

## Between Scepticism and Opposition. Cultural – Political Conditions of Varied Perceptions of the Jagiellonian Idea in Ukraine and Russia



WAWRZYNIEC KONARSKI\*

The necessity to return to the debates around the potential revitalisation of the Jagiellonian Idea, as emphasised by Poland's current right-wing government and the circles of public opinion supporting it, has not found either wider or positive interest among Ukrainian opinion-formers. Its positive perception certainly hinders the historical legacy of the relationship of the Ukrainian elite towards this as expressed through the complicated and critically considered role of the First and Second Polish Republics. The difficult nature of the historical relations between Ukraine and Russia constitutes here an additional factor ossifying such scepticism among Ukrainians. It is more paradoxical that the nature of these relations is the primacy of the argument of force which is viewed, above all, as the policies of the Russian Tsars and, subsequently, the Soviet Union. In turn, the Jagiellonian Idea is considered to be, although often in an exaggerated manner, as a force of argument. Indeed, it is thus difficult to deny this, looking at the co-participation of Lithuania and the Czech and Hungarian kingdoms in the Jagiellonian Idea coming into being. However, it already seems to be completely different if one looks at the location within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the progenitors of present-day Ukrainians, or Zaporozhian Cossacks. This constitutes the historical basis of the scepticism of Ukrainians towards the various mutations of the Jagiellonian Idea.

---

\*Vistula University, Warsaw; e-mail: w\_konarski@op.pl.

In turn, for Russia similar ideas are unacceptable due to the conviction of a threat from their side towards its geopolitical influence in the region, believed by the Russian political elite to be conditions of state security. The imperial tradition of the presence of Russia in Central and Eastern Europe, juxtaposed with rhetoric of *its encirclement by the West* precludes any support whatsoever of this country for the Jagiellonian Idea. This aspect will be developed further in the second part of this article.

From a historical perspective, ideas of the closer cooperation of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe have a foundation in two particular spheres, namely political and cultural. Although both fields are important, the significance of each of them as a separate condition for the revitalization of such a concept may be doubted. The crystallization of such cooperation within the field of history is, in fact, the Jagiellonian Idea, or also its variants which, through such an assumption, one may give the working title of Jagiellonian ideas. A return to the concept of *Intermarium* or the *Three Seas Initiative*, as endorsed by the current President of Poland and, at the same time, coming from the governing right-wing camp have become part of this canon of thought.<sup>1</sup> While a significant popularization of the Jagiellonian Idea occurred during the Inter-War period, this was not an original concept of Józef Piłsudski, although he did make attempts to give it a concrete shape at the turn of the second and third decades of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> The idea of creating an alliance of countries lying within the triangle created by the Baltic, Black and Adriatic Seas was a twentieth-century continuation of the past Jagiellonian concept at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The prestige of the dynasty founded by King Władysław Jagiełło, whose members occupied the thrones of four Central and Eastern European countries, was supposed to aid in the creation of a strong geopolitical pillar in this part of the European

---

<sup>1</sup> From: M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej Polski w latach 1992–2015*, Katowice 2016, pp. 403–404; A. Leszczyński, 'Szczerki: «Trójmorze to napęd Europy»'. Wraca idea Trójmorza i Międzymorza, fantazjao polskim mocarstwie', *Oko.Press*, 20 June 2017, at <https://oko.press/szczerki-trojmorze-naped-europy-wraca-idea-trojmorza-miedzymorza-fantazja-o-polskim-mocarstwie/>, 10 July 2017.

<sup>2</sup> From: P. Cieplucha, 'Prometeizm i koncepcja międzymorza w praktyce polityczno-prawnej oraz dyplomacji II RP', *Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne*, Vol. 93 (2014), pp. 39–40 and passim; M. Mróz, 'Między Polską piastowską a jagiellońską. Kontrowersje wokół kierunków realizacji polskiej polityki zagranicznej po akcesji do Unii Europejskiej', *Dyplomacja i Bezpieczeństwo*, no. 1 (2013), p. 17.

continent. During the period following the Second World War, the Jagiellonian Idea was supported and popularized by the circle around Jerzy Giedroyc and *Kultura*, the Parisian journal which he edited. This circle became a forum of positive thinking regarding the Jagiellonian Idea, one which was meant to be a panacea for the historically passed-down phobias and prejudice between Poles on the one hand, and Ukrainians and Lithuanians on the other.<sup>3</sup>

The current concept of *Intermarium*, while not determined solely by culture or economics, is decidedly (geo)political. Indeed, it has two aims. The first and officially described of these is the strategic strengthening of the ranks of the Central and Eastern European region in the categories of political cooperation, while this should also result from the closeness of cultural and economic ties, thus becoming an inter-region entity within the European Union.<sup>4</sup> Although one not openly emphasised, the second aim, however, remains the creation of a geopolitically conditioned counter-balance regarding the policies being implemented by the Russian Federation whose aim is meant to be the reconstruction of a territorial space and a strategic position close to that of once occupied by the Soviet Union. This second alleged aim automatically gives rise to opposition from Russia regarding any kind of ideas concerning regional integration, particularly if Poland is leading the move. However, as it has been noticed, it is difficult to observe enthusiasm regarding the concept of *Intermarium* from other countries in the region, including Ukraine, it being the primary subject of interest of the author in writing these words.

### **The main fields of Ukrainian scepticism towards the Jagiellonian Idea**

Due to their popularity, Polish ideas regarding regional integration do not have for the Ukrainian political elite a comparable prestige with those actions which are meant to aid in the strengthening of Ukraine's fledgling statehood. It is difficult to deny that both of these strands of action seem, in fact, to be impossible to reconcile as concepts appearing

---

<sup>3</sup> From: J. Giedroyc, *Autobiografia na cztery ręce*, K. Pomian (ed.), Warszawa 1994; R. Habielski, *Dokąd nam iść wypada? Jerzy Giedroyc. Od 'Buntu Młodych' do 'Kultury'*, Warszawa 2006.

