

## Vitaliy Makar

Чернівецький національний університет ім. Юрія Федьковича

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8994-4582>

e-mail: [v.makar@chnu.edu.ua](mailto:v.makar@chnu.edu.ua)

## Andrii Shcheglov

Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Army Academy, Lviv, Ukraine

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6484-0864>

e-mail: [deep\\_in\\_faith@ukr.net](mailto:deep_in_faith@ukr.net)

---

# The Moscophile Movement as an Instrument of Soviet Influence on the Socio-Political Situation in Western Ukraine in the 1920s

## 1. Introduction

The issue of external influence on the socio-political development of Western Ukraine within the restored Polish state is not only a theoretical problem involving the generalization of relevant historiography with the inclusion of new archival materials, but also has practical significance for analyzing the aggressive policy of the Russian Federation in the context of the implementation of President V. Putin's revisionist foreign policy course in the first quarter of the 21st century. Modern historical science, in the context of the Russo-Ukrainian war, not only requires the generalization and systematization of previous research, but also needs to focus on new interpretations of the Russophile movement as an object of Soviet subversive influence on the socio-political situation in Western Ukraine during the 1920s.

## 2. Research Results.

The political and ideological spectrum of the Western Ukrainian lands incorporated into the reestablished Polish state was marked by distinct historical and cultural characteristics, which acquired new significance in the context of the emerging geopolitical realities. Notably, one of the key currents was the Moscophile socio-political and cultural-educational movement, which inevitably drew the attention of Soviet Russian diplomats and intelligence services, as part of their policy aimed both at

weakening Poland and countering the Ukrainian national movement as well as Russian anti-Bolshevik structures in its eastern territories.

The Moscovite political party known as the Galician-Ruthenian People's Organization (HRNO), established in 1919, cautiously supported the concept of Galician-Ukrainian statehood. Its representatives believed that, following the Treaty of Saint-Germain, Galicians had not become citizens of Poland, as the Polish government had received only a mandate for military occupation<sup>1</sup>.

After the annexation of Eastern Galicia in 1923, the Galician-Ruthenian People's Organization disintegrated<sup>2</sup>. Conservatively minded wealthy peasants and members of the intelligentsia declared the establishment of the Ruthenian People's Organization (RPO)<sup>3</sup>. The left wing of the Galician-Ruthenian People's Organization gradually took shape as the People's Will Party (PWP)<sup>4</sup>.

Ivan Kostetskyi was elected honorary chairman of the Ruthenian People's Organization, which declared its "favorable attitude" toward the Polish state and the "loyal fulfillment of duties by the Ruthenian people as citizens of Poland," although in practice it was led by Volodymyr Trush<sup>5</sup>.

Among the strategic objectives of the RNO's activities was the promotion of the idea of regional autonomy for the Ruthenian lands within the Second Polish Republic<sup>6</sup>.

The Ruthenian People's Organization was proclaimed a national party, the purpose of which was to defend and protect the national and popular interests of the local Ruthenian population. The main ideological and programmatic task was considered to be the improvement of the social and economic conditions of peasants and clergy<sup>7</sup>.

Moscovite leaders defined cultural-educational and social-enlightenment work as effective means of implementing their political program. Delegates from the RNO participated in the Ruthenian Congress dedicated to public education, which took place from March 22 to 25, 1925, in Warsaw. H. Malets called on the participants to actively fight for a Ruthenian school for the Ruthenian population in Poland, based on the belief

<sup>1</sup> Матюшко Л., *Політико-національна ідеологія галицьких москвофілів у міжвоєнний період*. "Гілея: науковий вісник. Збірник наукових праць" 2017. Вип. 124. С. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Васюта І., *Перегрупування в західноукраїнському національному русі в перші роки після анексії Східної Галичини (1923–1926)*. "Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична" 1999. Вип. 34. С. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Васюта І., *Галицько-Волинське село між світовими війнами*. Львів 2010. С. 423.

<sup>4</sup> Васюта І., *Перегрупування в західноукраїнському національному русі в перші роки після анексії Східної Галичини (1923–1926)*. "Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична" 1999. Вип. 34. С. 353.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, С. 353

<sup>6</sup> Матюшко Л., *Політико-національна ідеологія галицьких москвофілів у міжвоєнний період*. "Гілея: науковий вісник. Збірник наукових праць" 2017. Вип. 124. С. 67.

