K. Jurek as anything but an introduction²⁷⁴. They are briefly mentioned in listed works of J. Tomaszewski among "other nations", to them refer also studies on the Orthodox Church, where they occupied almost all middle and upper posts in the hierarchy. They are also counted among "Slav" and "eastern" minorities, featured in two short studies²⁷⁵. Z. Karpus devoted to Russians the essays on one of their small

²⁷² A. Bartosz, *Cyganie*[Gypsies], [in:] *Sprawozdanie z posiedzeń Komisji Naukowej PAN* oddz. w Krakowie 22(1978), his *Ze studiów nad dziejami Cyganów na polskim Spiszu*[From studies on Gypsies' history on the Polish Spisz], [in:] *Rocznik Podhalański* 2(1979)

²⁷³ A. Zajączkowski, *Karaimi in Poland*, Warszawa 1969; J. Tomaszewski, *Grupy Karaimów w Polsce w latach 1918-1928*[Karaite groups in Poland, 1918-1928], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe Instytutu Nauk Politycznych Uniw. Warszawskiego* 13(1986); J. Garniewicz, *Działalność naukowa i wydawnicza Tatarów i Karaimów w Wilnie w latach dwudziestych i trzydziestych XX wieku*[Scientific and publishing activity of Tartars and Karaites in Vilnius in 1920s and 1930s], [in:] *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 1989/20; J. Jaroszyński, *Karaimi - 6 wieków żołnierskiej służby najmniejszego narodu na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej*[Karaites - 6 ages of military service of the smallest nation in the Republic], [in:] *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny* 1986/1; J. Sykała, *Z państwa Chazarów na Wybrzeże Gdańskie*[From the Khazar state to Gdańsk coast], [in:] *Rocznik Gdański* 45(1985)/1

²⁷⁴ K. Jurek, *Rosjanie w II Rzeczypospolitej*[Russians in the Second Republic], [in:] *Przegląd Kresowy* 1991/5-6

²⁷⁵ W. Dagilis, *Z problematyki mniejszości narodowych na kresach wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej*[On national minorities on eastern borderlands], [in:] *Akcent* 8(1987)/3; J. Tomaszewski, *Mniejszości słowiańskie II Rzeczypospolitej. Perspektywy i ograniczenia*[The

urban centers, Bydgoszcz/Bromberg²⁷⁶. The book of E. Iwanicz encompassed the religious group of Old Believers, many of whom embraced Russians. It sheds some light on this today rather exotic issue, and is valuable also as a guide to the phenomenon of religious sects in the East, mushrooming in the wake of deteriorating Orthodoxy²⁷⁷. Small group of Calvinists in Vilnius, community comprising also some Germans, is focused on in the study of M. Kosman²⁷⁸.

Slav minorities of the Second Republic. Perspectives and limits], [in:] Pamiętnik XII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich, vol. 2, Katowice 1979

²⁷⁶ Z. Karpus, *Emigracja rosyjska i ukraińska w Toruniu w okresie międzywojennym*[Russian and Ukrainian emigration in Torun in the interwar period], [in:] Roczniki Toruńskie 16(1983); his *Życie społeczno-kulturalne mniejszości rosyjskiej w Bydgoszczy w okresie międzywojennym*[Social and cultural life of the Russian minority in Bydgoszcz], [in:] Kronika Bydgoska 11(1989)

²⁷⁷ E. Iwanicz, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich XVII-XX w.*[From the history of Old Believers on Polish territories, 17th-20th century], Warszawa 1977

²⁷⁸ M. Kosman, *Kalwini wileńscy w okresie międzywojennym*[The Vilnius Calvinists in the interwar period], [in:] Euhemer 31(1987)/1

PART THREE: POLES AND NON-POLES

POLES, POLAND AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN GENERAL

The Polish state that emerged after 1918 embraced significant number of non-Poles, who found themselves in position of national minorities. National problem became one of the gravest ones the state had to cope with. However the menace that it would be blown up by national tension has never been close to reality, it remained present in the background of any responsible political calculation. Thus, national policy exercised by the government was of critical importance, and many parties claimed to have relevant programs of their own. These three clusters of problems: general position of minorities, official policy and attitude of political parties will be the issues addressed by the literature surveyed in this section.

Very few studies, mostly due to their synthetic approach and character of outlines, is dealing with minorities in Poland en masse²⁷⁹. The unique example of general work on minorities in Poland after 1945 is the study of A. Kwilecki, one of the very few that ventures to give any numbers and acknowledge the issue at all. One should not, of course, overestimate this study, and it was indeed heavily criticized in foreign literature²⁸⁰. As far as the interwar period is considered, W. Mędrzecki in one of his works concentrated exclusively on statistical problems, apart from many authors who tackled the issue in studies on other aspects. In addition, Mędrzecki's paper was not unanimously appreciated²⁸¹. J. Tomaszewski begins with the term "society",

²⁷⁹ M. Drozdowski, *The National Minorities in Poland 1918-1939*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 22(1970); K. Kersten, *Polska - państwo narodowe. Dylematy i rzeczywistość* [Poland - a nation state. Dilemmas and reality], [in:] *Narody. Jak powstawały i wybijały się na niepodległość*, Warszawa 1983; W. Michowicz, *Problemy mniejszości narodowych* [Problems of national minorities], [in:] *Polska Odrodzona 1918-1939*, Warszawa 1988; J. Tomaszewski, *Le minoranze nazionali nella II repubblica polacca*, [in:] *Rivista Storica Italiana* 94(1982)/3

²⁸⁰ A. Kwilecki, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce Ludowej* [National minorities in People's Poland], [in:] *Kultura i społeczeństwo* 1963/4

²⁸¹ W. Mędrzecki, *Liczebność i rozmieszczenie grup narodowościowych w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w świetle wyników pierwszego spisu powszechnego (1931 r.)* [Number and location of nationality groups in the Second Republic in light of the 1931 census], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 15(1983)/1-2; initial chapters of works of J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu*

i.e. the set of all inhabitants of Poland, and the subordinated element "nation" is taken as one of factors shaping social integrity²⁸². Position of minorities in the Parliament were examined by a few authors, and here one should count especially titles featuring their joint actions as one faction. Korzec and Landau's studies differ as to their opinions on emergence of these blocks, their function and impact: the former tends to take them more literally, the latter considers them as wider issues. It looks that the question of ill-fated cooperation among many Polish minorities reflects in microscale the general situation in this part of the continent. A national conflict used to take shape of all-out war, while alliances tended to be short-lived. The years of 1918-1921 and 1941-1944 might serve as an illustration in the scale of Eastern Europe²⁸³. Position of minorities' education system was thoroughly examined by S. Mauersberg, however now the volume might seem a little outdated²⁸⁴. Minorities' socialist movement is the main protagonist in study written by J. Tomicki²⁸⁵. Finally, from time to time appear works on very much detailed matters that probably if done by professionals, would reveal much on national questions on the grass-root level. An example of such an amateur introduction is a small study on cooperatives²⁸⁶.

The most obvious aspect of general situation of minorities was their position in light of Poland's international obligations. In Poland the first to tackle the issue was W. Michnowicz, giving the brief summary of Polish

narodów[Republic of many nations], Warszawa 1985; *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków*[Not only Poles' fatherland], Warszawa 1985

²⁸² J. Tomaszewski, *Konsekwencje wielonarodowej struktury ludności Polski 1918-1939 dla procesów integracyjnych społeczeństwa*[Consequences of multinational structure of Poland's population for integration processes], [in:] *Drogi integracji społeczeństwa w Polsce XIX-XX w.*, Warszawa 1976

²⁸³ P. Korzec, *Der Block der Nationalen Minderheiten im Parlamentarismus Polens des Jahres 1922*, [in:] *Zeitschrift fur Ostforschung* 24(1975); his *Der Zweite Block der Nationalen Minderheiten im Parlamentarismus Polens 1927-1928*, [in:] *Zeitschrift fur Ostforschung* 26(1977); M. Landau, *"The Block of Minorities"(1922); Elections instrument or Political Challenge?*, [in:] Gal-Ed: *On the History of the Jews in Poland* 4-5(1978); J. Winnicki, *Uwagi o klubach poselskich mniejszości narodowych w I sejmie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1922-1927*[On clubs of national minorities in the first parliament of the Second Republic, 1922-1927], [in:] *Acta Univ. Vratislaviensis* 8(1976)

²⁸⁴ S. Mauersberg, *Szkolnictwo powszechne dla mniejszości narodowych w Polsce w latach 1918-1939*[Minorities' education system in Poland, 1918-1939], Wrocław 1968

²⁸⁵ J. Tomicki, *Partie socjalistyczne mniejszości narodowych*[Socialist parties of national minorities], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 1980/3

²⁸⁶ Z. Świtalski, *Spółdzielczość polska a spółdzielczość mniejszości narodowych w państwie polskim 1918-1939*[Polish cooperatives and cooperatives of national minorities in Poland, 1918-1939], [in:] *Spółdzielczy Kwartalnik Naukowy* 14(1980)/1

minority protection treaty of June 28, 1919 in his early work of 1960. His studies were later continued and reported in following publications. The book of 1963 focused on Polish denouncement of minority obligations, the episode that is still not clear as to Polish intentions and the impact on position of the minorities²⁸⁷. Then, P. Korzec recapitulated the Treaty and its functioning²⁸⁸. In the late 1980s J. Żarnowski analyzed work of the treaty with regard to Poland. His conclusions are in line with these referring to the system in general, introduced by S. Sierpowski in his works on the League of Nations and its minority system. In brief, both scholars tend to blame flawed construction of the treaty for its ill-functioning, and suggest that advantages of the system were almost equalled by the drawbacks. Inequality of states and facilitating political revisionism are highlighted more than ill-will of states subjected to the treaties²⁸⁹. The latest pronouncement on the genesis of the treaty and Poland is yet unpublished study of T. Schramm²⁹⁰. M. Masnyk delivered a paper on Poland's international obligations referring to Silesia²⁹¹.

Works on national policy of successive Polish governments are in a sense continuation of the discussion on minorities treaty. Crucial remains here the contribution of A. Chojnowski, being in fact an attempt to give overall survey of official policy towards all the minorities. At the same time, historian specializing in the interwar period presented more concise account²⁹². From

²⁸⁷ W. Michnowicz, *Polska wobec traktatu i procedury mniejszościowej 1920-1934* [Poland and the minorities treaty and procedure, 1920-1934], [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniw. Łódzkiego* 15(1960); his *Walka dyplomacji polskiej przeciwko traktatowi mniejszościowemu w 1934 roku* [Polish diplomacy against the Minorities Treaty, 1934], Łódź 1934

²⁸⁸ P. Korzec, *Polen und Minderheitenschutzvertrag(1919-1934)*, [in:] *Jahrbuch für Ostforschung* 22(1974)/4

²⁸⁹ J. Żarnowski, *Le système de protection des minorités et la Pologne*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 52(1985); his *Polska a międzynarodowy system ochrony mniejszości 1919-1934* [Poland and the international minority protection system 1919-1934], [in:] *Studia z najnowszej historii Niemiec i stosunków polsko-niemieckich*, Poznań 1986

²⁹⁰ T. Schramm, *Geneza i powstanie traktatu o ochronie mniejszości podpisanego przez Polskę 28 czerwca 1919 roku* [Origin and emergence of minorities treaty signed by Poland on June 28, 1919], paper on the KUL conference of 1990, yet to be published

²⁹¹ M. Masnyk, *Kilka uwag w sprawie wygaśnięcia Konwencji Genewskiej i deklaracji mniejszościowej z 5 listopada 1937 roku* [A few remarks on the expiry of the Geneva Convention and minority declaration of November 5, 1937], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 50(1991)

²⁹² A. Chojnowski, *Mniejszości narodowe w polityce rządów polskich w latach 1921-1926* [National minorities in policy of Polish governments, 1921-1926], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 66(1976); his *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921-1939* [Concepts of nationality policy of Polish governments, 1921-1939], Warszawa 1979; H. Zieliński, *Polityka mniejszościowa rządów II Rzeczypospolitej* [Minorities' policy of the Second Republic governments], [in:] *Pamiętnik XII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol. 2, Katowice 1979

articles on particular issues, M. Boruta portrayed the research done on minorities by one of official institutes, and Cz. Madajczyk revealed some material on minority issue in the coup of 1926²⁹³. Since then, all scholars addressing the problem preferred to concentrate on certain minorities and no new overall surveys have been published. One might just quote the study of R. Wapiński, interesting because written from wide historical perspective and addressing the question of Polish policy towards ethnic borderlands. The author endeavors to measure advantages and liabilities of these territories, and traces mechanisms that led to entanglement in apparently insoluble problems²⁹⁴.

The literature on minority issue as seen by political parties is surprisingly numerous, almost matching the literature devoted to minorities themselves. If it is to be interpreted anyhow, it may be said that even when it came to minorities, many of the students preferred to look at them through Polish eyes. More significant titles of this production will be surveyed here. From various parties and ideological orientations present at the political stage of interbellum in Poland, four(except the minorities themselves) produced programs, or at least general attitudes, that referred directly to minority question. They were the nationalists, socialists, communists and so called "Sanacja", i.e. the group holding power after 1926 and organizing their hazy propaganda around the idea of the state. These four groups received in historiography their share of attention.