<sup>4</sup> On the subject of the concept of an inter-region see: M. Tripković, 'Multiculturalism, regionalization and integration', in: Ž. Lazar (ed.), *Vojvodina amidst Multiculturalism and Regionalization*, Novi Sad 2007, p. 19, *passim*.

in parallel. Increasing the significance of the Ukrainian state in the eyes of the Ukrainians themselves is meant to serve concrete steps of an internal and external character taken by governments in Kiev, especially during the last decade. These also concern the invocation of events and important figures – according to the Ukrainian elite (of which there will be more discussion later) – for the shaping modern Ukrainian history and the strengthening of Ukraine as an important subject of international relations. The prestige of such actions has been dramatically intensified by events in which the government in Kiev lost control of the Crimea in 2014 and the war in the Donbas region. From an ideological perspective, the above-mentioned internal steps shows the revitalization of the traditions which are integral to Ukrainian nationalism from within, and connected to the intellectual works of Dmytro Doncow.<sup>5</sup> It is important here to connect this to the profile and activities of the current represented by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and those within it, especially the faction identified with Stepan Bandera at its head and the circle of his supporters. The popularity of the idea of an independent, clean Ukrainian state, from an ethno-cultural point of view, has a multi-generational character and was visible throughout the entire twentieth century. It has remained in opposition to the principles of the Jagiellonian Idea in an obvious manner. However, as the events of this particular century have shown, the idea of such a Ukrainian state stubbornly propagated has turned out to be based on the flawed calculations of its apologists. This is clearly shown by the first three attempts to create an independent Ukrainian state. Indeed, at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries a new literary-ethnological trend appeared known as ‘Ukrainophilism’, for short. Soon this began to transform itself into a political movement formulating a demand for an ethnic Ukrainian state. The first two attempts at creating such a state were made towards the end of the First World War and the beginning of the post-war time during the period 1917–1920. This were, respectively, the People’s Republic of Ukraine and the People’s

---

<sup>5</sup> From: W. Roszkowski (ed.), *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia XX wieku. Słownik biograficzny. Tom sygnałny*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 38–40; W. Poliszczuk, 'Pojęcie integralnego nacjonalizmu ukraińskiego', in: B. Grott (ed.), *Polacy i Ukraińcy dawniej i dziś*, Kraków 2002, pp. 68–74.

Republic of Western Ukraine, the second of which only occupied a part of the region of Eastern Małopolska.<sup>6</sup> According to the Polish émigré historian, Stanisław Skrzypek, the fiasco of both these attempts was due to causes termed, as above, internal and external. The latter were, therefore: *the decidedly hostile position of Russia towards the concept of a Ukrainian state in general and the firm attitude of Poland towards the formation of so-called Western Ukraine, as well as the complete lack of support for the idea of the independence of Ukraine from the victorious Western Powers.* The main internal cause was seen, in turn, as *a lack of preparing the Ukrainians themselves to govern a state, as well as the low level of national consciousness among the masses.*<sup>7</sup> During this period, Ukraine underwent an extraordinarily cruel and gruelling civil war, one both ideologically and ethnically motivated. The presence of deep internal divisions at that time prevented the reaching of a long-lasting agreement between the two factions of this divided nation. The first was comprised of Ukrainians from western Ukraine (meaning eastern Galicia) known for adhering to an exclusivist ethnic nationalism. The second, however, was made up of those who came from Transnistrian Ukraine, stretching around Kiev and the eastern region in general, which was considered to be open to Russian influence. Therefore, the division of the people of Ukraine into these two factions had already become a fact at that time and were delineated by the merging of three factors, namely: language, territory and religion, factors which, up to the present day, have constituted a fundamental obstacle in the shaping of a common ethnic Ukrainian identity.

The next attempt at founding a Ukrainian state which occurred shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Third Reich in June 1941 confirmed already-existing intra-Ukrainian antagonisms. Founded in Lvov on 30 June, the Ukrainian government led by Yaroslav Stetsko surprised and gave rise to irritation among the Germans themselves. Moreover, this declaration did not gain the support of Ukrainians living in the territory of the then Soviet Ukraine. This government existed – nominally, at best – for a mere eleven days while its members were subsequently arrested

---

<sup>6</sup> W.A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy*, Wrocław 1990, p. 351 onwards, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Both quotations from S. Skrzypek, *Sprawa ukraińska*, Londyn 1953, pp. 5–6.

by the Germans.<sup>8</sup> The previously mentioned Skrzypek commented on this as follows: *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), as OUN publications brought out after the war attest, was unable to build itself up on the lands east of the Riga frontier* [following the Polish-Soviet Treaty of Riga of 1921, note by W. K].<sup>9</sup> The same author states in summary that *the Germans ... not only did not help Ukrainians in fulfilling their independence goals but the efforts made in this regard by the Ukrainians themselves foiled them by force...*<sup>10</sup>

In visiting Ukraine during the last fifteen years, I often received the impression that its gaining of independence in 1991 had surprised its own inhabitants. On the basis observing the moment of its occurrence itself, a picture has emerged of a state founded by accident, so to speak. It is also typical that there often remains in many conversations which I conducted on numerous occasions with Ukrainian academics and ordinary citizens during this time, a longing for the social security and labour market stability of the Soviet Era. The juxtaposition of an independent Ukraine with the times when it had been part of the USSR show what great prestige it had enjoyed in this state, occupying second position after Russia regarding economic potential.<sup>11</sup> Soviet Ukraine was simply strategically created as the economic foundation of this state due to its industrial, energy and agricultural resources.

The statement regarding the accidental foundation of Ukraine is not meant to lessen the standing of this country, only to show the difficulties in reconstruct a uniform national identity. As an independent entity *de jure*, Ukraine, from the beginning, had a problem in fulfilling the requirement of being the nation state regarding the role of language. It is important to remember that a basic characteristic of such a state is a requirement that the vast majority of its citizens have an awareness

---

<sup>8</sup> From E. Prus, *Herosi spod znaku tryzuba. Konowalec, Bandera, Szuchewycz*, Warszawa 1985, p. 180 and onwards, and idem, *Kolaboracja ukraińskich nacjonalistów (legalne formacje zbrojne OUN)*, in: B. Grott (ed.), *Polacy i Ukraińcy...*, pp. 106–107; W.A. Serczyk, *Historia...*, p. 437.