<sup>7</sup> Матюшко Л., *Етнічна самоідентифікація українців Східної Галичини у міжвоєнний період: феномен галицького москвофілства*. "Суспільні трансформації і безпека: людина, держава, соціум: матеріали доповідей Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції (17 червня 2016 р.)". Львів: Львівський інститут МАУП 2016. С. 21.

that, like Volhynia, Polissia, the Chelm region, and White Ruthenia, Eastern Galicia with Lemkivshchyna had always been, and still were, Russian lands inhabited by part of the great Russian people, united by origin, culture, and “tribal madness”<sup>8</sup>.

The Moscophiles referred to their political organization as democratic, considering it one that promoted the free and full expression of all the creative potential of the people<sup>9</sup>.

In the interwar period, the Moscophile movement enjoyed, although not as powerful, support from a certain segment of the Greek Catholic clergy, the secular intelligentsia, and representatives of the business circles. This was enough to influence several tens of thousands of Galician peasants with an active civic stance. In turn, this allowed them to claim support from several hundred thousand more traditional peasants. For example, in the mid-1920s, the circulation of one of the most influential Moscophile publications, the monthly “Science” of the Society of Mikhail Kachkovsky, was 3,000 copies. Another Moscophile publication, “Russian Voice”, had a smaller circulation of 1,200 copies<sup>10</sup>.

Interwar Moscophilism, having lost its influential pre-war position in the Galician political scene, and being fundamentally conservative, sought to adapt and adjust to the new realities of the time<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, the Moscophiles sought support from Polish governmental circles and closely collaborated with the Russian minority and Russian émigrés in Poland<sup>12</sup>. Such pro-governmental policy allowed, to a certain extent, the implementation of their cultural, economic, and political plans. However, the latter were only possible with the support of the official Polish authorities. Moscophiles almost always entered into coalitions with pro-government political forces<sup>13</sup>.

However, later the Ruthenian People’s Organization split into two minor groups – the right-wing and more compliant ones – the “Ruthenian Agrarian Party” (RAP) and the “Ruthenian Peasant Organization” (RPO)<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Матюшко Л., *Політико-національна ідеологія галицьких москвофілів у міжвоєнний період*. “Гілея: науковий вісник. Збірник наукових праць” 2017. Вип. 124. С. 67

<sup>9</sup> Матюшко Л., *Етнічна самоідентифікація українців Східної Галичини у міжвоєнний період: феномен галицького москвофільства*. “Суспільні трансформації і безпека: людина, держава, соціум: матеріали доповідей Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції (17 червня 2016 р.)”. Львів: Львівський інститут МАУП 2016. С. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Центральний державний архів громадських об’єднань України (ЦДАГО України). Ф. 6. Центральний Комітет Комуністичної партії Західної України Оп. 2. Спр. 222. *Докладная записка о тяжелом положении украинского населения в Польше*. Арк. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Михальський Ю., Сова А., *Москвофіли та український національний рух у Галичині в кінці XIX – на початку XX століття: погляд крізь призму сучасності*. “Вісник Львівської комерційної академії. Серія: гуманітарні науки”. 2010. Вип. 9. С. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Матюшко Л., *Політико-національна ідеологія галицьких москвофілів у міжвоєнний період*. “Гілея: науковий вісник. Збірник наукових праць” 2017. Вип. 124. С. 67.

<sup>13</sup> Михальський Ю., Сова А., *Москвофіли та український національний рух у Галичині в кінці XIX – на початку XX століття: погляд крізь призму сучасності*. “Вісник Львівської комерційної академії. Серія: гуманітарні науки”. 2010. Вип. 9. С. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Матюшко Л., *Етнічна самоідентифікація українців Східної Галичини у міжвоєнний період: феномен галицького москвофільства*. “Суспільні трансформації і безпека: людина, держава,

In the atmosphere of growing Sovietophile sentiments and communist propaganda, in 1924, a left-wing radical group split from the Moscovophile Galician-Ruthenian Organization, led by K. Valnytskyi, which proclaimed itself the Socialist Peasant Party "People's Will"<sup>15</sup>. An extraordinary supplement to the newspaper "Volya Naroda" from October 24, 1926, features a thesis that particularly stands out: "Only socialism will break the chains of national bondage"<sup>16</sup>. Therefore, it is not surprising that, at this time, the leaders of "People's Will" became the object of interest for the diplomatic and special services of the USSR, which sought to use the slogans of national liberation and social justice for subversive activities against the Polish state in the ethnically Ukrainian lands of Western Ukraine.

Seeking to expand its influence and acting on instructions from Moscow, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPWU) planned to create a peasant organization that would encompass all of Western Ukraine in its activities.

At the beginning of 1926, communists noticed a shift towards a socialist radical direction in the two "previously half-hearted and unclear groups" such as the "Peasant Union" and "People's Will," which managed to increase their influence over the peasantry and the working class<sup>17</sup>.