The ruling orientation could hardly be considered a group united by any cohesive ideology. It might rather be said that they were purposely anti-ideological. In the late 1930s, however, surfaced certain trends to produce a united platform that might provide weapon against ideology-equipped nationalists, communists and socialists. National issues were particularly oddly treated, for the group traditionally put "state" values first, and tended to see "nation" as all its inhabitants. These episodes are addressed in relevant chapters of two studies by J. Majchrowski²⁹⁵.

²⁹³ M. Boruta, *Instytut Badań Spraw Narodowościowych(1921-1939)*[Institute of Nationality Affairs Research, 1921-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Polonijny* 11(1985)/2; Cz. Madajczyk, *Dokumenty w sprawie polityki narodowościowej władz polskich po przewrocie majowym*[Documents on Polish nationality policy after the May Coup], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 4(1972)/3

²⁹⁴ R. Wapiński, *Kresy - alternatywa czy zależność*[Borderlands - alternative or dependence], Wrocław 1985

²⁹⁵ J. Majchrowski, *Czynniki jednoczące naród w myśli politycznej Obozu Zjednoczenia Narodowego*[Factors uniting the nation in political thought of Camp of National Unity], Kraków 1978; his *Silni zwarci gotowi. Myśl polityczna Obozu Zjednoczenia Narodowego*[Strong, united, ready. Political thought of Camp of National Unity], Warszawa 1985

Many of the titles treating on left-wing parties fall rather into propaganda, and they will not be listed here. But also in more serious publications, the communists were traditionally referred to as the sole group holding a key to national question. Fairly frequently they were even pictured as champions of rights of "oppressed" minorities. Some problem is posed by the period before 1918, as at the time national problem was embodied not in "minority question", but in the "independence question". These issues found scholars in many of party disciples, but their production is exceptionally vague and sometimes struggling with embarrassment caused by anti-independence approach of many leftist groups²⁹⁶. The new Polish Communist Party that in 1918 united many of extreme left groups was the member of Communist International. Its attitude on minority question was in line with general pronouncements of the communist movement, and was depicted in articles of many scholars. Majority of them have never gone beyond this sort of party history, but to others, like J. Chlebowczyk and J. Radziejowski, it proved a sort of juvenile production, eclipsed later by works on national questions on much higher level²⁹⁷.

The socialists and wide political spectrum of workers' movement also faced national question understood as the dilemma revolution or independence. One can not complain that the theme does not attract historians. Unfortunately, despite many titles published on the problem, there still lacks a satisfactory, synthetic work. It seems useless to list endless publications, which

²⁹⁶ J. Kancewicz, *SDKPiL wobec zagadnień wojny, rewolucji i niepodległości Polski w latach 1914-1918*[SDKPiL and the problems of war, revolution and independence, 1914-1818], [in:] *Ruch robotniczy i ludowy w Polsce*, Warszawa 1961; W. Najdus, *Z historii kształtowania się poglądów SDKPiL w kwestii narodowej*[On history of forging SDKPiL ideas on national question], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1962/3; W. Konderski, *U źródeł poglądów SDKPiL na kwestię narodową*[At the origins of SDKPiL ideas on national question], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1967/2; W. Wic, *Kontrowersje wokół hasła niepodległości w polskim ruchu robotniczym w okresie zaborów*[Controversies over independence question in workers' movement during the partitions, 1880-1914], [in:] *Roczniki Nauk.-Dydakt. WSP w Krakowie* 79(1982)/3; his *Stanowisko polskiego ruchu robotniczego w kwestii narodowej w okresie zaborów*[Polish workers' movement and the national question during the partitions], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 23(1981)/2

²⁹⁷ T. Daniszewski, *Stanowisko ruchu komunistycznego w kwestii narodowej w latach 1930-tych*[Communist stance on national question in 1930s], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1967/1; J. Chlebowczyk, *W sprawie genezy stanowiska KPP w kwestii narodowej*[On the origins of KPP stance on national question], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1968/4; S. Pomorski, J. Radziejowski, *Przyczynek do kształtowania się programu narodowego w KPP(1928-1930)*[On shaping of national program in KPP, 1928-1930], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1970/4; B. Wachowska, *Lewica rewolucyjna a niepodległość Polski 1918-1923*[Revolutionary left and independence of Poland, 1918-1923], [in:] *Acta Univ. Lodzensis, Łódź* 1980

went on from late 1950s till late 1980s. For the sake of space, just a few of the latest will be named²⁹⁸. The interwar socialist party and its views on national problem are treated in a few sketches of M. Śliwa, while C. Lewandowski carried the research on into the post-1945 history²⁹⁹.

The nationalist movement is one of the best researched topics in Polish political history. It emerged in the last two decades of the 19th century, competed with conservative and left-wing ideologies to become the most dynamic and powerful orientation in the independent Poland, however almost never at the government. During World War II some nationalist groups did not subordinate to underground network organized and run by the exile government and pursued their own policy. Finally, the nationalist guerilla till late 1940s endured in struggle against the new regime in Poland. The movement was wiped out for almost 40 years, but during that period it was still alive issue in historiography. The point is that in fact there are not many works devoted exclusively to nationalist attitude towards the non-Poles. The problem is usually placed as one out of many elements constituting ideology and programs.

Till late 1960s there were few studies on local nationalist centers in the West: in Silesia of M. Orzechowski, in the Wielkopolska/Provinz Posen region of J. Marczewski and in Pomerania by R. Wapiński³⁰⁰. The latter initiated research on Polish nationalism in more general scale. His first works from late 1960s focus predominantly on the most influential political emanation

²⁹⁸ N. Michta, R. Sobczak, *Sprawa niepodległości Polski w początkach ruchu robotniczego*[Independence of Poland in the outset of workers' movement], [in:] *Pokolenia* 19(1981)/6; W. Najdus, *Kwestia narodowa w ujęciu PPSDGiŚ*[National question according to PPSDGiŚ], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 8(1982)/2-3; F. Tych, *Kwestia narodu, kwestia państwa. Programy partii robotniczych przed 1918 r.*[Questions of nation and state. Workers parties' programs till 1918], [in:] *Zdanie* 2(1983)/4; R. Michalski, *Niepodległe państwo czy międzynarodowa rewolucja*[Independent state or international revolution], [in:] *Acta Univ. Nicolai Copernici* vol. 153(1985)

²⁹⁹ M. Śliwa, *Problem narodu i państwa w polskiej myśli socjalistycznej pierwszych lat niepodległości*[Problems of nation and state in Polish socialist though of the first years of independence], [in:] *Roczniki Nauk.-Dydakt. WSP w Krakowie*; his *Kwestia narodowa w publicystyce i programach polskich socjalistów w okresie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*[National question in programs of Polish socialists of the Second Republic], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 15(1983)/1-2; C. Lewandowski, *Niektóre elementy teorii narodu w publicystyce krajowej PPS(1945-1948)*[Some elements of theory of nation in the PPS publications, 1945-1948], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 22(1990)/3

³⁰⁰ J. Marczewski, *Narodowa Demokracja w poznańskim 1900-1914*[National Democracy in the Poznań region, 1900-1914], Warszawa 1967; M. Orzechowski, *Narodowa Demokracja na Śląsku do 1918 roku*[National Democracy in Silesia till 1918], Wrocław 1965; R. Wapiński, *Endecja na Pomorzu 1920-1939*[National Democracy in Pomerania, 1920-1939], Gdańsk 1966;

of the movement, i.e. National Democracy. They comprise sections on ideological schemes worked out with regard to non-Poles. Perhaps the most useful of these studies is the volume on nationalists' theory of frontiers and ensuing question of relation to neighboring nations³⁰¹. J. J. Terej seemed to emerge as another specialist, especially on nationalist thought in later periods and World War II. Death did not allow him to continue the research, not free from personal engagement and "uncovering" thesis³⁰². Wapiński went on with following publications, with attention also shifted to late 1930s³⁰³. The first monograph on leader of the camp and one of the figures that enjoyed the greatest impact on political thinking in Poland, Roman Dmowski, was written by A. Micewski. Wapiński came out 8 years later with competitive biography, and in 1980 produced his opus magnum so far, the study on National Democracy till the outbreak of the war. All three studies trace roots of national policy, its formulations, evolution and place in ideology of the group, and all three remain works mostly on political elites. Works on Dmowski differ: Micewski's attempt seems more traditional. Social context of activity, mechanisms that elevated him and his ideology to the top, the way he exercised influence in the population - remain mostly on the margins. Wapiński takes up above questions more willingly. Also the monograph on National Democracy is not satisfying as far as response to nationalism in the grass-root level is concerned³⁰⁴. After Dmowski the interest switched to another nationalist

³⁰¹ R. Wapiński, *Niektóre problemy ewolucji ideowo-politycznej endecji w latach 1919-1939*[Some problems of ideological-political evolution of National Democracy 1919-1939], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1966/4; his *Endecka koncepcja granic w latach 1918-1921*[National Democracy's concept of frontiers, 1918-1921], Gdańsk 1968; his *Miejsce Narodowej Demokracji w życiu politycznym II Rzeczypospolitej*[Place of National Democracy in political life of the Second Republic], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 1969/1

³⁰² J. J. Terej, *Idee, mity i realia. Szkice do dziejów Narodowej Demokracji*[Ideas, myths and reality. On history of National Democracy], Warszawa 1971; his *Rzeczywistość polityka*[Reality and politics], Warszawa 1971; his *Narodowa Demokracja - fakty i oceny*[National Democracy - facts and evaluations], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 6(1974)/3

³⁰³ R. Wapiński, *Ruchy nacjonalistyczne a formowanie tendencji faszystowskich i parafaszystowskich*[Nationalist movements and shaping of fascist and quasi-fascist tendencies], [in:] *Studia nad faszyzmem i zbrodniami faszystowskimi*, vol. 3, Wrocław 1977; his *Z dziejów tendencji nacjonalistycznych. O stanowisku Narodowej Demokracji wobec kwestii narodowej w latach 1933-1939*[On nationalist tendencies. National Democracy and the national question 1933-1939], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1973/1

³⁰⁴ A. Micewski, *Roman Dmowski*, Warszawa 1971; R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski*, Warszawa 1979; his *Narodowa Demokracja 1883-1939*, Wrocław 1980

prophet, J. L. Popławski. He found eager students in late 1980s, especially T. Kulak, E. Maj and W. Konieczny³⁰⁵

As the problem of National Democracy in its outlines appeared to be explored, during 1980s research was directed into more detailed issues. B. Grott published a few articles on links between nationalism and Roman-Catholicism, summarized in the book of 1984. It seeks to explain the immunity of Polish nationalism against racism by its merge with catholicism. Religion promoted universalist and Roman-culture notions against pagan, biologist or racist theories. Polish nationalism was more in the like of carlism or the Salazar ideology than some of the northern nationalisms. In his narration, Grott seems to see the movement as self-conscious, and ideology is rather a means to maintain its momentum and provide unity: he hesitates to accept the theory that it was ideology that attracted new disciples³⁰⁶. More radical, approaching totalitarian profile organizations that emerged in 1930s had also predominantly nationalist provenance. J. Majchrowski, Sz. Rudnicki and Z. Kaczmarek are responsible for writings on this phenomenon³⁰⁷. Nationalist movement proved particularly popular in western provinces, and this is the area covered by studies of Z. Kaczmarek, K. Pawlak and J. Marczewski, relevant especially with regard to German question³⁰⁸. Some organizations in the western regions, however

³⁰⁵ T. Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski - twórca polskiej myśli zachodniej przełomu XIX i XX wieku*[J. L. Popławski - author of the Polish western concept of turn of the 19th c.], [in:] Sobótka 1985/1; hers *Jan Ludwik Popławski 1854-1908*, vols. 1-2, Wrocław 1989; W. Konieczny, *Kresy zachodnie w myśli politycznej Jana Ludwika Popławskiego*[Western borderlands in political ideas of J. L. Popławski], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 1986/4; E. Maj, *Nowoczesny patriotyzm Jana Ludwika Popławskiego*[Modern patriotism of J. L. Popławski], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 1992/3

³⁰⁶ B. Grott, *Nacjonalizm i religia. Proces zespalania się nacjonalizmu z katolicyzmem w jedną całość ideową w myśli Narodowej Demokracji 1926-1939*[Nationalism and religion. Process of merging nationalism with catholicism in thought of National Democracy 1926-1939], Kraków 1984; preceded by smaller publications of 1979-1984

³⁰⁷ Z. Kaczmarek, *OWP: Obóz Wielkiej Polski. Geneza i działalność społeczno-polityczna w latach 1926-1933*[OWP: Camp of Great Poland. Origins and activity 1926-1933], Poznań 1980; Sz. Rudnicki, *Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny. Geneza i działalność*[National-Radical Camp. Origins and activity], Warszawa 1985; his *ONR-Falanga czyli antysemityzm totalny*[ONR-Falanga or total antisemitism], [in:] *BŻIHWP* 1991/3; J. M. Majchrowski, *Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny - okres działalności legalnej*[National-Radical Camp - period of legal activity], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 8(1976)/3; A. Landau-Czajka, *Naród i państwo w publicystyce polskiej skrajnej prawicy nacjonalistycznej lat 1926-1939*[Nation and state in publications of Polish extreme right wing nationalists 1926-1939], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 23(1991)/2

³⁰⁸ to list their most important writings: Z. Kaczmarek, *Obóz Wielkie Polski w poznańskim w latach 1926-1932*[Camp of Great Poland in the Poznań region, 1926-1932], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 6(1974)/3; Z. Pawlak, *Obóz narodowy w Wielkopolsce w latach 1934-1939*[National camp in Wielkopolska region, 1934-1939], Poznań 1976

not involved in ideological issues, remained in fact strongly influenced by nationalists. As they were clearly anti-German in character, literature on them might be also illuminating³⁰⁹.