<sup>9</sup> S. Skrzypek, *Sprawa ukraińska...*, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>11</sup> 'Ukraina. Gospodarka', in: *Encyklopedia PWN*, at <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Ukraina-Gospodarka;4575605.html#prettyPhoto>, 10 July 2017.

of a common national identity and belong to the same culture.<sup>12</sup> According to Ernest Gellner, the characteristic core of culture, ... *its touchstone (sufficient if not essential)*, is language.<sup>13</sup> This assumption has played a dysfunctional role in the period in which an independent Ukraine has existed. It is difficult to deny that the position of Ukrainian as the only official language has been subjected to contention from its citizens who speak Russian on a daily basis.<sup>14</sup> This has brought about two effects. Firstly, the process of forming a uniform Ukrainian identity has found itself in a state of stagnation, a phenomenon emphasised by the poet, writer and bard, Yurii Andrukhovych in an interview in *Rzeczpospolita* in October 2013.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, however, it stimulated the activation of nationalist circles interested in bestowing upon Ukraine a state of an exclusively ethnic character. This, in turn, gave rise to scepticism among certain opinion-forming circles in neighbouring countries, such as among Polish-Ukrainian borderland organisations in Poland regarding the possibility of cooperation with Ukraine over the divisions resulting from the terrible experiences of history.<sup>16</sup> All of this does not favour the creation of an effective discussion between the circles of opinion-formers in both countries which could encourage the revitalization of the Jagiellonian Idea.

For the Ukrainians themselves a priority remains the continual referring to figures always present in the history of Ukraine as a foundation on which their identity is built. Although this process is, in a way, understandable, the controversial acceptance of these heroes for close neighbours, hinders, in turn, reconciliation between Poles and Ukrainians, along with reducing interest in the ideas of regional cooperation among Ukrainians. I have my own experience in this regard. In March 2013

---

<sup>12</sup> N. Davies, *Europe. A History*, Oxford–New York 1996, pp. 812–813.

<sup>13</sup> E. Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, transl. T. Hołówka, A. Grzybek, introduction by J. Breuilly, Warszawa 1991, p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> For a wider discussion on the role of language in Ukraine see: R. Szul, *Język – naród – państwo. Język jako zjawisko polityczne*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 115–117.

<sup>15</sup> *Rzeczpospolita*, 12–13 October 2013.

<sup>16</sup> From: J. Engelgard, 'Stracone złudzenia', *Mysł Polska*, no. 4 (2008) 27 January, at Federacja Organizacji Kresowych, <http://www.fok.waw.pl/ukraina/ukraiX38.html>, 12 July 2017; W. Listowski, 'Powstał Patriotyczny Związek Organizacji Kresowych i Kombatanckich', *Polski portal o geopolityce*, 4 October 2014, at <http://geopolityka.net/powstal-patriotyczny-zwiazek-organizacji-kresowych-i-kombatanckich/>, 12 July 2017.

I took part in a conference organised by the I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies in Kiev, concerning the parliamentary elections held in Ukraine a year previously. During the event, I asked about the causes of the visible cult of Bohdan Chmielnicki there, who in finally breaking away from the Polish-Lithuanian nobility state initiated the process of the Russian Tsars gaining control over Ukraine. My remark, however, did not meet with any interest from the participants. In September 2014, during a lecture at the Vasyl Stefanyk Pricarpathian National University in Ivano-Frankivsk, (formerly Stanisławów), I cast into doubt the point of referring to Stepan Bandera as a national hero unifying the whole of Ukraine. As a counter-balance I suggested Mykhailo Hrushevsky,<sup>17</sup> Symon Petliura,<sup>18</sup> and even Ivan Franko.<sup>19</sup> This received a response of silence from the students while the academics then changed the subject of discussion. Against this backdrop, it portended badly for the future when, in April 2015, the Ukrainian Supreme Council proclaimed a ban on critically assessing integral Ukrainian nationalism, including Bandera himself and other representatives of this political current. Since then, the free conducting of debate regarding such issues by the opinion-forming circles there has become even more difficult.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the interest of Ukrainians themselves in the debate about their participation of their country in the Jagiellonian Idea has been pushed even further into the background.

Here, one must still remember the figure of the former President of Ukraine, Victor Yushenko. To the surprise of the Polish politicians who had supported him, he turned out to be unable to face the challenges that awaited him following his election in 2004. Particularly controversial was his decision in January 2010 regarding the proclamation of Stepan Bandera

---

<sup>17</sup> From: E. Prus, 'Mychajło Hruszewski', [Fragments from:] idem, *Hulajpole – burzliwe dzieje kresów ukraińskich*, Wrocław 2003, *Historia Przemyśl*, at <http://www2.kki.pl/pioint/przemysl/dzieje/rus/hruszewski.html>, 14 July 2017; A. Adamska, 'Mychajło Hruszewski – rola w historii, znaczenie dla współczesności', *Biuro Prasowe UMCS*, 21 April 2016, at <http://www.umcs.pl/pl/informacje-prasowe,4623,mychajlo-hruszewski-rola-w-historii-znaczenie-dla-wspolczesnosci,34492.chtm>, 14 July 2017.

<sup>18</sup> W. Roszkowski (ed.), *Europa...*, pp. 118–120.

<sup>19</sup> J. Hrycak, *Prorok we własnym kraju. Iwan Franko i jego Ukraina (1856–1886)*, Warszawa, 2010.

<sup>20</sup> 'Ukraińcy zabraniają krytykować m.in. UPA i OUN', *Wprost*, 9 April 2015, at <https://www.wprost.pl/501834/Ukraincy-zabraniaja-krytykowac-min-UPA-i-OUN>, 10 July 2017.



as a national hero of Ukraine.<sup>21</sup> This marked a retreat from the tendency encouraging public participation, based on ethnic inclusivity, meaning away from that which could unite Ukrainians beyond their divisions. At the same time, Yuschenko's political credibility declined, on the one hand, in verbally supporting the pro-European aspirations of Ukraine while, on the other, carrying out a defence of integral nationalism. This politician, in seeking a way to ensure his own re-election, supported in this way the divisions among Ukrainians from the east and west of the country. The idea of Bandera as a hero meant to rebuild Ukrainian identity turned out to be ill-considered and ineffective, not only in the internal Ukrainian context.<sup>22</sup> It became, however, a public relations failure for the country in the international arena. Moreover, this moment showed what a distant place the issue of regional integration, though one embodied by the Jagiellonian Idea, occupies in Ukraine's internal discourse.

It is worth noticing here that Ukraine's interest in the broad concept of the western hemisphere was negligible for years, a fact which was recently confirmed by Ryszard Schnepf, the former Polish ambassador to the United States, in an interview for *Onet.pl*.<sup>23</sup> Thus, Polish politicians were faced with a dilemma during the presidency of Victor Yuschenko. On the one hand, in helping Yuschenko and his supporters, they could not back away from making him aware of the potential negative consequences of such decisions. This turned out, however, to be beyond their reach. This president's decision itself was a characteristic piece of evidence of the dislike important Ukrainian politicians have towards the concept of regional cooperation. Stepan Bandera, beyond a shadow of a doubt, may not serve as a masthead for such cooperation.