The intermediary role between the true initiators of the unification (the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR) and its direct participants («Peasant Union,» «People's Will,» and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine) was performed by the advisor to the Soviet diplomatic mission in Warsaw, M. Lebedynets. Between 1925 and 1927, he reported several times a month to Kharkiv about the political situation in Western Ukraine and the unification processes within the communist movement in Poland<sup>18</sup>.

From July 7 to 11, 1926, M. Lebedynets held meetings with representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPWU), the "Peasant Union" and "People's Will". During these meetings, the name of the new political force was agreed upon – "The Ukrainian Peasant and Workers' Socialist Union"<sup>19</sup>.

---

соціум: матеріали доповідей Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції (17 червня 2016 р.)". Львів: Львівський інститут МАУП 2016. С. 21.

<sup>15</sup> Кугутяк М., *Галичина: сторінки історії: Нарис суспільно-політичного руху (XIX ст. – 1939 р.)*. Івано-Франківськ 1993. С. 176.

<sup>16</sup> Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Львові (ЦДІА у м. Львові) Ф. 351 (Українське селянсько-робітничє соціалістичне об'єднання ("Сель-Роб", м. Львів). Оп. 1. Спр. 99. Вирізки статей, заміток із газети "Наше Слово" про діяльність партії "Сель-робу", 1926–1932 рр., Арк. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Пиріг М., *Становлення та організаційні принципи діяльності "Українського селянсько-робітничєго соціалістичного об'єднання" ("Сельроб") у 1926-1928 роках*. "Мандрівець". 2013. № 4. С. 60.

<sup>18</sup> Власюк О., *Діяльність українського соціалістичного об'єднання "Селянський союз" у 1924–1930 рр.* "Наукові записки Національного університету "Острозька академія". Історичні науки" 2011. Вип 17. С. 157.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, С. 157

During the discussion on the need for unification with the "Peasant Union" the main argument in favor of creating a new party was the criticism of the KPWU, which was accused of inefficiency, as its members were widely imprisoned<sup>20</sup>.

This position was merely an official cover, as the further activities of the party were coordinated with the KPWU. The main goal of creating "Selrob" was to cover those areas of political life that were inaccessible to the communists. Specifically, the status of deputies in the Sejm gave the party's members the opportunity to freely hold assemblies, meetings, and congresses to activate propaganda among workers and peasants. This unification also allowed for expanding the electorate, as, unlike "People's Will", which traditionally, for communist-oriented organizations, focused on the working class, the «Peasant Union» directed its efforts towards the peasantry<sup>21</sup>.

The final unification of both parties was postponed until the fall of 1926. Before this, several joint meetings were held to coordinate positions and reach a compromise – on September 12-13 in Lviv, September 26 in Gdańsk, and finally, on October 3 in Warsaw, the date of the unification congress was set – October 10, 1926<sup>22</sup>.

So, the issue of creating the new organization was discussed at a meeting in Lviv on September 19, 1926, in the premises of the General Secretariat of the "People's Will" party. The meeting was attended by 18 people, including M. Zayats, K. Pelekhatyi, and K. Valnytskyi<sup>23</sup>.

During the meetings with the Soviet "curator" Lebedynets, the organizational foundations of the unification were agreed upon. It was decided that the future united party would be led by a central committee consisting of 9 or 11 members (on the basis of an equal number of representatives from both parties, 3 or 4 from each, two representatives from the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPWU), and one from the youth wing of the party). The "Volnarodivtsi" immediately agreed to the inclusion of two representatives from the communists in the Central Committee, while the "Selsouzyvtsi" did not give a final answer yet. It was then decided to nominate S. Makivka (from the "Peasant Union") as the head of the Central Committee, K. Valnytskyi (from the "People's Will") as his deputy, and a representative from the KPWU was to be the secretary. The nominees for the united Central Committee from the first party were

<sup>20</sup> Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО). Ф. 121. Львівська воеводська команда державної поліції. Оп. 2. Спр. 112. *Справа спостереження за з'їздом партії "Народна воля" та "Українського селянського союзу", що відбувся у Львові, з питання їхнього об'єднання в "Українське селянсько-робітничє об'єднання" та списки делегатів*. 1926 р. Арк. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Пиріг М., *Становлення та організаційні принципи діяльності "Українського селянсько-робітничного соціалістичного об'єднання" ("Сельроб") у 1926-1928 роках*. "Мандрівець". 2013. № 4. С. 61

<sup>22</sup> Власюк О., *Діяльність українського соціалістичного об'єднання "Селянський союз" у 1924-1930 рр.* "Наукові записки Національного університету "Острозька академія". Історичні науки" 2011. Вип 17. С. 159.