The latest literature on Polish nationalism ventures to challenge some of the older conclusions. The revisionist trend is headed by K. Kawalec, who put his theories in the study on nationalists and fascism, maintained later in smaller article on nationalism and the Jewish question³¹⁰. His dissent is directed chiefly against the thesis pursued by Micewski, Grzybowski and others, namely that anti-parliamentarian and anti-democratic traditions were implemented into the movement from the very beginning. Other of his proposals refer to questions of religion, personalism, internal coherence, materialism. The latter problem was utilized to explain attitude towards other nations. It is not that nations were perceived as sort of economic companies, competing with each other and thus demanding hostility towards the aliens. Nationalist thought was much more a magical thinking, and perceived world in dychotomic, antagonistic categories, we-they. Thus, anti-semitism was not due to economic competition, the latter was only used to illustrate the alien Jewish condition.

THE WESTERN BORDERLANDS THE GERMANS

In the analysis of relations between various national groups for not a short period of time there was one principal assumption. It affirmed that social antagonisms were the primary source of tension, and the capitalist regime prevented various ethnic groups from coming to terms. The conscious element

³⁰⁹ A. Wolff, *Geneza, ideologia i działalność Związku Obrony Kresów Zachodnich*[Origins, ideology and activity of Defence of Western Borderlands' Union], Poznań 1970 and her earlier works; M. Mroczo, *Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich wobec działalności mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce(1921-1934)*[Defence of Western Borderlands Union and the activity of German minority in Poland, 1921-1934], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 29(1973)/3; his *Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich 1921-1934*[Defence of Western Borderlands' Union 1921-1934], Gdańsk 1977; his *La pensee politique de l'Union de Defence des Confins Occidentaux - Union Occidentale Polonaise(1921-1939)*, [in:] *Polish Western Affairs* 26(1985)/1; his *Polska myśl zachodnia 1918-1939*[Polish western concepts 1918-1939], Poznań 1986

³¹⁰ K. Kawalec, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec faszyzmu 1922-1939*[National Democracy and fascism, 1922-1939], Warszawa 1989

used to be left-wing parties and accordingly, they were heading the way to conciliation. From studies pursuing this point of view, one might count works of A. Czubiński, A. Dermin or Cz. Nowiński, focusing either on communist parties or on working classes³¹¹. Accordingly, the national problem ceased to exist in the new, post-war reality³¹². However, it was not that easy when nationalist and other parties were concerned. One had to find the balance between two of their roles. One features the belligerent group adding fuel to flames. Another profiles the trend particularly sensitive to Nazi threat and the destructive role of German minority in Poland. Eventually, Polish groups in the like were usually assigned position in-between³¹³. In case of groups that, unlike nationalists, were counted among "progressive" ones, anti-German noises were even more likely to be interpreted as awareness of Berlin's revisionism rather than anti-minority resentments³¹⁴. These studies reveal perennial problems that Polish historiography encounters when approaches the problem of German minority and Nazism. They are not escaped in the synthetic work of Z. Wartel, featuring policy of successive Warsaw governments towards German

³¹¹ Cz. Nowiński, *O współpracy proletariatu polskiego i niemieckiego na Górnym Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym*[On the cooperation of Polish and German proletariat in the Upper Silesia in the interwar period], [in:] *Ruch robotniczy na Śląsku Opolskim*, Opole 1969; A. Czubiński, *Tradycje polsko-niemieckiej współpracy rewolucyjnej z lat 1918-1939*[Polish-German traditions of revolutionary cooperation, 1918-1939], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1974/1; R. Demin, *Współpraca Komunistycznej Partii Polski z Komunistyczną Partią Niemiec na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim*[Cooperation of Polish and German communist parties on the Polish-German borderland], Opole 1978; F. Tych, *Die Beziehungen zwischen der deutschen und polnischen Arbeitsbewegung 1889-1920*, [in:] *Beziehungsgeschichtliche Probleme der deutschen...*, Berlin 1979. The exception highlighting rather competition is: F. Hawranek, *Polska i niemiecka socjaldemokracja na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1890-1914*[Polish and German social-democracy in Upper Silesia, 1890-1914], Opole 1977

³¹² W. J. Gołębiowski, *Kwestia narodowościowa w polityce władzy ludowej w województwie śląsko-dąbrowskim(1945-1947)*[National question in Silesia voivodeship during the people's rule, 1945-1947], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 71(1964)/2

³¹³ Z. Kaczmarek, *Endecja wielkopolska wobec problemu niemieckiego i kwestii mniejszościowej w latach 1926-1934*[The Wielkopolska national democracy and the German problem and minority question], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1975/4; K. Kawalec, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec nacjonalizmu niemieckiego(1918-1939)*[National Democracy and German nationalism, 1918-1939], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 18(1986)/3-4; R. Wapiński, *Endecja wobec problemów polskich ziem zachodnich w latach 1919-1939*[National Democracy and Polish Western Territories, 1919-1939], [in:] *Zapiski Hist.* 1966/4

³¹⁴ Z. Hemmerling, *Ruch ludowy wobec Niemiec i mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce 1918-1931*[Peasants' movement towards Germany and German minority in Poland, 1918-1931], [in:] *Studia z dziejów ruchu ludowego*, Warszawa 1969

population in Poland³¹⁵. Apart from these works, sometimes being the explicit tribute to official ideological requirements, other adopted less straightforward approach. They also concentrated on researching into ties between national and social divisions. The trend lasted at least till late 1970s, providing some useful data on interdependence of both issues and on exact landscape of wealth distribution among various groups mostly in Silesia, but also in other former Prussian provinces³¹⁶. The new approach is marked by the case of a joint all-stars Polish-German production, or recently emerged studies on Polish-German relations during the Second World War, which seem free of burdens of emotional engagement³¹⁷.

Another tendency in German-Polish relations research was to start rather with cultural barriers³¹⁸. The initial impulse came during the conference

³¹⁵ Z. Wartel, *Polityka rządu polskiego wobec mniejszości niemieckiej w latach 1918-1939* [Polish government's policy towards German minority, 1918-1939], Poznań 1975; on Silesian policy see H. Cwiąg, *Kilka uwag na temat polityki władz sanacyjnych wobec mniejszości niemieckiej na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1934-1939* [Few remarks on Sanacja policy toward the German minority in Upper Silesia, 1934-1939], [in:] *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska* 1987/16

³¹⁶ W. Długoborski, *Struktura społeczna i narodowościowa wczesnoprzemysłowej aglomeracji górnośląskiej* [Social and national structure of early industrial Upper Silesian agglomeration], [in:] *Acta Univ. Vratislaviensis* 279(1976)/27; M. Grzyb, *Narodowościowo-polityczne aspekty przemian stosunków własnościowych i kadrowych w górnośląskim przemyśle w latach 1922-1939* [National-political aspects of transformations in Upper Silesian industry, 1922-1939], Katowice 1978; E. Makowski, *Kształtowanie się stosunków społeczno-politycznych w Wielkopolsce w latach 1926-1939* [Shaping of socio-political relations in the Great Poland region, 1926-1939], Warszawa 1979; E. Mendel, *Stosunki społeczne i polityczne w Opolu w latach 1918-1933* [Social and political relations in Opole, 1918-1933], Wrocław 1975; T. Minczakiewicz, *Stosunki społeczne na Opolszczyźnie w latach 1922-1933* [Social relations in the Opole region, 1922-1933], Wrocław 1976; J. Stanielewicz, *Stosunki narodowościowo-społeczne na Pomorzu Zachodnim w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym* [Socio-economic relations in the Western Pomerania in the interwar period], [in:] *Zeszyty Hist. Wydz. Hum. UG* 4(1975); R. Dąbrowski, *Struktura narodowościowa kapitału w pomorskim przemyśle mleczarskim w latach 1920-1939* [National structure of Pomeranian dairying 1920-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 1989/3-4

³¹⁷ R. Breyer, P. Korzec, G. Rhode, G. Wilkiewicz, *Polnische Nationalitätenpolitik und Deutsche Volksgruppe in Lageberichten des Polnischen Innenministerium den Jahren 1935 und 1937*, [in:] *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 29(1980)/2-3; B. Pasierb, *Polska myśl polityczna okresu drugiej wojny światowej wobec Niemiec* [Polish political thought of World War II towards Germany], Poznań 1990; W. Wrześniński, *Naród niemiecki w polskiej myśli politycznej lat II wojny światowej* [German nation in Polish political thought of World War II], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

³¹⁸ On cultural links, see works of W. Molik, mostly concerning Polish intelligentsia. Also his, *Die polnisch-deutsch kulturellen Beziehungen im Grossherzogtum Posen in den Jahren 1831 bis 1846*, [in:] *Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 30(1982)/6; L. Trzeciakowski, *Die polnisch-*

held in Trzebieszowice in 1977, and devoted entirely to the cluster of issues organized around the national images. Papers delivered there served as the platform for further enquiries and facilitated launching the new methods. The new perspective has been set. It often acknowledged that some lingering resentments are generated in the sphere of social encounters, and used to expose various manifestations of this process, like the propaganda exercised by both sides during the plebiscite campaign in Upper Silesia in the early 1920s. But the stress was laid on the fact that in the last resort, not social but cultural issues prevented both groups from getting along. Reconstructing mutual images and stereotypes or tracing their origins and evolutions became subject of a few studies³¹⁹. Thanks to work of T. Szarota, also the period of World War II is now covered by similar analysis as well³²⁰. Unfortunately, the controversial issue of German image in post-1945 Poland has not been straightforwardly addressed yet, despite enticing questions of "good"(DDR)-"bad"(BRD) Germans dilemma and growing economic attractiveness of West Germany.

Both above trends merge in a series of works focusing on national identity, consciousness, assimilation, integration and regionalism. Here come titles either approaching the problem directly or focusing on certain regions, and thus having to deal with it any way. Z. Dworecki investigated into the image of

deutschen Beziehungen im Grossherzogtum Posen in den Jahren 1846-1848, [in:] *Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen 1831-1848*, Braunschweig 1979

³¹⁹ J. Kokot, *Stereotypy społeczne w stosunkach polsko-niemieckich*[Social stereotypes in Polish-German relations], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 20(1971); W. Zieliński, *Polska i niemiecka propaganda plebiscytowa na Górnym Śląsku*, Wrocław 1972; L. Trzeciakowski, *The image of a German held by Polish public opinion during the period of partitons*, [in:] *Polish Western Affairs* 19(1978)/2; J. Gleńsk, *Polska i niemiecka prasa plebiscytowa i powstańcza na Śląsku*[Polish and German plebiscite press in silesia], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 39(1981); B. Cimała, *Prasa i ulotki w Bytomiu w dobie powstań i plebiscytu*[Press and leaflets in Bytom in the plebiscite era], [in:] *Magazyn Bytomski* 5(1982); L. Smolka, *Obraz Polaka i Polski oraz Niemca i Niemiec w prasie polskiej Śląska Opolskiego 1922-1939*[Image of Pole and Poland and German and Germany in Polish press of Opole Silesia, 1922-1939], [in:] *Annales Silesiae* 16(1986); A. Szefer, *Stereotyp Polaka w Niemczech i Niemca w Polsce na przestrzeni wieków*[Stereotype of Pole in Germany and German in Poland through ages], [in:] *Polish Western Affairs* 19(1978)/2; W. Wrzesiński, *Trwałość i zmienność. Ze studiów nad stereotypem Niemca w Polsce w okresie porozbiorowym*[Continuity and change. Stereotype of German in Poland in the post-partitions period], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 18(1986)/3-4; R. Gelles, *Rola szkoły niemieckiej w kształtowaniu obrazu Polski i Polaków w okresie międzywojennym*[Role of German school in shaping the image of Poland and the Poles in the interwar period], Wrocław 1986

³²⁰ T. Szarota, *Germans in the Eyes of Poles during World War II*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 47(1983) and his later works in Polish

German issue among the Poles of western province³²¹. He assumes that ethnic factors, especially the language, do not need to determine relations in ethnic borderlands, and political, cultural, mental, and ideological differences might easily prove more momentous. Also the nation is perceived predominantly in terms of self-constructed image, and embraces six major elements: conscience of common interest, of internal solidarity, tendency to express group interest in terms of state and national ones, perceiving western territories as native, conviction of common interest of Poles in the fate of compatriots in Germany, cult of heroes. The study is divided into sections dealing with major elements contributing to emergence of national images: social issues, political-ideological matters, role of means of communication, institutions. In conclusions, Dworecki asserts that "German factor" was of immense importance in shaping national awareness. Among the Poles the majority was not anti-German, but resolved not to consent to peace at what was considered their expense. According to the author, by the end of 1920s about 75% of adults of Polish nationality were actively patriotic and conscious of their state and national loyalty. By the end of 1930s respective numbers were 85% for Wielkopolska, 80% for Pomerania and 70-75% for Silesia. Dworecki's work differs from traditional approaches to the same problem. Their example might be works quoted of M. Mroczko, who strives to put the issue in political context and analyzes the *Defence of Western Borderlands' Union*.