On the other hand, it may be that Poland failed in its process of influencing the education of numerous groups of the Ukrainian youth intelligentsia, groups predisposed to openness and pro-European attitudes but also inclined, in one way, to seek out historic links with Europe and Poland and, in another, to engender criticism of its own past.

---

<sup>21</sup> 'Bandera bohaterem Ukrainy. «To policzek dla Polaków»', *TVN24.pl*, 22 January 2010, at <http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiata,2/bandera-bohaterem-ukrainy-to-nbsp-policzek-dla-polakow,122774.html>, 14 July 2017.

<sup>22</sup> See: E. Prus, *Herosi...*, pp. 114–232, *passim*; Y. Svatko, *Misiya Bandery*, Kiev 2008.

<sup>23</sup> R. Schnepf in: J. Kuźniar, 'Onet Rano', *Onet.pl*, 7 November 2016, at <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/onet-rano-program-jaroslaw-a-kuzniara/p8j4rm>, 10 July 2017.

Financial limits are not a convincing explanation in this case – in the end, the friendship of the Ukrainian state became included in understanding Polish reasons of state. Almost fourteen years since the election of Yushenko have been wasted from the perspective of the social perception in Poland. Although I often have spoken and written about this in various academic and media forums, it has not caused deeper or self-correcting reflection among Polish politicians.<sup>24</sup> A large section of them still consider themselves as friendly towards Ukraine and show it both to its government, as well as opposition groups, by providing well-remunerated advisory services.<sup>25</sup> What is worse, unfortunately, is their possession of a minimal level of knowledge regarding Ukraine, either at a provincial or local level, and primarily regarding the fact that every group governing Ukraine from the moment of its foundation has taken care of its own influence, privileges and material status, above all. Indeed, it is the stakeholders of every government in Kiev, along with its various parts, thus not only President Victor Yanukovich, who have shown such a lack of self-awareness with regard to the usage of state resources of state resources and the maximising of their own comfort. They have turned out to be true rentiers of politics, a manner in which I have often described them.<sup>26</sup> Naturally, although they were involved in this to different degrees, the limits of political decency were exceeded here by none other than Victor Yanukovich.

Following years of direct contact and conversations with hundreds of Ukrainians, I have no doubt that Ukraine was founded and functions as a oligarchical and plutocratic state. This is a systematic and mental issue for both the government and society of Ukraine, along with the

---

<sup>24</sup> W. Konarski, 'Aktualne wydarzenia w kraju i na świecie komentuje prof. Wawrzyniec Konarski', *PolskieRadio.pl. PolskieRadio24*, 14 January 2014, at <http://www.polskieradio.pl/130/2412/Artykul/1024137>, Aktualne-wydarzenia-w-kraju-i-na-swiecie-komentuje-prof-Wawrzyniec-Konarski, 14 July 2017; W. Konarski, R. Walenciak 'Wołyń – przemilczane ludobójstwo', *Przegląd*, 4–10 July 2016.

<sup>25</sup> 'Sławomir Nowak szefem Państwowej Agencji Dróg Ukrainy', *Onet.pl*, 19 October 2016, at <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/slawomir-nowak-szefem-panstwowej-agencji-drog-ukrainy/rmt8ly>, 15 July 2017.

<sup>26</sup> From: W. Konarski, 'Political Class and Its Delegitimation in the System of Power at the Example of Poland and Ukraine', in: *Parlaments'ki wybory 2012 roku v Ukraini. Naukovi doslidzhennya*, Kiev 2013, pp. 26–27; idem, 'Polityka i politycy w Polsce – analiza krytyczna', in: A. Rothert, A. Wierzychowska (ed.), *Rządzenie w przestrzeni ponadnarodowej*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 263–265; *Studia Politologiczne*, Vol. 27.

resulting waste of financial aid provided by the EU to this country.<sup>27</sup> From the perspective of the actions of the government in Kiev, this country does not seem interested in regional cooperation which would demand self-correction regarding modern history. However, it seems socially acceptable for Ukraine to strengthen its cooperation with Germany.<sup>28</sup>

Although Ukrainian public opinion is divided concerning historical issues, it is reluctant to challenge the growing cult of Bandera. One of the consequences of the so-called second Majdan protest (2013) became the appearance of organisations and leaders expressing integral nationalism, for example *Right Sector* and those of that ilk, Dmytro Yarosh and Andriy Tarasenko.<sup>29</sup> Although this is not a surprise in light of the tradition of force practised in Ukrainian politics, it may become a potential premise for its revitalisation. This is even more so considering that exclusivist ethnic Ukrainian nationalism has its own traditions, above all strongly based on the history and mentality of the region of western Ukraine. Ukrainians from the west of the country are susceptible to ideology which is difficult to recognise as not only close to liberal values, but actually with the nationalism of Catalan, Scottish or Welsh parties, thus of an inclusive ethnic character. The acceptance of nationalist rhetoric, which has been presented in recent years by Oleh Tyahnybok and his *Svoboda* party, has turned out to be a simplified explanation Ukrainian national insecurities, along with those concerning limited territorial influence.<sup>30</sup> For years, Ukrainian integral nationalism possessed a weak influence over Ukrainian territory on the left bank of the Dnieper, as well as in the Crimea, both during the Soviet Era and in the period of Ukrainian independence, not forgetting Bukovina which has cultivated its own multi-cultural tradition. What seems to be most important at present is that within the intra-Ukrainian political discourse it is difficult to

---

<sup>27</sup> M. Matzke, 'Fiasko unijnej pomocy dla Ukrainy?', *Onet.pl*, 10 December 2016, at <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/pomoc-ue-dla-ukrainy-unia-stawia-warunki/etwvzmx>, 14 July 2017.

<sup>28</sup> M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej...*, p. 403.

<sup>29</sup> 'Ukraina. Prawy sektor', *TVN24*, 2015, at <http://www.tvn24.pl/ukraina-prawy-sektor,3939,t>, 14 July 2017.