<sup>23</sup> Пиріг М., *Український ліворадикальний рух у Польщі (1919-1929 рр.): дис... канд. іст. н.; спец.: 07.00.01 – історія України, Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка*. Львів 2016. С. 61.

S. Makivka, M. Chuchmai, and S. Kozytskyi, while from the second party, they were K. Valnyskyi, K. Pelekhatyi, and M. Zayats. It was also decided that the press organs of both parties («Nashe Zhyttia» and «Volya Narodu») would change their names, and a representative from the KPWU would be included in their editorial boards<sup>24</sup>.

The KPWU was confident in its success and focused on establishing leadership over the new force. The main task before the communists was to ensure the existence of the unification not as “a legal organization of a united revolutionary front, led by the communist party”<sup>25</sup>.

The unification process continued on October 3, 1926, in Warsaw, where a sort of conference of the “People’s Will” took place with representatives from the “Peasant Union” during which it was emphasized that the goal of creating the new party was to avoid both the mistakes made by the communist deputies in the Sejm due to their principled position and the mistakes in local activities<sup>26</sup>.

On October 10, 1926, a new congress was scheduled in Lviv to finalize the unification process, with about 50 members of the «Peasant Union» from Volhynia, Holmschyna, and Polissya, and 50 members of the «People’s Will» party from Galicia expected to attend<sup>27</sup>.

On that day, in the small hall of the Lviv Music Society named after Lysenko, the united congress of the “Peasant Union” and the People’s Will Party took place. The congress was attended by 55 delegates from the “Peasant Union” from the Volyn, Polissya, and Lublin Voivodeships (the districts of Brest, Volodymyr-Volynskiy, Włodawa, Horokhiv, Hrubieszów, Dubno, Drohichyn, Kobryn, Kremenets, Lutsk, Luboml, Ostroh, Rivne, and Kholm), 4 delegates from three Galician districts (Brody, Berezhno, and Stanislav), and 6 Sejm deputies (A. Bratun, P. Vasylchuk, S. Kozytskyi, S. Makivka, S. Nazaruk, and M. Chuchmai). From the People’s Will Party, 92 delegates arrived, of which 76 were from Eastern Galicia, 7 from Volhynia, Holmschyna, and Polissya, 3 delegates represented the student youth, and 6 were members of the Central Committee of the People’s Will Party. The congress voted for the unification of the two parties and adopted a resolution stating that all local committees of the People’s Will Party and the “Peasant Union” would be renamed as the “Selrob” committees<sup>28</sup>. The declaration of unification was announced

<sup>24</sup> Власюк О., *Діяльність українського соціалістичного об’єднання “Селянський союз” у 1924–1930 рр.* “Наукові записки Національного університету “Острозька академія”. Історичні науки” 2011. Вип 17. С. 158.

<sup>25</sup> Пиріг М., *Український ліворадикальний рух у Польщі (1919–1929 рр.): дис... канд. іст. н.; спец.: 07.00.01 – історія України, Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Львів 2016. С. 62*

<sup>26</sup> ДАЛО. Ф.121. Львівська воєводська команда державної поліції. Оп. 2. Спр. 112. *Справа спостереження за з’їздом партії “Народна воля” та “Українського селянського союзу”, що відбувся у Львові, з питання їхнього об’єднання в “Українське селянсько-робітничє об’єднання” та списки делегатів.* Арк. 2.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem.* Арк. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Власюк О., *Діяльність українського соціалістичного об’єднання “Селянський союз” у 1924–1930 рр.* “Наукові записки Національного університету “Острозька академія”. Історичні науки” 2011. Вип 17. С. 159.

on behalf of the “Peasant Union” by M. Chuchmai, and on behalf of the “People’s Will” by K. Valnytskyi<sup>29</sup>.

It should be noted separately that 5 delegates from the “Peasant Union”, led by Sejm deputy S. Nazaruk, opposed the majority and voted against the unification. This group, representing the Volodymyr-Volynskiy district organization of the “Peasant Union”, expressed its desire to cooperate with the Ukrainian Peasant and Workers’ Party. Soon after the founding congress of “Selrob”, in December 1926, a group of Sejm deputies – leaders of the previous “Peasant Union,” headed by P. Vasylychuk, also left the organization. Together with members from the Kholm and Volodymyr-Volynskiy organizations of “Selrob”, he revived the «Peasant Union” with a new press organ – the newspaper “Peasant Path”. However, the revived organization turned out to be much weaker than its predecessor, as its branches were mainly located on both banks of the Western Bug River<sup>30</sup>.