Z. Staszczak and W. Wrzeński are responsible for some attempts to investigate the cluster of issues between history, ethnography and social sciences, but they tend to begin with theory of division³²². Slightly different seems to be the initial assumption of E. Kopeć, who starts with the region, and then proceeds to its internal differentiations. He produced dissertation dealing with some of this problems, enriched later in another book. There is also more recent, but smaller study of Z. Rykiel, who follows Kopeć when taking

³²¹ Z. Dworecki, *Problem niemiecki w świadomości narodowo-politycznej społeczeństwa polskiego województw zachodnich Rzeczypospolitej, 1922-1939*[German problem in consciousness of Polish society in western voivodeships, 1922-1939], Poznań 1981;

³²² Z. Staszczak, *Pogranicze polsko-niemieckie jako pogranicze etnograficzne*[Polish-German borderland as ethnographic one], Poznań 1978; W. Wrzeński, *Tradycje pogranicza polsko-niemieckiego i ich znaczenie dla kształtowania się stosunków polsko-niemieckich*[Traditions of Polish-German borderland and its significance in shaping Polish-German relations], [in:] *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie*, Katowice 1980; R. Dąbrowski, *Rozwój stosunków polsko-niemieckich w Polsce zachodniej po pierwszej wojnie światowej*[Polish-German relations in western Poland after World War I], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 31(1987)

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"integration" as a key word³²³. Other scholars adopt more specific criteria. Popular one is education, utilized by W. Musialik or K. Orzechowski with regard to German and Polish schools³²⁴. A. Olszewska-Ładyk uses an approach from social sciences, when she focuses on intermarriages, one of the most instructive and commonly used sources for studies on social integration³²⁵. P. Hauser researches into impact of religion on national relations in Wielkopolska and Pomerania. Following later A. Brożek, M. Piela and B. Reiner's analysis are also directed towards language and the Roman-Catholicism in Upper Silesia, where religion was largely shared by both nations³²⁶. Certainly not sufficiently explained is the puzzling and controversial question of "Silesians", one of the hottest issues in Polish-German international relations. They deserved few brief studies so far, interesting as example of evolution that occurred between dates of their publications: from approach almost rejecting the sense of such a term, to brief but enlightening study on its origins and impact. The author finds that

³²³ E. Kopeć, *Południowo-zachodnie kresy Rzeczypospolitej 1918-1939. Społeczne warunki integracji*[South-western Polish borderlands. Social conditions of integration], Katowice 1981; his *Zagadnienie jedności kresów śląskich w granicach II Rzeczypospolitej*[Unity of Silesian borderlands in the Second Republic], [in:] Watra 1981/3; his *"My i oni" na polskim Śląsku(1918-1939)*["We and they" on Polish Silesia, 1918-1939], Katowice 1986; Z. Rykiel, *Regional Integration and the Boundary Effect in the Katowice Region*, [in:] *Geographia Polonica* 51(1987); *Z problemów integracji społeczno-politycznej na Górnym Śląsku przed II wojną światową*[On socio-political integration in Upper Silesia before World War II](ed. by W. Zieliński), Katowice 1980

³²⁴ W. Musialik, *Rekrutacja do szkół mniejszościowych w województwie śląskim w latach 1930-1939*[Enrolment to minority schools in Silesia voivodeship, 1930-1939], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 42(1983); K. Orzechowski, *Zagadnienie asymilacji mniejszości na tle polskiego szkolnictwa powszechnego na Górnym Śląsku*[Minorities' assimilation against the background of Polish education in Upper Silesia], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1949

³²⁵ A. Olszewska-Ładyk, *Małżeństwa mieszane na Śląsku Opolskim*[Intermarriages in Opole Silesia], [in:] *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 13(1959)

³²⁶ P. Hauser, *Rola kościoła ewangelicko-unijnego w kształtowaniu się stosunków narodowościowych na terenie Wielkopolski i Pomorza w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej*[Role of Evangelic Church in shaping nationality relations in Wielkopolska and Pomerania in the Second Republic], [in:] *Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica* 4(1975); B. Reiner, *Kler katolicki na Górnym Śląsku w latach przelomu 1919-1921*[Catholic clergy in Upper Silesia during the crucial years of 1919-1921], [in:] *Studia Śląskie* 38(1980); A. Brożek, *Język polski i niemiecki w kościołach katolickich na Górnym Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym*[Polish and German language in Catholic church in Upper Silesia in the interwar period], [in:] *Prace Naukowe Uniw. Śl. w Katowicach. Socjolingwistyka* vol. 7(1987); M. Piela, *Duchowieństwo śląskie wobec plebiscytu i powstań*[Silesian clergy facing plebiscite and uprisings], [in:] *Kwartalnik Opolski* 1991/1-2

this regional identification turned against Polish notion after 1945, and facilitated domination of economic factors over cultural ones³²⁷.

THE EASTERN BORDERLANDS THE LITHUANIANS, BELORUSSIANS AND UKRAINIANS

It was not rare that in works dealing with Polish relations with their eastern neighbours, Lithuanians, Belorussians and Ukrainians were taken en bloc. For some reasons, this manoeuvre was the justified one. Firstly, the Poles in the East enjoyed privileged position, mostly due to their economic and cultural superiority established during centuries of political domination and reinforced after 1918. Their neighbours shared common fate of "culturally younger" and by and large, found themselves at common positions. Secondly, there was in fact one official policy exercised towards these minorities in the Second Republic, or at least its aims were the same with regard to all three groups. There were tactical differences induced by international issues, historical traditions and diverse dynamics of particular national movements. But, many scholars claim that they do not constitute essential contrasts like these between policies towards Germans, Jews and eastern minorities. A convenient example is the term "eastern policy", often used in historical literature to denote a policy exercised by given political orientation towards the areas east of Polish ethnic territory.

There are two basic directions of this eastern policy, known as "federalist" and "incorporationist" ones. Their importance far exceeds this of ideological or diplomatic issues, and had its impact on Polish relations with the three nations and on their fate as well³²⁸. The cluster of ideas often referred

³²⁷ A. Szefer, *Współpraca tzw. Ślązakowców z Niemcami na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*[Cooperation of Silesians with the Germans in Cieszyn Silesia], [in:] Zarianie Śląskie 1963/1; J. Opolski, *Ślązacy*[The Silesians], Warszawa 1968; M. Śmiełowska, *Kulturowe, polityczne i gospodarcze uwarunkowania świadomości etnicznej Ślązaków*[Cultural, political and economic conditions of Silesians' ethnic consciousness], Opole 1989

³²⁸ W. Suleja, *Kresy Wschodnie w myśli politycznej polskiej irredenty w okresie powojennym(1864-1914)*[Eastern borderlands in political thought of Polish irredenta 1864-1914], [in:] Między Polską etniczną a historyczną, Wrocław 1988; somewhat idealized review of both in K. Symmons-Symonolewicz, *Polish Political Thought and the Problem of Eastern Borderlands of Poland, 1918-1939*, [in:] Polish Review 4(1959). Also useful a book review devoted to only one region of J. Bardach, *Krajowcy, federacjoniści*,

to as "federalism" was deeply rooted in tradition of Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth and surfaced as practical question in the aftermath of World War I³²⁹. Some scholars tend to regard J. Piłsudski as not only their most distinguished promotor, but also a sort of ideological father. It is the foundation that K. Dziewanowski built his works upon, subjected to certain modifications in the study of J. Łojek³³⁰. Some authors point to other elements forming the orientation, usually the circles of moderate left, the socialist party or a few of its leaders. This school tends to disregard the legend of Piłsudski's contribution, but does not doubt whether he was actually taking the idea seriously³³¹. Finally, there appeared many works claiming that the federal concept has never been anything than a project or a propaganda means. Accordingly, when it came to practice, the whole idea worked as a smoke-screen for pursuing Polish national interests. As a plan assuming mutual sovereignty and partnership it has never been taken sincerely, and certainly Piłsudski was the last one to do so. Principally A. Deruga and J. Lewandowski, mostly writing in mid-1960s, argue in favor of this thesis³³². General works of A. Chojnowski on Piłsudski's

inkorporacjiści[Landers, federationists, incorporationists], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 75(1984)/1

³²⁹ Historical overview in P. Wandycz, *Polish Federation 1919-1920 and Its Historical Antecedents*, [in:] *East European Quarterly* 4(1970), and partly K. Dziewanowski, *Dualism or trialism? Polish federal tradition*, [in:] *South and Eastern European Review* 97

³³⁰ K. Dziewanowski, *Piłsudski's Federal Policy, 1919-1921*, [in:] *Journal of Central European Affairs* 10(1950); his *The Making of a Federalist*, [in:] *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas* 11(1963); his *Joseph Piłsudski. A European Federalist, 1918-1922*, Stanford 1969; J. Łojek, *Idea federacyjna Józefa Piłsudskiego*[Federalist idea of Józef Piłsudski], [in:] *Liberta* 6(1986)

³³¹ K. Grunberg, *Koncepcje federalistyczne w polskim ruchu socjalistycznym 1864-1918*[Federal concepts in Polish socialist movement, 1864-1918], Warszawa 1968; his *Polskie koncepcje federalistyczne 1864-1918*[Polish federal concepts 1864-1918], Warszawa 1971; M. Śliwa, *Federalizm i autonomia narodowosciowa w myśli Mieczysława Niedziałkowskiego*[Federalism and national autonomy in Mieczyslaw Niedzialkowski's thought], [in:] *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 30(1978)/2; A. Bobrus, *Koncepcje federacyjne w programie Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej*[Federal concepts in the program of Polish Socialist Party], [in:] *Naród i państwo w myśli politycznej i działalności polskiego ruchu robotniczego*, Lublin 1984; I. Werschler, *Federalizm i prometeizm w poglądach i działalności Tadeusza Hołównki*[Federalism and prometheism in ideas and activity of Tadeusz Hołowko], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 14(1982)/1-4; his *Stanowisko Tadeusza Hołównki wobec kwestii mniejszości słowiańskich w II Rzeczpospolitej*[Hołowko's stance on Slav minorities in the Second Republic], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 1980/4

³³² A. Deruga, *Polityka wschodnia Polski wobec ziem Litwy, Białorusi i Ukrainy(1918-1919)*[Polish policy towards Lithuanian, Belorussian and Ukrainian territories, 1918-1919], Warszawa 1969; his *O federalizmie i polityce wschodniej obozu belwederskiego*[On federalism and the eastern policy of the Belweder camp], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 1964/2; J.

group minorities policy also pursue this opinion. The author still sticks to it in the article on plans regarding Belorussians, with similar outlines of Piłsudski's policy towards Belorussians and Ukrainians delivered by less known authors³³³. Continuation of Piłsudski's group eastern policy, after the failure of federalist plans, became so called "prometheism". In fact, it has little to do with minorities in Poland and more with minorities in the USSR, but in some cases might prove useful for research³³⁴.

The so-called "incorporationist" plans, originated in the camp of National Democracy, are much less focused in historiography. R. Wapiński, the best specialist on Polish nationalists, examined the issue in a few papers, but they can hardly compare to what has been written on the federalists³³⁵. K. Gomółka, who specializes in Belorussian image among wide political spectrum, contributed with article on nationalists' Belorussian policy³³⁶.