<sup>30</sup> See: *Ukrainska Bohatopartiynist': politychni partii, vyborchi bloky, lidery (kinyets 1980–pochatok 2012)*, Kiev 2012, pp. 166–170 and pp. 227–239; D. Stern, 'Svoboda: The rise of Ukraine's ultra-nationalists', *BBC.com*, 26 December 2012, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20824693>, 14 July 2017.

observe serious voices concerning support for any kind of modern mutation of the Jagiellonian Idea. At the same time, it is an especially important challenge for Polish advocates of this idea to seek out allies actually in Ukraine.

### **Intra-Russian conditions for opposing the Jagiellonian Idea**

Russia treats the promotion of ideas of regional integration by Poland, evoking the Jagiellonian Idea, as having specific and predictable consequences. I would term its attitude to these as *unambiguous opposition of a non-verbal character*, which is only a superficially illogical term. Although it practically ignores ideas of this kind at a rhetorical level and displays little emotion, it is this, in fact, which signifies its total opposition in this regard. As I have already mentioned, these are for Russia a territorially clarifying form of the policy of its encirclement by the USA and others, with the West, in the form of accepting former Eastern Bloc countries into NATO or offering them promises regarding their acceptance of this military alliance.<sup>31</sup> Opposition towards this policy has resulted in Russia reaching for the instruments of force, a phenomenon which Georgia experienced in 2008 and Ukraine since 2014, constituting the typical buffer state between the interests of the West and Russia. The propaganda arguments maintained by Russia with the aim of explaining its actions have comprised its criticism of those behind the removal of President Victor Yanukovych which not only Moscow termed as 'fascists'.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, Russian president, Vladimir Putin, and his circle employed the use of the instruments of force in order to divert the attention of domestic public opinion from the internal weaknesses of Russia as a state, more of which will be said later. In this way, it became a clear manifestation of the determination of Russian leaders towards restoring its position as a global power. It is harder to find better evidence of Russian opposition towards Polish integrationist ideas and Ukraine's participation in them, in particular.

The origin of complicated Ukrainian-Russian relations stems from the historical subjugation of Kievan Rus, considered by both countries

---

<sup>31</sup> M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej...*, pp. 157, passim.

<sup>32</sup> P.C. Roberts, 'Washington's Arrogance, Hubris, and Evil Have Set the Stage for War', *Institute for Political Economy*, 3 March 2014, at: <http://www.paulcraigroberts.org/2014/03/03/washingtons-arrogance-hubris-evil-set-stage-war/>, 15 July 2017.

as a common legacy for Russians and Ukrainians.<sup>33</sup> To use a metaphorical concept, Ukraine is not only for those governing Russia, but also for many circles of public opinion there, a rebellious younger sister or daughter erroneously demonstrating her different nature. Moreover, an aspect which is particularly emphasized by Russia is that she is being encouraged to do this by those in her external environment. Such concepts may be termed personification – regarding the issue of a common Slavic origin – a political and cultural metaphor for Ukraine. Stimulating this contemporary catalytic converter is the vision of Ukraine promoted by Russia as a state incapable of governance due to an elite which is corrupt and susceptible to extreme views. This does not justify Russia actions regarding ethical matters, but for the supporters of such acts in this country it delivers the appropriate ideological fuel based on crude propaganda premises.

In Ukrainian-Russian relations there has been a long tradition of employing the argument of force. The greatest paradox is, however, that encouragement for such conduct has been given to Russia by the Ukrainians themselves. More precisely speaking, they have behaved as the Zaporozhian Cossacks under the command of Bohdan Chmielnicki. On the one hand, in breaking the ties linking them with the First Polish Republic, they gave up on continuing a difficult relationship with an unwanted country. However, on the other hand, their merging with Russia, the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654 was nominally approved by Russian autocrats thus Cossacks started to loose their political power successively<sup>34</sup>. Finally, the Treaty of Karlovitz in 1699 resulted in the division of Ukraine into a Russian part, located on the left bank of the Dnieper, with the right bank still kept within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Under the terms of the First Polish Partition in 1772, the former Red Ruthenia was joined to Austria, while as a result of the two subsequent partitions in 1793 and 1795, the provinces of Kiev, Bratslav, Podolia and Volhynia were incorporated into Russia.<sup>35</sup> The co-existence of Ukrainians and Russians in one state created new links between them of a character disadvantageous for the former from three aspects,

---

<sup>33</sup> S. Bieleń, *Tożsamość międzynarodowa Federacji Rosyjskiej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 127.

<sup>34</sup> From: L. Podhorodecki, *Sicz zaporoska*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 219–222; W.A. Serczyk, *Historia...*, pp. 133–138.

<sup>35</sup> E.J. Osmańczyk, *Encyklopedia spraw międzynarodowych i ONZ*, Warszawa 1974, p. 939.

namely: political, cultural and economic. As a consequence, during the next three centuries or more, a superior attitude was cultivated among Russians towards Ukrainians. Notions of freedom of the latter were treated as a whim dangerous for the cohesion of the Russian Tsars, and subsequently the USSR. The legacy of this manner of thinking is also visible today and brings out the opposition of the Russian Federation towards any kind of conception of regional cooperation involving Ukraine and the leaving out of Russia.

One may differentiate the following five factors (although not exclusively, naturally) which condition contemporary opposition from the Russian Federation:

- A longing for Russia to restore its imperial position in international relations,
- Its negation of the fact of Ukraine's existence as a separate territorial entity with an identity, including the Ukrainian nation, firstly during the Tsarist period and, subsequently, following the foundation of the Russian Federation,
- Opposition towards the policies of the United States of America, treated by the Russian government, and numerous opinion-forming circles, as a hegemony,
- Distraction of the attention of domestic public opinion from the systemic challenges and internal weaknesses faced by Russia,
- Reaction to the failed, oligarchical and anarchic model of governance as practiced by the Ukrainian political elite as a negative factor with broad repercussions for the security of Russia.

The above-mentioned systemic challenges and internal weaknesses of Russia comprise, on the one hand, a canvas for international criticism of the conduct this country being based on the model of strong and individual leadership. On the other, however, for those governing Russia, they constitute an incentive to practice a policy of force in order to hide, or least reduce the significance of such weaknesses. An internally divided Ukraine has become here the most important of the directions in which Russia conducts such a policy.