Despite what seemed like the clarification of many positions, there remained many political differences and mutual distrust between the two parties. It seems that from the very beginning, the merger of such different, essentially antagonistic, political forces was doomed to failure. After all, the “Peasant Union” in its programmatic documents declared its struggle for the slogans of independence and the unity of Ukraine, while the radical wing of the Moscow-philites from the People’s Will Party (PVP) denied the very existence of the Ukrainian people, considering its language one of the dialects of Russian. In its programmatic documents, it was stated that “Russian socialists of Eastern Galicia reject the aspirations to create new independent nations from the tribes of the Russian people”, and that there was no need to depart from the Russian language<sup>31</sup>.

The definition of “Galician-Russian population”, which they used to refer to the Galicians, was condemned and rejected by the leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPU), which also considered the denial of the Ukrainian nation to be erroneous. Under the influence of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, the leadership of the People’s Will Party (PVP) was forced to break away from the most radical Russian nationalists and even began publishing their periodical in the Ukrainian language. The party’s program included a provision on its vision for solving the national question: “In the current conditions, in solving the fundamental political-state relations of nations (independence, federation, the right to separation), the People’s Will Party considers the application of the principle of self-determination as the only means”<sup>32</sup>.

For the Moscow-oriented “Volenarodivtsi” it was extremely sensitive that the word “Ukrainian” would be used in the name of the new union. Representatives of the

<sup>29</sup> Пиріг М., *Український ліворадикальний рух у Польщі (1919–1929 рр.)*: дис... канд. іст. н.; спец.: 07.00.01 – історія України, Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Львів 2016. С. 62

<sup>30</sup> Власюк О., *Діяльність українського соціалістичного об’єднання “Селянський союз” у 1924–1930 рр.* “Наукові записки Національного університету “Острозька академія”. Історичні науки” 2011. Вип 17. С. 159–160

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, С. 158.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, С. 158–159.

People's Will Party accused the "Selyansky Soyuz" of nationalism, while at the same time criticizing the "Volenarodivtsi" for their national nihilism<sup>33</sup>.

The statute of the organization was adopted on November 26, 1926, and the program, after long discussions, was finalized only in February of the following year. The discussions lasted throughout January 1927<sup>34</sup>. Two drafts were presented, authored by M. Chuchmay and K. Valnytsky. The first version attempted to combine the programs of the "People's Will" and the "Peasant Union", avoiding conflictual issues and shortcomings. As a result, it was decided to develop an entirely new draft, which was eventually approved<sup>35</sup>.

In particular, the program emphasized that the organization, as a result of the merger, had created "one new party of Ukrainian peasants, workers, and the working intelligentsia, thereby strengthening a unified front of the working masses against the united front of the bourgeoisie"<sup>36</sup>.

One of the fundamental theses of the new party was an appealing statement for its supporters, asserting that "the "Sel-Rob Party" considers the national question in Poland one of the main problems of the policy of the peasant and working masses"<sup>37</sup>.

However, another programmatic position that should not be overlooked is that "the Sely-Rob Party fights for the replacement of standing armies with a system of people's militias"<sup>38</sup>, which was essentially aimed at weakening the defense capability of the Polish state against the backdrop of the growing military strength of the Red Army.

In the activities of "Selyrob", traditionally for organizations with a left-radical orientation, the position was taken on the radical struggle of Ukrainian peasants and workers "for socialism, the establishment of a working people's order, where there would be social, political, and national equality for all people". It was guaranteed that the social and national interests of Ukrainian peasantry would not suffer, with the provision of ensuring the peasants' right to participate in political and civil life, which "belongs to them in view of their number and labor"<sup>39</sup>.

The new party had the most influence in Volhynia and the Khomshchyna. Supporters of "Selyrob", like most political parties, considered traditional "village gatherings" their

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, С. 159.

<sup>34</sup> Пиріг М., *Український ліворадикальний рух у Польщі (1919–1929 рр.)*: дис... канд. іст. н.; спец.: 07.00.01 – історія України, Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Львів 2016. С. 62

<sup>35</sup> Пиріг М., *Становлення та організаційні принципи діяльності "Українського селянсько-робітничого соціалістичного об'єднання" ("Сельроб") у 1926–1928 роках*. "Мандрівець" 2013. № 4. С. 32

<sup>36</sup> ЦДДА у Львові. Ф. 351, оп. 1, спр. 1. Арк. 15

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*. Арк. 15

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*. Арк. 15

<sup>39</sup> Пиріг М., *Український ліворадикальний рух у Польщі (1919–1929 рр.)*: дис... канд. іст. н.; спец.: 07.00.01 – історія України, Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Львів 2016. С. 62

main method of struggle, which, under certain circumstances, could escalate into strike actions<sup>40</sup>.