Problems of this minority - or rather nation turned minority after 1920 - were dealt with in other minor works of K. Gomółka, J. Jurkiewicz and A. Borkowski, sometimes together with Ukrainian affairs. The authors were predominantly concerned with aftermath of the war, when the question of legal

Lewandowski, *Federalizm. Litwa i Białoruś w polityce obozu belwederskiego*[Federalism. Lithuania and Belorussia in the policy of Belweder camp], Warszawa 1962; W. Gostyńska, *Polityka polska wobec Litwy i Białorusi*[Polish policy towards Lithuania and Belorussia], [in:] *Z Dziejów Stosunków Polsko-Radzieckich* vol. 1, Warszawa 1965

³³³ A. Chojnowski, *Zasady polityki białoruskiej piłsudczyków*[Principles of Belorussian policy of Piłsudski group], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992; M. Rogaska, *Białorusini w oczach piłsudczyków*[Belorussians in the eyes of Piłsudski group], [in:] *Kontrasty* 18(1985)/6; T. Piotrkiewicz, *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w koncepcjach piłsudczyzny*[Ukrainian question in Poland in Piłsudski group's concepts], Warszawa 1980

³³⁴ W. Baczkowski, *Prometeizm na tle epoki*[Prometheism and the epoch's background], [in:] *Niepodległość* 17(1984); J. Lewandowski, *Imperializm słabości*[Imperialism of weakness], Warszawa 1967; his *"Prometeizm" - koncepcja polityki wschodniej piłsudczyzny*[Prometheism - eastern policy concept of the Piłsudski group], [in:] *Biuletyn UAP* 1958-9/1-2; S. Mikulicz, *Prometeizm w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej*[Prometheism in policy of the Second Republic], Warszawa 1971; R. A. Woytak, *The Promethean Movement in Interwar Poland*, [in:] *East European Quarterly* 18(1984)/3; I. Werschler, *op. cit.*

³³⁵ R. Wapiński, *Endecka koncepcja polityki wschodniej w latach II Rzeczypospolitej*[Nationalist concept of eastern policy in the Second Republic], [in:] *Studia z Dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej* 5(1969); his *Endecja wobec kwestii ukraińskiej i białoruskiej*[Nationalists and the Belorussian and Ukrainian questions], [in:] *Stowianie w dziejach Europy*, Poznań 1974; A. Borkowski, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec wojny na wschodzie w 1920 roku*[National Democracy and the Eastern War of 1920], [in:] *Biul. Nauk. ART Olsztyn* 1991/1

³³⁶ K. Gomółka, *Sprawa białoruska w koncepcjach Narodowej Demokracji w latach 1918-1921*[Belorussian issue in nationalists' concepts, 1918-1921], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

status of eastern minorities was still opened to many solutions and included into many party programs³³⁷. Some kind of comparison with the years after World War II might be made on the basis of the work serving mostly propaganda means, but supplying useful data, and portraying the Białystok/Bielastok region³³⁸. Finally, the Belorussian-Polish relations were examined also beyond the political context. Some works went as far back as to mid-19th century, the measure of much use as it was the time that cultural emancipation of Belorussians and Lithuanians took roots. The turning point was the uprising of 1863, in fact the last moment in history that significant sections of Belorussian and Lithuanian ethnic groups accepted political guidance from the Poles. The collapse of insurrection and Russian actions that followed limited the expansive strength of Polish society, which lost attractive image among non-Poles. This mechanism largely facilitated emergence of new young nationalisms that in their drive to emancipation soon turned against the Poles. Thus, second half of 19th century, especially after the collapse of 1863-64 Polish warfare, witnessed hastened cultural diffusion and ended Polish supremacy. These events attracted some students, not all of them, however, did see the process described above, and went on writing the history of something like international proletarian solidarity and brotherhood³³⁹. On somewhat wider platform, going beyond the

³³⁷ K. Gomółka, *Ignacy Paderewski wobec kwestii białoruskiej w okresie konferencji wersalskiej*[Ignacy Paderewski and the Belorussian question during the Versailles Conference], [in:] *Studia i szkice z dziejów najnowszych*, Warszawa 1987; hers *Kwestia białoruska w programach KPRP w latach 1918-1920*[Belorussian question in programs of Polish Communist Party, 1918-1920], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 31(1988)/3; hers *Polskie ugrupowania polityczne wobec kwestii białoruskiej 1918-1920*[Polish political groups and the Belorussian question, 1918-1920], Warszawa 1989; hers *Rozmowy polsko-białoruskie(marzec 1920)*[Polish-Belorussian talks, March 1920], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 20(1988)/1; J. Borkowski, *Sprawy mniejszości białoruskiej i ukraińskiej w miesięczniku "Droga" 1922-1937*[Belorussian and Ukrainian affairs in "Droga" monthly, 1922-1937], [in:] *Z Dziejów Stosunków Polsko-Radzieckich* 17(1978); J. Jurkiewicz, *Mniejszość białoruska w polskiej myśli politycznej na Wileńszczyźnie 1921-1939*[Belorussian minority in Polish political thought of the Vilnius region, 1921-1939], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992

³³⁸ H. Majecki, *Białostoczczyzna w pierwszych latach władzy ludowej 1944-1948*[Białystok region in the first years of people's rule, 1944-1948], Warszawa 1977

³³⁹ P. Łossowski, Z. Młynarski, *Rosjanie, Białorusini i Ukraińcy w powstaniu styczniowym*[Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians in the 1863 uprising], Wrocław 1959; T. Książek, Z. Młynarski, *Udział Rosjan, Litwinów, Białorusinów, Ukraińców w powstaniu styczniowym*[Russians, Lithuanians, Belorussians and Ukrainians in the 1863 uprising], Warszawa 1962; S. Stępień, *Spółeczny czy polityczny charakter stosunku Ukraińców do powstania styczniowego*[Social or political attitude of Ukrainians to 1863 uprising], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 27(1984)/3; K. Okulicz, *Białorusini, Litwini, Polacy w powstaniu styczniowym na Litwie historycznej*[Belorussians, Lithuanians, Poles in the 1863 uprising in historical Lithuania], [in:] *Zeszyty Historyczne* 7(1965)

events surrounding military events of 1863, worked W. Czerepica, but his brief article is hardly relevant to importance of the process³⁴⁰. The national differentiation processes of the 1870-1920 in the East are not treated in a separate book. The substitution is the article of R. Radzik, more revealing the gaps in our knowledge rather than filling them³⁴¹. J. Tomaszewski wrote a small contribution to the history of popular images with paper on Belorussian stereotypes among the Poles after regaining independence. Thus, he provided a comparison of Polish opinions on Belorussians in the span of half a century³⁴². More ethnographical than historical research on North Eastern Poland in the last 25 years deals with many groups inhabiting that region, but is useful mostly as a guide to the impact of mass culture, mass communication and homogenization on traditional, distinct ethnic groups³⁴³.

Polish-Ukrainian relations are described in more systematic way and in fact almost all the period from emergence of modern Ukrainian national consciousness till 1950s is covered by less or more detailed studies. As far as 19th century is concerned, chronologically first seems to be the survey of S. Kieniewicz, but it bears mark of the time it was written³⁴⁴. J. Kozik initiated the trend. In late 1960s and after, simultaneously with studies on Ukrainian national identity, he published works on its affiliations with the Poles. Again, the conclusion seemed to be that many features of Ukrainian movement were inherited from the Polish one, and despite the bitter climax of Polish-Ukrainian neighborhood in 1940s, in the beginning they were culturally very close. Thus, the hypothesis that young eastern national movements had sooner or later to be

³⁴⁰ W. Czerepica, *Polski ruch narodowowyzwoleńczy i Białoruś w latach sześćdziesiątych XIX stulecia*[Polish national liberation movement and Belorussia in 1860s], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 75(1978)

³⁴¹ R. Radzik, *Ewolucja narodowa społeczności kresów wschodnich*[National evolution of the Eastern Borderlands' society], [in:] *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 1991/2

³⁴² J. Tomaszewski, *Belorussians in the Eyes of the Poles, 1918-1939*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 51(1985)

³⁴³ W. Pawluczuk, *Światopogląd jednostki w warunkach rozpadu tradycyjnej społeczności terytorialnej*[Life outlook of an individual in the wake of disintegration of traditional territorial communities], Warszawa 1972; his *Procesy dezintegracyjne w prawosławnych społecznościach wiejskich*[Disintegration processes in rural Orthodox communities], [in:] *Więź* współczesna 1967/3; M. Pokropek, *Zróżnicowanie kulturowe na pograniczu etniczno-językowym i jego odbicie w świadomości mieszkańców na przykładzie pogranicza polsko-litewsko-białoruskiego w północno-wschodniej Polsce*[Cultural diversity on ethnic-lingual borderland and its reflection in inhabitants' consciousness on the sample of Polish-Lithuanian Belorussian borderland in North Eastern Poland], [in:] *Etnografia Polska* 23(1979)/2

³⁴⁴ S. Kieniewicz, *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w latach 1820-1870*[Polish-Ukrainian relations 1820-1870], [in:] *Sesja naukowa w trzechsetną rocznicę zjednoczenia Ukrainy z Rosją*, Warszawa 1956

fed and driven by anti-polonism, like especially the Lithuanian case might suggest, was put into doubt³⁴⁵. The later period of transformations in Austria and emerging new, more decentralized and democratic regime, was the beginning of political competition between Poles and Ukrainians. Some light is shed on the issue by J. Forst-Battaglia³⁴⁶. Later period remains relatively little covered: maybe the study of H. Wereszycki on nationalisms in the Habsburg empire till its final collapse might fill the gap. The aftermath of the Great War, with its struggle over territories claimed by both Poles and Ukrainians and known as Eastern Galicia, was crucial to further relations between two nations. Gradual antagonization, hostility and finally hatred is followed in recent study of M. Kozłowski. Research on stereotypes, referring to much longer period but focusing on climaxing moments of 1918-1920 and 1943-1948, was done by J. Radziejowski³⁴⁷.

In the interwar period one nation found itself a dominating group and another a minority. The question was whether they can find a modus vivendi, and what would be the result of competition between conciliatory and belligerent factions of their respective national movements. Works dealing with Ukrainian parties and Polish official eastern policy have already been mentioned here. One ought to add the investigative dissertation on place and shape of Ukrainian issue in the Second Republic written by R. Torzecki, but confined to 1920s, and an article on autonomous plans referring to majority of Ukrainian-inhabited areas in Poland³⁴⁸. Besides, there was a flood of articles on the Polish socialists published by E. Koko on the basis of his PhD dissertation. However undoubtedly interesting, the question seems to be overblown by the scholar: after all, the socialists were only one of a few major parties before 1926

³⁴⁵ J. Kozik, *Wpływy polskie na kształtowanie się świadomości narodowej Ukraińców w Galicji*[Polish influence on shaping Ukrainian's national consciousness in Galicia], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 10(1967)/1-2; his *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w Galicji w okresie rewolucji 1848-1849*[Polish-Ukrainian relations in Galicia during the 1848-1849 revolution], [in:] *Z dziejów współpracy Polaków, Ukraińców i Rosjan*, Kraków 1976

³⁴⁶ J. Forst-Battaglia, *Die polnischen-ukrainischen Beziehungen in Galizien zwischen 1866 und 1873*, [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Historyczne* 57(1978)

³⁴⁷ H. Wereszycki, *Pod berłem Habsburgów*[Under the Habsburgs], Kraków 1984; M. Kozłowski, *Między Sanem a Zbruczem*[Between the San and the Zbrucz], Kraków 1990; J. Radziejowski, *Ukraińcy i Polacy - kształtowanie się wzajemnego obrazu i stereotypu*[Ukrainians and Poles - forming of mutual image and stereotype], [in:] *Znak* 36(1984)/11-12; his *Ukrainians and Poles, the Shaping of Reciprocal Images and Stereotypes*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 50(1984)

³⁴⁸ R. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce 1923-1929*[Ukrainian question in Poland, 1923-1929], Kraków 1979; A. Partyka, *Polskie koncepcje autonomii Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1919-1922*[Polish concepts of autonomy for Eastern Galicia, 1919-1922], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 1976/4

and opposition later on. Apart from some episodes, like education bill from early 1920s, their practical impact on official policy was not that significant. The value of these studies might rather consists of investigation how socialist ideology can cope with nationalist challenge³⁴⁹. More practical was the monograph of Volhynia voivodeship, predominantly Ukrainian with some Poles and many Jews. The author, W. Mędrzecki, attempted to portray the situation in its dynamics, and national pattern was analyzed against wide social and economic background. "South-Eastern Poland", i.e., the areas south of Volhynia together with official policy towards them is portrayed with similar method, but more fragmentarily, by J. Tomaszewski³⁵⁰.

The Second World War and its aftermath proved to be the most dramatic period of Polish-Ukrainian history. Some students like E. Prus did not manage to escape that tension. By now, R. Torzecki due to his recent studies emerges as the top expert³⁵¹. Finally, the years of 1945-1948 were burdened with problems of Ukrainian guerilla, mutual terror and deportations of Ukrainians to North Western Poland. So far, this period was the subject of gravest controversies, usually following the pattern of blaming each other for hatred and atrocities. Apart from popular literature, there still lacks a responsible study of the events. Ukrainians inhabiting in Poland seem more eager to address the post-war affairs. E. Misiło and A. Chojnowski have recently attempted to enter this uncertain terrain with study on Polish official policy, well-documented

³⁴⁹ E. Koko, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna wobec kwestii ukraińskiej(marzec 1921-maj 1922)*[Polish Socialist Party and the Ukrainian question, March 1921-May 1922], [in:] Dzieje Najnowsze 17(1985)/1; his *PPS wobec kwestii ukraińskiej w latach 1918-1925*[PPS and the Ukrainian question 1918-1925, unpublished PhD thesis], Gdańsk 1985; his *PPS wobec kwestii ukraińskiej w latach 1918-1925*[PPS and the Ukrainian question, 1918-1925], [in:] Sprawozdania Gdańskiego Tow. Nauk. 13(1986); his *Polskie partie socjalistyczne wobec walk polsko-ukraińskich*[Polish socialist parties and Polish-Ukrainian struggles], [in:] Z Pola Walki 31(1988)/3; his *PPS wobec kwestii ukraińskiej w latach 1918-1939*[PPS and the Ukrainian question, 1918-1939], [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Wrocław 1992

³⁵⁰ W. Mędrzecki, *Województwo wołyńskie 1921-1939*[The Volhynia voivodeship 1921-1939], Wrocław 1988; J. Tomaszewski, *The National Structure of the Working Class in the South-Eastern Part of Poland(1918-1939)*, [in:] Acta Poloniae Historica 19(1968); his *Dokumenty w sprawie polityki agrarnej rządu polskiego w województwach południowo-wschodnich w przeddzień wybuchu II wojny światowej*[Documents on agrarian government's policy in the South-Eastern voivodeships before World War II], [in:] Dzieje Najnowsze 1972/3

³⁵¹ R. Torzecki, *Polska myśl polityczna wobec kwestii ukraińskiej w czasie II wojny światowej*[Polish political thought and the Ukrainian question during the Second World War]; [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Wrocław 1992; his *Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej*[Ukrainian issue on the areas of Second Republic during World War II][yet to be printed]

and impartial, but of course incomplete as far as all aspects of the question are concerned³⁵². Various local studies, often by beginning students, deal with fragmented aspects of Ukrainian position in the last 40 years³⁵³.