Among Russia's above-mentioned challenges and weaknesses, I perceive three main ones. The first which needs pointing out is the weakness of mentality, this being a consequence of Russia's not having had a long-standing tradition of being a democratic state. From an external

perspective, this state is considered to be an expression of the oligarchical model of government in the sphere of politics *per se*, as well as economics. Both these spheres remain in permanent interaction and co-dependency, due to which the conducting of a strategic and financially profitable business without the permission of the government has become practically impossible. A natural co-dependency has appeared: oligarchical leaders involved in politics also manage to gain control of the oligarchically-based economy. As the examples of Mikhail Khordorkovsky, Boris Berezovsky and Vladimir Gusinsky perfectly illustrate, using one's own position in business as an entry point into conducting politics independently does not have a happy ending.<sup>36</sup> The functioning system of links between these previously mentioned spheres does not favour the modernisation of institutions or mentalities on a broad scale. It creates a funnel effect, the result of which is the deepening of differences regarding living standards and access to power. Such a model of governance has all the characteristics of state-oligarchical capitalism which stimulates the alienation of large sections of society. However, due to fears regarding their fate, they do not display their dissatisfaction in an open manner or on a mass scale. Paradoxically, on the other hand, this emerging alienation has not reduced the sense of pride shared by most Russians in their own leaders, which is simply directed at bestowing a cult-like status upon them.<sup>37</sup> This is a trait which is practically alien to Poles who are rather inclined to knock their former political idols from their pedestals, as illustrated by the example of Lech Wałęsa every now and then facing accusations of having been a Communist agent. It is difficult to deny that Ukrainians express themselves in an even more negative manner regarding their political class.<sup>38</sup>

The second challenge facing Russia is of a demographic-territorial nature. With the exception of a small number of academic-industrial centres, Asiatic Russia has still not become a significant beneficiary

---

<sup>36</sup> M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej...*, p. 64.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> In March 2013, a taxi driver taking me to Boryspol airport in Kiev responded to my question about the quality of the Ukrainian political class with intense emotion and hatred saying (I quote from memory): 'They should all be torn to pieces' (*ich wszystkich razarwat' nado*), while especially denouncing here... Victor Yushenko as a politician who had betrayed the hope he had placed in him. During many journeys to Ukraine, I have heard hundreds of opinions, either of a similar tone or marked with a lack of faith in the arrival of better times.

of emerging changes regarding modernisation. Depopulation remains one of the permanent consequences present in Russian territory beyond the Urals. In a purely instrumental and logical sense, this may literally hinder Russia maintaining millions of square kilometres reaching the Pacific Ocean as an integral part of the country. For those governing the Russian Federation, therefore, many decisions of a strategic character are waiting to be taken which would encourage its citizens to take up financially beneficial (and thus not forced) migration to the east.

The third challenge is created by *ethnically based internal conflicts*, or those more broadly *ethno-cultural*. Their growing significance reveals itself from time to time, not only recalling the successive stages of the conflict in Chechnya, but the riots which took place in Moscow in December 2010 and October 2013.<sup>39</sup> The statements and actions of the highest ranks of the government of the Russian Federation show that there is no discussion regarding not taking such events seriously. However, on the other hand, the current level of animosity of an ethnic basis also encourages statements of a provocative character, such as those by the film director, Nikita Mikhalkov, and the philosopher, Aleksandr Dugin. At the turn of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the former declared that in ten years Russia and Ukraine would be one country,<sup>40</sup> while Dugin, in turn, has predicted the collapse of Ukraine as it is, in fact, inhabited by two nations.<sup>41</sup> In formulating and repeating such a hypothesis, Mikhalkov was undoubtedly aware that the intensification of ethnic conflicts in Russia may have underlined the value of his opinion. However, he certainly did this on purpose, invoking intellectual methods of provocation especially towards the Ukrainian intellectual elite. Naturally, both views constitute clear support for those governing Russia.

---

<sup>39</sup> From: K. Chawryło Jarzyńska, 'Zamieszki na tle etnicznym w Moskwie', *Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich im. Marka Karpia*, 16 October 2013, at <https://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2013-10-16/zamieszki-na-tle-etnicznym-w-moskwie>, 23 July 2017; 'Rosji grozi fala etnicznych zamieszek?', *PolskieRadio.pl. Wiadomości*, 14 December 2010, at <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/282114,Rosji-grozi-fala-etnicznych-zamieszek>, 23 July 2017.

<sup>40</sup> 'Nikita Michalkow znowu chce połączenia Ukrainy z Rosją', *PolskieRadio.pl. Wiadomości*, 25 January 2011, at <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/115/Artykul/302801,Nikita-Michalkow-znowu-chce-polaczenia-Ukrainy-z-Rosja>, 23 July 2017.

<sup>41</sup> A. Dugin, 'Rozpad Ukrainy jest nieunikniony', [From *Russia.ru*, 2009], *YouTube.com*, 11 May 2011, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1PPuRIC9fok>, 23 July 2017.



Regarding the mental insecurities found within Ukrainian-Russian ties, a syndrome of deep ambivalence, not to mention a characteristic schizophrenia, is clearly visible. Any kind of correction or denunciation of this relationship system by anyone from outside results in retaliation towards *Daughter Ukraine* from *Mother Russia*, following her prior warnings. What is important is that this factor inclining one towards internal rebellion leads to the conviction that, in practice, it is impossible to stand in defence of a *child* stirred up by itself. Ukraine has become the country most damaged by the rivalry between the European Union and NATO (in fact, the USA), on the one hand, and Russia on the other. Paradoxically, the employment of military force by Russia has inclined some American academics to formulate judgements more critical of the EU and NATO when compared with Russia. John Mearsheimer, a professor at the University of Chicago and the originator of the theory of 'Offensive Realism', currently one of the most opinion-forming political scientists in the world, unambiguously places the blame on the Western hemisphere for the crisis in Ukraine.<sup>42</sup> If Mearsheimer's views are accepted as sound by the administration of President Donald Trump, then one would have to exclude American support for the concept of *Intermarium*. One must also note that examples of such support from the EU have been missing for some time.