The creation of the party network was delayed significantly, as in some areas, "Selyrob" members had to overcome substantial, not just financial, problems. For example, local representatives of "Selyrob-left" reported to M. Zayets that by the beginning of 1928, they were unable to organize a cell in the village of Bortnyky, as the peasants considered the party "Moscow-oriented", and their sympathies were with other political forces<sup>41</sup>.

In early February 1927, the so-called former "Narodovoltsiv" demanded an expansion of the Central Committee, as despite agreements made during the merger, they were in the minority<sup>42</sup>. However, their remarks regarding the inclusion of more representatives from peasants, workers, and youth were not supported<sup>43</sup>.

By mid-1927, the contradictions within the party leadership became insurmountable, and on September 11, the majority of former members of the "People's Will" announced the creation of the "Selyrob-left"<sup>44</sup>.

The analyzed societal and political processes were not only organizationally inspired by Soviet diplomatic and intelligence agencies, but were also accompanied by corresponding illegal financing. Specifically, historian V. Misko is convinced that it is difficult to establish the exact scale of funding for the left-wing radical movement in Western Ukraine. However, it is indisputable that a significant portion of this funding came directly from the Bolshevik government through party structures or indirectly via international communist organizations. Some evidence points to the financing of political and public organizations in Western Ukraine that sympathized with the left-wing radical ideology and were positioned on a pro-Soviet platform<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Гусак Р., *Ліворадикальний рух Східної Галичини та Західної Волині міжвоєнного періоду*. "Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія. Історія" 2014. Вип. 2, ч. 3. С. 52.

<sup>41</sup> Пиріг М., *Становлення та організаційні принципи діяльності "Українського селянсько-робітничого соціалістичного об'єднання" ("Сельроб") у 1926-1928 роках*. "Мандрівець" 2013. № 4. С. 35.

<sup>42</sup> ЦДДА у м. Львові, Ф. 351, оп.1, спр. 3. Арк. 1-3.

<sup>43</sup> Пиріг М., *Становлення та організаційні принципи діяльності "Українського селянсько-робітничого соціалістичного об'єднання" ("Сельроб") у 1926-1928 роках*. "Мандрівець" 2013. № 4. С. 36.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, С. 36.

<sup>45</sup> Місько В., *Комуністична експансія на терени Польської держави (перша половина 1920-х рр.)*. "Україна – Європа – Світ. Міжнародний збірник наукових праць. Серія: Історія, міжнародні відносини" 2016. Вип. 18. С. 135.

### 3. Summary And Conclusions

After the inclusion of most of the ethnic Western Ukrainian lands into the newly restored Polish state, the socio-political processes unfolded in new geopolitical conditions, which, among other things, influenced the institutional-political transformation of the Moscophile (Russophile) movement in Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, and Podlasie during the 1920s. The splits, the emergence of new legal political actors in the restored Polish state could not escape the attention of Soviet diplomats and the USSR's special services, who sought to exploit these societal-political structuring processes both to undermine the institutions of the Polish state and to oppose the legal Ukrainian national movement while limiting the influence of Russian émigré anti-Bolshevik structures.

Despite Soviet influence in the formation of a new influential political force, there remained many political disagreements and mutual distrust between the former parties "Peasant Union" and "People's Will". From the outset, the merger of these fundamentally different, essentially antagonistic political forces was doomed to failure. The contradictions between the leadership of the newly formed "Selrob" party became increasingly insurmountable, and on September 11, 1927, the majority of members of the former "People's Will" announced the creation of "Selrob-Left", which in the following years played a leading role in the spread of Soviet influence in Western Ukraine.

A promising direction for further studies, in our opinion, could be a comprehensive analysis of the Soviet tools of influence on the socio-political situation in Western Ukraine in the second half of the 1920s.



**Abstract:** This article provides a comprehensive analysis of how Soviet diplomatic structures instrumentalized a segment of the Moscophile movement in Eastern Galicia in order to establish the left-radical party "Sel-Rob" as a legal political base for subversive activities in Western Ukraine. This influence was directed both against the institutions of the Polish state and against various ideological currents within the Ukrainian national movement.