POLES AND OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS

Relations between Poles and Jews, as mentioned above, have never been the object of special interest. Initially, few studies dealing with that hot issue highlighted examples of tolerance, treated as manifests of internationalist workers' solidarity. As far as it is known, these works for a long time stood as the sole ones on Judeo-Polish contacts³⁵⁴, except papers written outside Poland. P. Korzec, who specialized in parliamentary issues, supplied small contribution on Jewish representation in the Assembly³⁵⁵. In late 1970s appeared some publications on problems of assimilation, and among them a study of J. Orlicki. He enquired into perception of Jewish presence in the interwar Poland as "the question", and programs aiming at its solution. The author went on with research, and some years later its results were summarized in the book³⁵⁶. Both these attempts pursue the thesis of reasonable shape of

³⁵² E. Misiło, *Polskie "bandy UPA"* [Polish "UPA gangs"], [in:] *Karta* 1991/2; his *Polska polityka narodowościowa wobec Ukraińców 1944-1947* [Polish national policy towards the Ukrainians, 1944-1947], [in:] *Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław 1992; A. Chojnowska, *Przesiedlenie ludności ukraińskiej na Ziemię Odzyskane w 1947 roku* [Transfer of Ukrainian population to Regained Territories in 1947], [in:] *Przegląd Pomorski* 1991/12

³⁵³ *Ludność ukraińska (rusińska) na Podlasiu* [Ukrainian (Ruthenian) population in Podlasie region], Bielsk Podlaski 1990, I. Hrywna, *Mniejszość ukraińska w województwie olsztyńskim w latach 1947-1970* [Ukrainian minority in Olsztyn voivodeship, 1947-1970], [in:] *Biuletyn Naukowy ART Olsztyn* 1990/2. Minority inside minority, the Lemko group, was addressed in two social sciences studies: A. Kwilecki, *Łemkowie. Zagadnienie migracji i asymilacji* [Lemkos. Migration and assimilation], Warszawa 1974; Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflicts and Identity*, Kraków 1989

³⁵⁴ T. Bernstein, *KPP w walce z pogromami antyżydowskimi w latach 1933-1937* [Polish Communist Party against pogroms, 1933-1937], [in:] *BŻIH* 1955/15-16; hers *KPP in Kampf gegen Antisemitism*, Warszawa 1956

³⁵⁵ P. Korzec, *Das Abkommen zwischen der Regierung Grabski und der jüdischen Parlamentsvertretung*, [in:] *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas* 1972/3

³⁵⁶ J. Orlicki, *Szkice z wybranej problematyki do genezy tzw. kwestii żydowskiej i koncepcji jej rozwiązania w II Rzeczypospolitej* [On genesis of so-called Jewish question and concepts of its solution in the Second Republic], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*

Polish-Jewish relations, tend to minimize problems, neglect their sources, and finally attribute much of the world's outrage to ill-willed journalism, often fostered by German inspiration. The 1983 volume was met with huge portions of criticisms and wrecked much of the author's reputation. Much different approach is adopted in study of J. Majchrowski on similar issues, also published in 1983³⁵⁷. Orlicki and Majchrowski focus mostly on nationalists, and there is little wonder about this. It was this camp that organized much of its propaganda around Jewish issue and was the most determined to see it as "the problem". Nationalists and their attitude towards the Jews are often mentioned in many books on Polish national democracy of S. Rudnicki. This author devoted one study to certain section of the question. i.e., to the plans with regard to Jewish access to high schools³⁵⁸.

The phenomenon of pogroms was analyzed in some cases very detaily, but the national-scale scheme has not been introduced so far. J. Tomaszewski, J. Lewandowski and M. Kozłowski wrote on the 1918-1920 surge of antisemitism, with international context provided by N. Davies. J. Żundul in small paper treated the late 1930s wave, while K. Kersten ventured to say more on the post-1945 patterns³⁵⁹. R. Marcinkowski published recently some articles attempting to give the outlook of Polish-Jewish relations as they were between 1863-1939, and apparently is approaching more exhaustive study³⁶⁰.

Few studies on Jewish issue as seen among the Poles were published lately, in the often mentioned publication on Poles and national minorities. Nationalist policy towards the Jews in general was traced in the paper from 1988, and published in 1992, the product of joint effort of T. Kulak and K. Kawalec. Both authors pursued the research not only of political programs, but also of their roots and ideological origins, at least as far as it might have been done in 20-page article. The authors refuse to see many of anti-

20(1976)/3; his *Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-żydowskich 1918-1948*[On Jewish-Polish relations, 1918-1948], Szczecin 1983

³⁵⁷ J. Majchrowski, *Problem żydowski w programach głównych polskich obozów politycznych(1918-1939)*[Jewish problem in programs of main Polish political groups, 1918-1939], [in:] *Znak* 1983/339-340

³⁵⁸ S. Rudnicki, *From "Numerus Clausus" to "Numerus Nullus"*, [in:] *Polin* 2(1987)

³⁵⁹ J. Tomaszewski, J. Lewandowski, M. Kozłowski and K. Kersten's works have already been quoted. J. Żundul, *Zajścia antyżydowskie w Polsce w latach 1935-1937: geografia i formy*[Anti-Jewish riots of 1935-1937. Geography and forms], [in:] *BŻIHWP* 41(1991)/3

³⁶⁰ R. Marcinkowski, *Polacy i Żydzi między powstaniem styczniowym a wybuchem drugiej wojny światowej*[Poles and Jews between the January Uprising and the outbreak of World War II], [in:] *BŻIHWP* 40(1990)/3-4; his *Spółczesność polskie i żydowskie w latach 1863-1939*[Polish and Jewish society 1863-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1990/10; his *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w latach 1863-1939*[Polish-Jewish relations 1863-1939], [in:] *Przegląd Orientalny* 1990/3-4

semite resentments among the Polish nationalists as the clear introduction to 1939-1945. They tend to see rather "the rivalry of nationalisms" that by and large, fitted to traditional burdens of multiethnic co-existence. However they undermined fragile status quo, the final blow came as the external element³⁶¹. Three other studies produced in the same volume refrain from remarks of such general character, and focus on the three elements. The first is the OZN - competitive political orientation with at hoc created ideology; the second is youth organizations of academic circles, and the third is general nature of the Jewish question, scrutinized in a brief essay³⁶². Finally, the war years are focused on in the book of E. Ringelbaum and the article of A. Friszke. The former attempts to give the outlook of Jewish-Polish relations, the latter presents the Jewish affairs as conceived in the Polish underground press. Examination of these works provides other arguments as to relations between Polish pre-war anti-semite resentments and Jewish fate during the war³⁶³.

Research on relations between Poles and other national groups in Poland or within the reach of Polish influence is confined to few more titles. There are three studies on Lithuanians, of which that of R. Danielewski is in fact the propaganda booklet. The other are of more use. J. Ochmański treats the period that Lithuanian and Polish identities were not necessarily these constituting two separate nations. Unfortunately, the author is more bothered by bonds rather than by splits, and the the core of the problem appears missing. Another paper treats the question of socialist opinions on Lithuanian-Polish conflict in the interwar period and could be instructive with regard to as much socialism was infected by nationalism³⁶⁴. The southern Polish borderlands,

³⁶¹ T. Kulak, K. Kawalec, *Endecja wobec kwestii żydowskiej (lata 1893-1939)* [Nationalists and the Jewish question, 1893-1939], [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Wrocław 1992

³⁶² J. Majchrowski, *Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego wobec kwestii żydowskiej* [Camp of National Unity and the Jewish question]; S. Gajewski, *Katolickie organizacje akademickie wobec kwestii żydowskiej w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej* [Catholic academic organizations and the Jewish question]; J. Tomaszewski, *Spółczesność żydowska a Polacy w II Rzeczypospolitej* [Jewish community and the Poles in the Second Republic]; all studies in: Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Wrocław 1992

³⁶³ E. Ringelbaum, *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej* [Polish-Jewish relations during World War II], Warszawa 1988; A. Friszke, *Publicystyka Polski Podziemnej wobec zagłady Żydów 1939-1944* [Publicism of the Underground Poland and extermination of Jews, 1939-1944], [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Wrocław 1992

³⁶⁴ R. Danielewski, *Z dziejów internacjonalistycznych i postępowych stosunków polsko-litewskich* [On internationalist and progressive Polish-Lithuanian relations], Warszawa 1964; J. Ochmański, *Z dziejów współpracy polityczno-kulturalnej Polaków i Litwinów w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku* [On political-cultural cooperation of Poles and Lithuanians by end of

relatively little entangled in national conflicts, were not entirely free from them. In some small areas Polish and Slovak or Polish and Czech populations were not divided by any natural frontiers and did not form an ethnographical frontier (in some cases they did not even though natural frontiers did exist). These territories were claimed by both Poland and Czechoslovakia. Polish-Slovak affairs were reported in unique studies by M. Koźmiński³⁶⁵. The question of Cieszyn/Tesin province found its expert in J. Chlebowczyk, the scholar coming from the region himself, and to be the top expert on this area. He is responsible for studies on national affairs in the territory, mostly referring to pre-1918 period, and thus here only the papers of wider scope will be mentioned. Apart from initial standard mid-1950s production, they served him as a basis for later works. Research on Cieszyn/Tesin Silesia problems was continued by A. Stępniaś³⁶⁶.

19th and beginning of 20th century], [in:] *Rocznik Olsztyński* 4(1961/2); A. Bobrus, "*Robotnik*" wobec stosunków polsko-litewskich 1920-1939["*Robotnik*" and Polish-Lithuanian relations, 1920-1939], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 24(1981)/3

³⁶⁵ M. Koźmiński, *Polityka a świadomość narodowa na pograniczu polsko-słowackim po pierwszej wojnie światowej*, [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 79(1988)/2; the English version: *Politics, Propaganda and National Awareness in the Polish-Slovak Borderland after the First World War*, [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica* 63-64(1991)

³⁶⁶ J. Chlebowczyk, *Z tradycji proletariackiego internacjonalizmu na Śląsku Cieszyńskim i w Zagłębiu Ostrawsko-Karwińskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*[Traditions of proletarian internationalism in Cieszyn Silesia and Karwina-Ostrava basin on the turn of the 19th c.], [in:] *Sobótka* 9(1954); his *Nad Olzą. Śląsk Cieszyński w wiekach XVIII, XIX i XX*[By the Olza. Cieszyn Silesia in 18-20th century], Katowice 1971; A. Stępniaś, *Kwestia narodowa i społeczna na Śląsku Cieszyńskim pod koniec XIX i w początkach XX wieku*[National and social question in Cieszyn Silesia in late 19th and early 20th c.], Katowice 1986

SOME GENERAL THEORIES

National question as experienced by the Poles and in Poland served to some scholars as the basis for theories seeking to construct the model of nation-building in Central and Eastern Europe. The most elaborated and widely acknowledged is the proposal of J. Chlebowczyk, however to some it is still not convincing enough and surpassed by other outlines, even if less detailed. It was developed from local research of 1960s on Austrian Silesia, the region inhabited by Czechs, Germans and Poles and after 1918 divided between Czechoslovakia and Poland. In 1970s Chlebowczyk came out with the core of his proposal, and till his death in late 1980s went on with some specific questions and slight modifications³⁶⁷.