Russia has proved both to the world and its own citizens that it does not hesitate to employ actions of a characteristically preventive nature as, by directing it with the aid of military resources, it shows its determination to carry out its own strategic interests, even at the cost of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a neighbouring country. It has been inclined to do so due to by the events surrounding the second Majdan protest, events which it judged on many occasions to be the progression of anarchy in Ukrainian political life. On the one hand, these events led to the unconstitutional removal of the corrupt governments of the *Party of Regions* and, in particular, its primary exponent, President Victor Yanukovich. On the other hand, however, they became the beginning of the end of Russia's tolerance for political instability in the state of Ukraine

---

<sup>42</sup> From: J. Mearsheimer, 'Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault. Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93 (2014), no. 5; idem, 'Why the West – Not Putin – Is Responsible for the Ukraine Crisis. Lecture at the Jagiellonian University'. *YouTube.com*, 12 January 2016, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ZrNhmdHzY4>, 24 July 2017.

but at the cost of the return to power of supporters of NATO and the EU. This precisely constitutes the exemplification of the theory of Offensive Realism, in fact, literally understood and employed by Russia as force. Moreover, this also constitutes clear evidence of the opposition of this country towards all variants of the Jagiellonian Idea promoted by Poland, which is treated as a state hostile to Russia. This comprises, therefore, an enormous challenge for Poland as the initiator of such ideas.

### Summary

It should be observed that President Petro Poroshenko – in a similar way to his predecessors – does not apply his efforts in weakening the structural causes of intra-Ukrainian antagonisms. His position towards regional cooperation, including *Intermarium*, has also not been clearly outlined. In turn, President Vladimir Putin is carrying out his policy of Offensive Realism, not holding back from even attacks of a military nature. Thus, he is directing a policy based on independently outlined and ruthlessly applied interests in Russia's superficially stable (Belarus) and literally unstable (Ukraine) surroundings. Both of these countries constitute the space in which attempts to carry out the Jagiellonian Idea could be made. As a result, Russia could prove to be exclusively antagonistic towards all ideas of a Jagiellonian origin. What is important is that these are not a subject of interest for the EU, which results in Poland being a country stepping out of the ranks with its ideas.

On the basis of the remarks above, one may state that a threat to the current ideas for revitalising the Jagiellonian Idea is the megalomania of a Polish political elite convinced of the regional attractiveness of the ideas it is putting forward.<sup>43</sup> In turn, a threat for the image of Ukraine is the ethno-cultural dogmatism of its elite based on and belief in a strong ethnic state and invoking controversial patrons of this state. The images of both these neighbouring countries hinder constructive discussion between their respective elites regarding potential forms of regional integration. Against the canvas of the facts presented earlier, the Jagiellonian Idea is received by many Ukrainians as an attempt at revitalising a tradition with a cultural and political profile which brings out negative associations.

---

<sup>43</sup> M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej...*, p. 403.

In turn, the awareness of the threats mentioned earlier which face Russia, and those which its elite have managed to generate, are clearly opposed to any kind of mutation of the past Jagiellonian Idea. Russia carries out its policies with a profile of force based on interests meant to serve its interpretation of security. Against this background, the effectiveness of carrying out one's own interests by the state and transnational structures belonging to the Euro-Atlantic sphere, including Poland, seems in doubt. Ukrainian scepticism and Russian opposition should make Polish supporters of *Intermarium*, the Three Seas Initiative etc., take this on board and only then, on this basis, create a projection of their further actions.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 'Bandera bohaterem Ukrainy. «To policzek dla Polaków»'. *TVN24.pl*, 22 January 2010. At <http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiate,2/bandera-bohaterem-ukrainy-to-nbsp-policzek-dla-polakow,122774.html>, 14 July 2017.
- 'Nikita Michalkow znowu chce połączenia Ukrainy z Rosją'. *PolskieRadio.pl. Wiadomości*, 25 January 2011. At <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/115/Artykul/302801,Nikita-Michalkow-znowu-chce-polaczenia-Ukrainy-z-Rosja>, 23 July 2017.
- 'Rosji grozi fala etnicznych zamieszek?'. *PolskieRadio.pl. Wiadomości*, 14 December 2010. At <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/282114,Rosji-grozi-fala-etnicznych-zamieszek>, 23 July 2017.
- 'Sławomir Nowak szefem Państwowej Agencji Dróg Ukrainy'. *Onet.pl*, 19 October 2016. At <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/slawomir-nowak-szefem-panstwowej-agencji-drog-ukrainy/rmt8ly>, 15 July 2017.
- 'Ukraina. Gospodarka'. *Encyklopedia PWN*. At <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Ukraina-Gospodarka;4575605.html#prettyPhoto>, 30 July 2017.
- 'Ukraina. Prawy sektor'. *TVN24.pl*, 2015. At <http://www.tvn24.pl/ukraina-prawy-sektor,3939,t>, 14 July 2017.
- 'Ukraińcy zabraniają krytykować m.in. UPA i OUN'. *Wprost*. 9 April 2015. At <https://www.wprost.pl/501834/Ukrajnicy-zabraniaja-krytykowac-min-UPA-i-OUN>, 10 July 2017.
- Adamska Aneta. 'Mychajło Hruszewski – rola w historii, znaczenie dla współczesności'. *Biuro Prasowe UMCS*. 21 April 2016. At <http://www.umcs.pl/pl/informacje-prasowe,4623,mychajlo-hruszewski-rola-w-historii-znaczenie-dla-wspolczesnosci,34492.chtm>, 14 July 2017.
- Andruchowycz Jurij, *Rzeczpospolita*, 12–13 October 2013.
- Bieleń Stanisław. *Tożsamość międzynarodowa Federacji Rosyjskiej*. Warszawa 2006.
- Chawryło Jarzyńska Katarzyna. 'Zamieszki na tle etnicznym w Moskwie'. *Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich im. Marka Karpia*. 16 October 2013. At <https://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2013-10-16/zamieszki-na-tle-etnicznym-w-moskwie>, 23 July 2017.
- Cieplucha Piotr. 'Prometeizm i koncepcja międzymorza w praktyce polityczno-prawnej oraz dyplomacji II RP'. *Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne*. vol. 93 (2014).
- Davies Norman. *Europe. A History*. Oxford–New York 1996.
- Dugin Aleksandr. 'Rozpad Ukrainy jest nieunikniony'. [From *Russia.ru*, 2009]. *YouTube.com*, 11 May 2011. At <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1PPuRIC9fok>, 23 July 2017.
- Engelgard Jan. 'Stracone złudzenia'. *Mysł Polska*, no. 4 (2008) 27 January. At Federacja Organizacji Kresowych, <http://www.fok.waw.pl/ukraina/ukraiX38.html>, 12 July 2017.
- Gellner Ernest. *Narody i nacjonalizm*. Transl. Teresa Hołówka, Agnieszka Grzybek, introduction by John Breuilly. Warszawa 1991.
- Giedroyc Jerzy. *Autobiografia na cztery ręce*. Krzysztof Pomian (ed.). Warszawa 1994.
- Habielski Rafał. *Dokąd nam iść wypada? Jerzy Giedroyc. Od 'Buntu Młodych' do 'Kultury'*. Warszawa 2006.
- Hrycak Jarosław. *Prorok we własnym kraju. Iwan Franko i jego Ukraina (1856–1886)*. Transl. Anna Korzeniowska-Bihun, Anna Wylegała. Warszawa 2010.
- Konarski Wawrzyniec, Robert Walenciak. 'Wołyń – przemilczane ludobójstwo'. *Przegląd*, 4–10 July 2016.