Drawing upon the principles of objectivity, historicism, credibility, scientific rigor, and methodological pluralism, the study identifies a specific branch of the Moscophile movement as an instrument of Soviet geopolitical strategy in interwar Poland. The ideological foundations, political platform, and organizational structure of this faction are examined as the basis for the creation of "Sel-Rob," a party formed through the merger of the leftist "Narodna Volia" and the "Peasants' Union" under the supervision of Soviet diplomats in Warsaw.

The article introduces into scholarly discourse previously unpublished archival materials from the Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine, the Central State Historical Archives in Lviv, and the State Archives of the Lviv Region. The historiographical framework of the study includes both general works of modern Ukrainian historiography and specialized research by O. Vlasiuk, R. Husak, L. Matiushko, V. Misko, M. Pyrih, and I. Soliar. However, the specific role of the Moscophile element within "Narodna Volia" and its coordination by Soviet diplomats has remained largely overlooked.

This study addresses that gap and situates the issue within the broader historical context of the hybrid methods employed by Soviet Russia, the USSR, and later the Russian Federation to undermine the Ukrainian national movement, particularly in Western Ukraine during the interwar period. The scholarly contribution of the article lies in the identification and analysis of a previously underexplored mechanism of Soviet influence involving the creation and support of a far-left legal political entity designed to destabilize the socio-political landscape of Western Ukraine in the 1920s.

**Keywords:** Moscovophile movement, Soviet diplomacy, „Sel-Rob”, „Narodna Volia”, Eastern Galicia, Western Ukraine, the Second Polish Republic, hybrid warfare, political subversion, Ukrainian national movement.

### **Ruch moskalofilski jako instrument sowieckiego wpływu na sytuację społeczno-polityczną w Zachodniej Ukrainie w latach 20. XX wieku**

**Streszczenie:** Artykuł przedstawia kompleksową analizę sposobu, w jaki sowieckie struktury dyplomatyczne instrumentalizowały segment ruchu moskalofilskiego w Galicji Wschodniej w celu utworzenia lewicowo-radykalnej partii „Sel-Rob” jako legalnej bazy politycznej dla działalności wywrotowej w Europie Zachodniej. Oddziaływanie to było skierowane zarówno przeciwko instytucjom państwa polskiego, jak i przeciwko różnym nurtom ideologicznym ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego.

Odwołując się do zasad obiektywizmu, historyzmu, wiarygodności, rygoru naukowego oraz pluralizmu metodologicznego, w opracowaniu zidentyfikowano określoną gałąź ruchu moskalofilskiego jako instrument sowieckiej strategii geopolitycznej w Polsce międzywojennej. Poddano analizie podstawy ideologiczne, platformę polityczną oraz strukturę organizacyjną tego środowiska jako fundament utworzenia „Sel-Robu” – partii powstałej w wyniku połączenia lewicowej „Narodnej Woli” oraz „Związku Chłopskiego” pod nadzorem sowieckich dyplomatów w Warszawie.

W artykule wprowadzono do obiegu naukowego wcześniej niepublikowane materiały archiwalne z Centralnego Państwowego Archiwum Organizacji Społecznych Ukrainy, Centralnego Państwowego Archiwum Historycznego Ukrainy we Lwowie oraz Państwowego Archiwum Obwodu Lwowskiego. Ramy historiograficzne opracowania obejmują zarówno prace ogólne współczesnej historiografii ukraińskiej, jak i specjalistyczne badania O. Własiuka, R. Husaka, L. Matiuszko, W. Miśki, M. Pyriha oraz I. Soliara. Dotychczas jednak specyficzna rola elementu moskalofilskiego w strukturach „Narodnej Woli” oraz jego koordynacja przez sowieckich dyplomatów pozostawały w dużej mierze niedostatecznie zbadane. Niniejsze studium wypełnia tę lukę badawczą, sytuując analizowane zjawisko w szerszym kontekście historycznym hybrydowych metod stosowanych przez Rosję Sowiecką, ZSRR, a później Federację Rosyjską w celu osłabienia ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego, szczególnie w Galicji Wschodniej i szerzej – w Europie Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym. Nowatorstwo artykułu polega na identyfikacji i analizie dotąd słabo rozpoznanego mechanizmu sowieckiego oddziaływania, polegającego na tworzeniu i wspieraniu legalnej, skrajnie lewicowej formacji politycznej jako narzędzia destabilizacji sytuacji społeczno-politycznej w Europie Wschodniej w latach dwudziestych XX wieku.

**Słowa kluczowe:** ruch moskalofilski, dyplomacja sowiecka, „Sel-Rob”, „Narodna Wola”, Galicja Wschodnia, Europa Wschodnia, II Rzeczpospolita, wojna hybrydowa, dywersja polityczna, ukraiński ruch narodowy.