According to the author, there are two separate models of nation-building characteristic for Western and Eastern Europe. In the West centralized states forged common culture based on one promoted language and confined to political frontiers. On the foundation of shared cultural tradition and heritage, emerged the new communities that gradually gained identity as nations. Thus, central elements put in chronological order are: state-language(culture)-nation. In the east the scheme is: language(culture)-nation-state. Smaller ethnic communities, distinct from external environment and internally united by means of language and other cultural features, survived on the peripheries of dynastic empires till 19th century³⁶⁸. The transformations brought by social division of labor, rising trade turnover and new system of social communication were expected to wipe out notions keeping these communities together, but capitalist transformations proved to be the basis for their revitalizing. With progressing democratization of all classes these groups were more free to voice. The second

³⁶⁷ The main body of J. Chlebowczyk's output is: *Procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie Środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu*[Nation-building processes in Eastern Central Europe in the capitalist period], Warszawa 1975; *On Small and Young Nations in Europe. Nation-forming processes on ethnic borderlands*, Wrocław 1980; *O prawie do bytu małych i młodych narodów*[On the right to existence of small and young nations], Warszawa 1983; *Między dyktatem, realiami a prawem do samostanowienia*[Between dictate, reality and self-determination right], Warszawa 1988

³⁶⁸ J. Chlebowczyk, *Kształtowanie się świadomości społecznej i narodowej na pograniczu językowym(w warunkach środkowoeuropejskich)*[Forming of social and national consciousness on language borderlands in Central East European conditions], [in:] *Studia z Dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej* 4(1968); his *O niektórych problemach asymilacji narodowej i pogranicza językowo-narodowościowego*[On some problems of national assimilation and national-language borderland], [in:] *Studia Historyczne* 15(1972)/3

phase is divided into two sub-phases: the first emphasized ideological consciousness³⁶⁹. But then surfaced territorial and other questions, and thus the principle of self-determination became soon adopted as a means of pursuing national claims. As it clearly jeopardized existing structure of states, it took shape of political nationalism, led by intelligentsia³⁷⁰.

The central element of this process in language. Chlebowczyk thinks it the decisive and permanently working factor forming plebeian communities of Eastern Europe into modern nations, the conviction stressed throughout the narration. The omnipresence of linguistic factor was observed by Chlebowczyk also on the example of then communist-run states of Eastern Europe: he advocated the usage of often avoided term "national minority" as otherwise the grave issue is likely to be overlooked at all. The "state nationality", intensively forged in multinational states like Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia (the USSR omitted probably only due to author's prudence), does not seem to work, as it can not match the links provided by cultural and linguistic features³⁷¹.

The proposal was welcomed as almost the first attempt in Polish historiography to construct a model scheme. The stress put on linguistic factors was further on the issue of great interest as well. Some, like J. Molenda or Z. Dworecki, expressed reluctance, while majority, including Żarnowski, Kieniewicz (hesitant about phases pattern) and Jasiński, agreed. Hungarian case was pointed by many as erroneously conceived. M. Koźmiński supposed that two sequences, standard ABC and Eastern BCA might be supplemented by other, and did not find West-East differences especially original. K. Groniowski considered the 1977 study rather the set of a few case studies. Finally, the Silesian background of author's research was to some rather a liability than an

³⁶⁹ J. Chlebowczyk, *Świadomość historyczna jako czynnik procesu narodotwórczego* [Historical consciousness as element of nation-building process], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 9(1977); his *Zarys historyczny kształtowania się tożsamości narodowej we wschodniej Europie środkowej* [Outline of forging national identity in eastern Central Europe], [in:] *Z problematyki tożsamości narodowej we współczesnych stosunkach międzynarodowych* (ed. by J. Przewłocki), Katowice 1986

³⁷⁰ J. Chlebowczyk, *Idee niepodległościowe i ruchy odśrodkowe we wschodniej Europie środkowej na początku XX wieku* [Independence theories and separatist movements in eastern Central Europe in early 20th c.], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 88(1981)/3; his *Kwestia narodowa a społeczna w Europie środkowej po I wojnie światowej* [National and social question in Central Europe after World War I], [in:] *Z perspektywy lat*, Warszawa 1982; his *Über einige Probleme der Nationbildung in Ostmitteleuropa vom 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Jahrbuch für Geschichte* 23(1981)

³⁷¹ J. Chlebowczyk, *O niektórych aspektach kwestii narodowościowej ustroju socjalistycznego* [On some aspects of nationality question of socialist regime], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 10(1978)/1

asset, eclipsing divergent features of other regions. German, Czech, Slovene and Polish movements were preferred over Hungarian, Rumanian or Bulgarian matters.

Two competitive typologies rather than models were constructed by two marxist scholars. J. Topolski on the basis of links between economic and national development specified 5 variants of national-building process³⁷². French case: harmonic formation of a nation, the result of natural growth of common conscience conditioned by balanced impact of many diverse factors. German case: not united, but not oppressed nationality, overcoming mostly smaller separatist identities like Bavarian one, driven by political strive, consciously constructed economic unity(Zollverein) and fighting alien domination(i.e., the French one). Czech case: nationality dispossessed of its state in any form and peripheral to other larger state unit, with own elites and their culture. Claim for political independence is the driving force of forging national unity. Polish case: divided between few states, but equipped with elites, culture and tradition. Political struggle remains on the foreground, economy might prove both integrating and disintegrating factor. Lithuanian case: nation has neither a state nor own cultural elites. Principal mechanisms are constructing and defending own culture and activity of own intellectuals, while economy might prove additional stimulus.

The proposal was designed to overcome West-East alternative, historically rooted and widely accepted. Models I, II, III and IV were said to occur also in Western Europe, while eastern part of the continent, with exception of Russia(model I), shared variants III, IV and V. The pre-condition of nation is national consciousness, and by the end of 18th century it has already overtaken religious identity in hierarchy of importance. Neither language nor common territory acquired such crucial position in the process. Language is also not the decisive factor in shaping national consciousness as such - Topolski credits rather historical education.

To some scholars, the typology seemed brilliant. W. Jakóbczyk was rather enthusiastic, and valued Topolski's scheme over these of Chlebowczyk and Hroch. It was praised for demonstrating clearly the regularity of processes, stratificating various elements, escaping nomologic interpretations, being free from automatism of attributing to certain factors the leading role, avoiding anti-dialectical oppositions of objective and subjective realities and economic

³⁷² J. Topolski, *Rozwój ekonomiczny a formowanie się narodu*[Economic development and nation-building], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1975/3; his *Marxizm i historia*[Marxism and history], Warszawa 1977; see also summary and discussion in J. Topolski, *Quelques remarques en guise de conclusion*, and W. Jakóbczyk, *Quelques remarques sur la question de la conscience nationale*, both in: *Developpement de la conscience nationale en Europe Centrale du XVIe au Xxe siecle*, Poznań 1982

hypertrophy. Jakóbczyk himself attempted to define also phases of nation-building. The preceding one was called objective or passive and was characterized by differentiating from other groups mostly in terms of language and civilization. The succeeding one, labelled subjective or active, embraced political activity on the basis of idea of an own state.

The official interpretation of national question was in 1960s and 1970s embodied in publications of J. Wiatr, who attempted to place the research between history, social and political sciences³⁷³. His model of nation-building also comprises 5 tracks. The "bourgeois-democratic" model is represented by French and English and is constituted by four major moments: feudal decline and broadening of economic links, falling dynastic ideology, acquiring status of compatriot by citizens in course of revolutions, agrarian transformations that build loyalty to state. Polish case is also counted here. "Bourgeois-conservative" model of states like Prussia or Russia encompasses following stages: bourgeoisie gains access to the rule; national ideology is constructed and utilized as element integrating the population; territorial expansion follows. "Socialist" evolution takes place when ethnic-national transformations are preceded by social revolution, and also falls into three phases: revolution brings new regime; on its basis new nation is created; in course of ensuing changes supra-national (i.e. soviet) nation comes into being. "Postcolonial" scheme occurs when a society of low-level nationality integration founds itself in one state and when ideology is constructed afterwards. Finally, "bourgeois-settlement" process took place in self-explaining cases of Israel, the United States or South Africa.

The author admits regarding politics as factor of immense importance³⁷⁴. Ideology comes second, with linguistic and cultural issues next. Finally, geography and demography complete the list of fundamental components. Mature national conscience always manifests itself in claims for own state, and communities that have not reached this stage yet remain

³⁷³ J. Wiatr, *Socjalizm a naród*[Socialism and nation], [in:] *Myśl filozoficzna* 1957/3; his *Marxistowska teoria narodu i politycznej walki narodowowyzwoleńczej*[Marxist theory of nation and of political national-liberation strive], Warszawa 1962; his *Naród i rasa w świadomości politycznej*[Nation and race in political consciousness], Warszawa 1962; his *Ewolucja myśli marksistowskiej w kwestii narodu i państwa*[Evolution of marxist thought on nation and state], [in:] *Z Pola Walki* 1966/3; his *Państwo i naród w społeczeństwie socjalistycznym*[State and nation in socialist society], [in:] *Państwo, naród, demokracja socjalistyczna w PRL*, Warszawa 1970; his *Naród, patriotyzm, internacjonalizm*[Nation, patriotism, internationalism], Warszawa 1970; his *Polska - nowy naród*[Poland - the new nation], Warszawa 1971; his *Naród i państwo*[Nation and state], Warszawa 1973

³⁷⁴ Some ideologists, like S. Ehrlich, maintain that in history state precedes nation and its structure is primary one for shaping character of a nation. S. Ehrlich, *Państwo i naród*[State and nation], [in:] *Państwo, naród, demokracja socjalistyczna w PRL*, Warszawa 1970

nationalities. Wiatr places himself in Weberian tradition in a sense that a nation remains to him ethnic group possessing conscience of its unity and making political claims for own statehood. The marxist enrichment is that apart from rather psychical phenomena, measurable links constituting community are also considered indispensable, with political and economic ties remaining on the foreground. The contradiction between cultural and political values is overcome when state is recognized as crucial value and common cultural good. But this kind of unity might be achieved only in socialist state, combining its national contents with unity of class.

The socialist transformations are included into schemes of Wiatr's school³⁷⁵. They are explained during examination of continuity and discontinuity of nation. Ethnic substrate, language, territory, collected material goods and culture carry some notions of community further on. On the other hand, economic community understood as certain production process is broken; class structure disappears; bourgeoisie state structure is altered; dominant ideology and political culture deteriorate. In these conditions national history goes on, but its subject is the new quality. Like in Burda's theory, all-aspect homogenization of nation constituted the characteristic feature of socialist nation, in propaganda praised as socio-political unity. Some treat it as the end of national history: "a socialist nation is and will always be in a sense completing the nation-building process, process of forming a uniform nation"³⁷⁶.

T. Łepkowski does not openly reject Wiatr's scheme, but challenges many of its features³⁷⁷. "Nationality" as a category is not acknowledged, but used as adjective. Scarce attention is paid to culture, religion and language. Cult of nation state leads to trappings of neglecting nation as a subject of historical process. Struggling for definition is flawed. Supra-ethnic and supra-regional forces are idealized. Poland is oddly compared with France and uprisings as confused with revolutions. Proposed typology is superficial, and Łepkowski

³⁷⁵ See also J. Szczepański, *Procesy formowania się socjalistycznego narodu polskiego* [Processes of forming socialist Polish nation], [in:] *Dialektyka jedności narodu* (ed. by Z. Wójcik, W. Grzybowski), Warszawa 1980. Question of grave territorial changes of post-war Poland and its role in transformations of national consciousness in: M. Orzechowski, W. Wrzesiński, *Przemiany terytorialne Polski po II wojnie światowej w świadomości społecznej* [Territorial changes of Poland after World War I in social consciousness], [in:] *Przegląd Zachodni* 1970/4; other interpretations of Z. Gostkowski (1962) and Z. Mach (1989)

³⁷⁶ J. Kuczyński, *Indywidualność i ojczyzna. Filozoficzna problematyka kwestii narodowej* [Individuality and fatherland. Philosophical problems of national question], Warszawa 1972, p. 47; his also *The national question and the real humanism*, [in:] *Dialectics and Humanism* 2(1975)/1

³⁷⁷ T. Łepkowski, *Socjologiczne i historyczne aspekty teoretycznych problemów narodu i państwa* [Sociological and historical aspects of theoretical problems of nation and state], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 78(1971)/1

comes out with his own, simplified but more stable, and specifying 3 models: European-North American, Afro-Asian, Latino-American. The alternative model is the set of dualistic oppositions, centered around problems of social regime, colonial status, ethnic cohesion and mode of settling.

Common fate and common mechanisms assisting in birth of new states in post-1918 East Europe were highlighted in works confined to contemporary history, especially to the interwar period. Processes of multinational empires breaking apart were addressed in two thorough studies certainly worth recommendation as attempts to generalize huge material provided by many case studies³⁷⁸. Wereszycki divides the process of national ferment in Habsburg empire into 5 phases. First, thersian and josephinian reforms crushed old aristocracy-feudal system. They liberated the peasants and provided new cultural impulse by centralization and Germanization of administration structures. Then, new cultural movements emerge on this basis, and initially considering the state their ally. In the third phase, formed or quasi-formed ethnic entities enter domestic political scene, but because they fail in mid-19th century, slowly turn against the state and gain secessionist momentum. New social processes reinforce the tendency. In the fourth phase, discouraged movements turn from intra-system methods to protest, especially after the ill-fated dualism, and adopt aggressive nationalism. Finally, comes the crisis followed by destruction and rebirth. It was not unavoidable - state pillars like army and bureaucracy worked on and nations were fearing the unknown even worse than the old status quo. But with the collapse of Germany and Russia, the impulse hit also Austro-Hungary.