- Konarski Wawrzyniec. 'Aktualne wydarzenia w kraju i na świecie komentuje prof. Wawrzyniec Konarski'. *PolskieRadio.pl. PolskieRadio24*, 14 January 2014. At: <http://www.polskieradio.pl/130/2412/Artykul/1024137,Aktualne-wydarzenia-w-kraju-i-na-swiecie-komentuje-prof-Wawrzyniec-Konarski,14-July-2017>.
- Konarski Wawrzyniec. 'Political Class and Its Delegitimation in the System of Power at the Example of Poland and Ukraine'. In: *Parlaments'ki vybory 2012 roku v Ukraini. Naukovi doslidzhennya*. Kiev 2013.
- Konarski Wawrzyniec. 'Polityka i politycy w Polsce – analiza krytyczna'. In: Agnieszka Rothert, Anna Wierchowska (ed.). *Rządzenie w przestrzeni ponadnarodowej*. Warszawa 2013. *Studia Politologiczne*, vol. 27.
- Kowalczyk Adam. 'Polityka RP wobec konfliktu na Ukrainie – szanse i wyzwania'. *FAE Policy Paper*, vol. 20 (2014).
- Leszczyński Adam. 'Szczerski: «Trójmorze to napęd Europy». Wraca idea Trójmorza i Międzymorza, fantazja o polskim mocarstwie'. *Oko.Press*. 20 June 2017. At: <https://oko.press/szczerski-trojmorze-naped-europy-wraca-idea-trojmorza-miedzymorza-fantazja-o-polskim-mocarstwie/>, 10 July 2017.
- Listowski Witold. 'Powstał Patriotyczny Związek Organizacji Kresowych i Kombatantkich'. *Polski portal o geopolityce*, 4 October 2014. At: <http://geopolityka.net/powstal-patriotyczny-zwiazek-organizacji-kresowych-i-kombatantkich/>, 30 July 2017.
- Matzke Małgorzata. 'Fiasko unijnej pomocy dla Ukrainy?'. *Onet.pl*, 10 December 2016. At: <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/pomoc-ue-dla-ukrainy-unia-stawia-warunki/etwvzmx,14-July-2017>.
- Mearsheimer John. 'Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault. The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin'. *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 93 (2014) no. 5.
- Mearsheimer John. 'Why the West – Not Putin – Is Responsible for the Ukraine Crisis. Lecture at the Jagiellonian University'. *YouTube.com*, 12 January 2016. At: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ZrNhmdHzY4>, 24 July 2017.
- Mróz Maciej. 'Między Polską piastowską a jagiellońską. Kontrowersje wokół kierunków realizacji polskiej polityki zagranicznej po akcesji do Unii Europejskiej'. *Dyplomacja i Bezpieczeństwo*. vol. 1 (2013).
- Osmańczyk Edmund Jan. *Encyklopedia spraw międzynarodowych i ONZ*. Warszawa 1974.
- Podhorodecki Leszek. *Sicz zaporoska*. Warszawa 1970.
- Poliszczyk Wiktor. *Pojęcie integralnego nacjonalizmu ukraińskiego*. In: Bogumił Grott (ed.). *Polacy i Ukraińcy dawniej i dziś*. Kraków 2002.
- Prus Edward. 'Kolaboracja ukraińskich nacjonalistów (legalne formacje zbrojne OUN)'. In: Bogumił Grott (ed.). *Polacy i Ukraińcy dawniej i dziś*. Kraków 2002.
- Prus Edward. 'Mychajło Hruszewski'. [Fragments from:] idem, *Hulajpole – burzliwe dzieje kresów ukraińskich*, Wrocław 2003. *Historia Przemysł*. At: <http://www2.kki.pl/pioint/przemysl/dzieje/rus/hruszewski.html>, 14 July 2017.
- Prus Edward. *Herosi spod znaku tryzuba. Konowalec, Bandera, Szuchewycz*. Warszawa 1985.
- Prus Edward. *Kolaboracja ukraińskich nacjonalistów (legalne formacje zbrojne OUN)*. In: Bogumił Grott (ed.). *Polacy i Ukraińcy dawniej i dziś*. Kraków 2002.

- Roberts Paul Craig. 'Washington's Arrogance, Hubris, and Evil Have Set the Stage for War'. *Institute for Political Economy*, 3 March 2014. At: <http://www.paulcraigroberts.org/2014/03/03/washingtons-arrogance-hubris-evil-set-stage-war/>, 15 July 2017.
- Roszkowski Wojciech (ed.). *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia XX wieku. Słownik biograficzny. Tom sygnałny*. Warszawa 2001.
- Schnepf Ryszard. In: Jarosław Kuźniar. 'Onet Rano'. *Onet.pl*, 7 November 2017. At: <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/onet-rano-program-jaroslaw-kuzniara/p8j4rm>, 10 July 2017.
- Serczyk Władysław Andrzej. *Historia Ukrainy*. Wrocław 1990.
- Skrzypek Stanisław. *Sprawa ukraińska*. Londyn 1953.
- Stern David. 'Svoboda: The rise of Ukraine's ultra-nationalists'. *BBC.com*, 26 December 2012. At: <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20824693>, 14 July 2017.
- Stolarczyk Mieczysław. *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej Polski w latach 1992–2015*. Katowice 2016.
- Svatko Yaroslav. *Misiya Bandery*. Lviv 2008.
- Szul Roman. *Język – naród – państwo. Język jako zjawisko polityczne*. Warszawa 2009.
- Tripković Milan. *Multiculturality, Regionalization and Integration*. In: Žolt Lazar (ed.). *Vojvodina amidst Multiculturality and Regionalization*. Novi Sad 2007.
- Ukrainska Bohatopartiynist': politychni partii, vyborchi bloky, lidery (kinyets 1980–pochatok 2012)*. Kiev 2012.