Majority of studies on interwar period stressed the role of nationalisms. Although they usually perceived new political developments as justice done to the self-determination right, it was also admitted that the ideological principles the new units were built upon were hardly compatible with ethnic reality. There was no doubt, however, that post-1918 order was a progress in comparison to pre-1914 status. W. Balcerak introduced even the category of "national revolution" marking transition to another phase³⁷⁹. Some, like

³⁷⁸ W. Sukiennicki, *East-Central Europe during World War I: from Foreign Domination to National Independence*, Boulder Colorado 1984; H. Wereszycki, *Pod berłem Habsburgów*[Under the Habsburgs], Kraków 1975

³⁷⁹ A. Czubiński, *Państwa narodowe w Europie środkowowschodniej między I a II wojną światową*[Nation-states in Central-East Europe between the Wars], J. Żarnowski, *W sprawie genezy systemu państw narodowych w Europie środkowej i południowo-wschodniej po 1919 roku*[On origins of nation-state system in Central and South-Eastern Europe after 1919], both in: *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 77(1970)/3; W. Balcerak, *Powstanie państw narodowych w Europie środkowo-wschodniej*[Emergence of nation-states in Central-East Europe], Warszawa 1974

Tomaszewski, raised doubts as to one-sided approach overestimating the role of national factor in political transformations³⁸⁰. Others focused on minorities, but one can see some disagreement on the problem of cause and effect. It is particularly obvious in discussions on national question against the background of international problems facing the region³⁸¹.

The common feature of all above proposals was the conviction that a nation is the category one might talk about only with regard to the last 2-3 centuries. It was exactly this assumption that was challenged by B. Zientara, the scholar focusing on Middle Ages. The dissent was not that unexpected, as there was always little agreement on pre-18th century national issues. A. Gieysztor accepted the scheme once introduced into social sciences by S. Ossowski. It features two concentric circles. The inner one embraced conscious members of a community. The external one designated these not sharing this awareness, but considered by the former also being its members. The process of nation-building consists thus of expansion of internal circle till it equals the external one³⁸². Gieysztor's thesis was that as early as in the 13-14th century consciousness of community has already been present among some strata. It was created by new categories referring to supra-tribe community, like *taxes, duties* etc, but state-thinking was combined with linguistic community. Thus, this kind of linkage was preceding notions appearing and attached later, but formed the initial core that persisted till national identity has been constructed. It might be described as "state nation" notion³⁸³. Zientara went even farther, and in fact followed the path of many Polish historians writing before 1939, who claimed that it is fairly feasible to see national communities as early as in 11-13 centuries. They divided into two schools: one (Bobrzyński, Balzer, Dobrowolski, Bujak) used to see nation created simultaneously with state. The other (Grodecki, Tymieniecki, Kot) tied it with struggles for state unity in late 13th century. The latter usually

³⁸⁰ J. Tomaszewski, *Kwestia narodowa w Europie środkowo-wschodniej przed I wojną światową* [National question in Central-East Europe before World War I], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 67(1976)/1

³⁸¹ H. Batowski, *Problem mniejszości narodowych w Europie w przededniu II wojny światowej* [Problem of national minorities in Europe in the eve of World War II], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 77(1970)/3; P. Łossowski, *Problem mniejszości narodowych w Europie środkowo-wschodniej na przykładzie państw bałtyckich* [National minority problem in Central-East Europe: example of Baltic States], [in:] *Ład Wersalski w Europie Środkowej*, Wrocław 1971; H. Zieliński, *Mniejszości narodowe w Europie środkowej a problem bezpieczeństwa europejskiego (1918-1939)* [National minorities in Central Europe and the problem of European security, 1918-1939], [in:] *Dzieje Najnowsze* 6(1974)/4

³⁸² S. Ossowski, *Więź społeczna i dziedzictwo krwi* [Social link and the blood ties], [in:] *Dzieła* vol. 2, Warszawa 1966

³⁸³ A. Gieysztor, *Więź narodowa i regionalna w polskim średniowieczu* [National and regional link in Polish Middle Ages], [in:] *Polska zjednoczona i dzielnicowa*, Warszawa 1972

claimed that the Polish nation was formed in course of medieval struggles with the Germans, and this theory was highlighted in moments considered proper also after 1945³⁸⁴. In 1955 all these theories were dismissed in survey of S. Piekarczyk³⁸⁵.

Zientara strives to prove that the basis which served for rejecting "national" character of pre-19th-century notions and inventing special terms for them is very weak. In 1952 the category *narodowość* (nationality) was applied, and later replaced by "feudal nation" (C. Bobińska) or "nobles' nation" (H. Serejski). Polish specialist on Middle Ages, J. Baszkiewicz, in 1954 denied the name of nation to societies that did not form economic community and shared very weak cultural ties, in 1964 nevertheless used this term, to abandon it again in 1970 for "nationality consciousness". Chlebowczyk sees "nationality" as the stage between not integrated ethnic group and nation. Zientara acknowledges doubts of scholars like Ochmański, Gieysztor, Ossowski, Chałasiński, J. Kowalski and others, but considers them not sufficient. The solutions proposed are disregarded for leading to confusion, like Gieysztor's "state nation" to be confused with "Staatsnation" etc. He analyzes one by one the features said to constitute a nation, and finds that only national consciousness remains the invariable one. As he claims this category to exist in Middle Ages, one might consider outset of national communities as early as in the 11-13 centuries. Zientara realizes the need to mark diverse character of medieval nation, and introduces the term "political nation"³⁸⁶. It is also accepted in interesting survey articles of S. Gawlas³⁸⁷. That the question is not only of theoretical

³⁸⁴ R. Grodecki, *Powstanie polskiej świadomości narodowej na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku* [The emergence of Polish national consciousness on the turn of 13th c.], [in:] *Przegląd Współczesny* 1935; his *Powstanie polskiej świadomości narodowej* [Emergence of Polish national consciousness], Katowice 1946; S. Kot, *Świadomość narodowa w Polsce w XV-XVII wieku* [National consciousness in 15-17th c. Poland], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 52(1938). Some of these books use terms like "Polish nationalism in the Piast era" (i.e. till 14th century), see Grodecki 1946, p. 49

³⁸⁵ S. Piekarczyk, *Kilka uwag o sprawie kształtowania się i rozwoju narodowości polskiej* [A few remarks on shaping and development of Polish nationality], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 62(1955)/2

³⁸⁶ B. Zientara, *Struktury narodowe średniowiecza. Próba analizy terminologii przedkapitalistycznych form świadomości narodowej* [National structures of Middle Ages. An attempt to analyze categories of pre-capitalist forms of national consciousness], [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 84(1977)/2; fully embodied in his *Świt narodów europejskich. Powstawanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej* [The dawn of European nations. Emergence of national consciousness in post-Charlemagne's Europe], Warszawa 1985

³⁸⁷ S. Gawlas, *Spółeczny zasięg świadomości narodowej w późnym średniowieczu* [Social span of national consciousness in late Middle Ages], [in:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 72(1982)/4

relevance was proved by many studies on notions of nationality in 16-18th centuries. In the Polish case they are focusing mostly on "sarmatism", it is purely Polish, somewhat racist but not aggressive culture and "ideology" of the nobles³⁸⁸. Innovatory studies appeared also on national consciousness in the Ukrainian territories³⁸⁹.

³⁸⁸ See for instance K. Symmons-Symolewicz, *op. cit.*, J. Tazbir, *Polska świadomość narodowa w XVI-XVIII wieku*[Polish national consciousness in 16-18th c.], [in:] *Studia nad rozwojem narodowym Polaków, Czechów i Słowaków*, Wrocław 1976; S. Cynarski, *Sarmatyzm - ideologia i styl życia*[Sarmatism - ideology and lifestyle], [in:] *Polska XVII wieku*(ed. by J. Tazbir), Warszawa 1977

³⁸⁹ T. Hynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i kozaczyzny od schyłku XVI do połowy XVII wieku*[National consciousness of Ukrainian nobles and cossacks from late 16th till mid-17th c.], Warszawa 1985; shortened English version in: *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe*(ed. by I. Banac and F. Sysyn), Cambridge Mass. 1987

THE END COMMENTS

The question of Polish nation-building attracted increased attention particularly in the period of 1957-1978. The opening date marks political transformations that allowed more loose approach to official model. The closing one indicates intense discussions in the wake of 70th anniversary of 1918 independence. In the following years the debate turned overheated and the interest gradually dried out. In-between these temporal brackets, late 1960s brought new impulses and the most significant so far synthesis, published in 1967 by T. Łepkowski. Throughout all the post-war period and ever earlier some themes were omnipresent and, as recently pointed out, usually burdened by political connotations³⁹⁰. Orientalist or occidentalist visions, history of state or history of nation, 19th or pre-19th century origins of the nation debates often reflected dilemmas of political rather than historical choice. Despite these trappings, some theoretical models have been introduced and discussed and general outline seems to be worked out. Unfortunately, they often preceded more detailed research. The latter tended to focus either on elites or on manifestations of national consciousness. The processes that shaped it, especially on the grass-root level, are yet to be sufficiently explained. Class-strata dimensions dominated the issues of social stratification, eclipsing the questions of education, culture, authority etc. Reconstruction of nation in the making frequently led to tracing national conflicts in ethnic borderlands, and especially Polish-German relations found themselves privileged. Historiography on Polish nation-building underlines the processes of 19th century: Łepkowski till 1870, other scholars till the common experience of World War I and regained independence of 1914-1920. Much less is written on impact of the interwar years, and much, but in fragmented and often shallow manner, on 1939-1945. The post-war period remained mostly out of reach for historical analysis: it was considered yet too close to allow this kind of approach³⁹¹.

In the late 1970s one can note a shift to problems of Polish neighbors, usually tackled as questions of national minorities, especially in the

³⁹⁰ S. Ciesielski, Z. Fras, K. Kawalec, T. Kulak, *Naród i narodowość polska lat 1795-1945 w badaniach historycznych*[Polish nation and nationality 1795-1945 in historical research], [in:] Polska - Polacy - mniejszości narodowe, Wrocław 1992

³⁹¹ Usually the last great historic event was considered "the ceiling": for these writing till 1914 it was 1831 uprising; till 1939 the uprising of 1864; in the post-war period the closing date was 1944, and some thought it even dangerously close: see S. Kieniewicz, *Perspektywy rozwojowe historiografii polskiej*[Development perspectives of Polish historiography], [in:] Polityka 1977/39

East. It was long unwelcome issue, suspected of feeding Polish political revisionism with regard to what became soviet western provinces. But since early 1980s, Belorussian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian affairs found willing, however not always skilled and impartial students. In mid-1980s also the Jewish issue was placed in the forefront. Handicapped minorities research might now take advantage of discussion with German, Lithuanian, Belorussian, Jewish or Ukrainian historiographies. By far, German and Jewish issues seem in the best position: there is more disagreement than common stance between Polish historians and their colleagues from the East. So far, research on minorities produced two full-scale monographs devoted to Lithuanians and Tartars in the interwar Poland. Both of them, however, were written by members of these minorities. It is not unlikely that synthesis of interwar Jewish history in Poland will follow in not very distant future.

Works of J. Chlebowczyk constitute the unique attempt to develop out of historical research the model scheme of East European nation-building. Based of detailed analysis first of the small multinational region of Austrian Silesia and then of Austro-Hungarian Empire, the proposal seems to be comparable to works of M. Hroch. Perfected in many detailed problems, especially situation on ethnic borderlands, Chlebowczyk's opus, however not to be continued, looks like cohesive and exhaustive analysis. Other models proposed in Poland emerged rather from political sciences and were only applied to historic process. Some of their flaws became evident in course of the last 4 years.

The transformations occurring in Poland at the moment might prove of ambiguous value for historical research on national question. On the one hand, disappearing official patronage could facilitate entering new discussions and adopting new methods. New circles are likely to take up new issues, and the process is already on³⁹². On the other hand, the of historical science faces quite contemporary problems and is already struggling. Besides, old schemes might be replaced by the other, eagerly resurfacing in political life. The popular image of history as adopted beyond scientific institutions and publications lives its own life, and it is always subject to many circumstances. As an illustration might serve the text-book deling with the interwar Polish history, recently written and officially adopted for instruction in secondary schools. Despite growing interest in minorities, the handbook claims that their number amounted to 8 million, while the floor accepted in science is 9 million. It features the

³⁹² As the example might serve some new periodicals: *Borussia*, which traces the Ostpreußen heritage after 1945, *Zustriczi*, genuine Ukrainian initiative for research in their past, or *Lituania* and *Przegląd Kresowy*, designed to fill the gap in literature on the Polish presence in the East

fictitious nation of "Czechoslovakians", equals Belorussians with Orthodoxes and Germans with Protestants, presents Lwów/Lviv 1918 riot as the combat against Jewish Ukrainians' allies and considers Jewish persecutions "alleged". Multinational character of the interwar Polish state is attributed to migrations and purposeful policy of partitioning powers, while national differentiation processes that occurred since mid-19th century are neglected. It is not at all certain what impact the responses to concepts in the like might have³⁹³.

³⁹³ J. Tomaszewski, *Niepełna prawda* [Incomplete truth], [in:] *Polityka* 36(5/09/1992)



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