## References

### Sources

- Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti. F. 121. L'vivs'ka voievods'ka komanda derzhavnoi politzii. Op. 2. Spr. 112. *Sprava sposterezhenia za z'izdom partii "Narodna volia" ta "Ukrains'koho selians'koho soiuзу", shcho vidbuvsia u L'vovi, z pytannia yikhnoho ob"iednannia v "Ukrains'ke selians'ko-robotnyche ob"iednannia" ta spysky delehativ*. 1926. 28 ark.
- Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob"iednan' Ukrainy. F. 6. Tsentral'nyi Komitet Komunistychnoi partii Zakhidnoi Ukrainy. Op. 2. Spr. 222. *Dokladnaia zapiska o tiazhelom polozenii ukrainskogo naselenia v Pol'she*. 29 ark.
- Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u m. L'vovi (TsDIA u m. L'vovi). F. 351. Ukrains'ke selians'ko-robotnyche sotsialistychno ob"iednannia "Sel'-Rob", m. L'viv. Op. 1. Spr. 1. *Statut i prohrama orhanizatsii*. 1927–1929. 27 ark.
- TsDIA u m. L'vovi. F. 351. Op. 1. Spr. 3. *Obizhnyky*. 1929. 3 ark.
- TsDIA u m. L'vovi. F. 351. Op. 1. Spr. 99. *Vyryzky statei iz hazety "Nashe Slovo" pro diial'nist' partii "Sel'-Rob"*. 1926–1932. 24 ark.

### Studies

- Fedevych, K. *Halyts'ki ukraintsi u Pol'shchi. 1920–1929 rr*. Kyiv, 2009.
- Husak, R. "Livoradykal'nyi rukh Skhidnoi Halychyny ta Zakhidnoi Volyni mizhvoiennoho periodu." *Naukovi zapysky Ternopil's'koho natsional'noho pedahohichnoho universytetu im. Volodymyra Hnatiuka. Serii: Istorii* 2, no. 3 (2014): 51–56.
- Kuhutiak, M. *Halychyna: storinky istorii. Narys suspil'no-politychnoho rukhu (XIX st. – 1939 r.)*. Ivano-Frankivs'k, 1993.
- Malyk, Ya., B. Vol, O. Kravys'kyi, V. Trofymovych, and V. Chupryna. *Istorii suspil'nykh rukhiv i politychnykh partii Ukrainy (XIX–XX st.)*. L'viv, 1998.
- Matiushko, L. "Etnichna samoidentyfikatsiia ukraintiv Skhidnoi Halychyny u mizhvoiennyi period: fenomen halyts'koho moskvofil'stva." In *Suspil'ni transformatsii i bezpeka: liudyna, derzhava, sotsium*, 20–23. L'viv, 2016.
- Matiushko, L. "Polityko-natsional'na ideolohiia halyts'kykh moskvofiliv u mizhvoiennyi period." *Hileia* 124 (2017): 66–69.
- Mis'ko, V. "Komunistychna ekspansii na tereny Pol's'koi derzhavy (persha polovyna 1920-kh rr.)." *Ukraina – levropa – Svit* 18 (2016): 131–138.
- Mykhal's'kyi, Iu., and A. Sova. "Moskvofily ta ukrains'kyi natsional'nyi rukh u Halychyni v kintsi XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia." *Visnyk L'vivs'koi komertsiiinoi akademii* 9 (2010): 10–14.
- Pyrih, M. *Ukrains'kyi livoradykal'nyi rukh u Pol'shchi (1919–1929 rr.)*. PhD diss., L'vivs'kyi natsional'nyi universytet imeni Ivana Franka, 2016.
- Pyrih, M. "Stanovlennia ta orhanizatsiini pryntsypy diial'nosti 'Ukrains'koho selians'ko-robotnychoho sotsialistychnoho ob"iednannia' ('Sel'rob') u 1926–1928 rokakh." *Mandrivets'* 4 (2013): 31–37.
- Soliar, I. "'Sel'rob' vid stvorennia do rozkolu (1926–1927 rr.)." *Halychyna* 12–13 (2006–2007): 126–132.
- Vasiuta, I. *Halyts'ko-Volyns'ke selo mizh svitovymy viinamy*. L'viv, 2010.

Vasiuta, I. "Perehrupuvannia v zakhidnoukrains'komu natsional'nomu rusi v pershi roky pislia aneksii Skhidnoi Halychyny (1923–1926)." *Visnyk L'vivs'koho universytetu. Serii istorychna* 34 (1999): 341–354.

Vlasiuk, O. "Diial'nist' ukrains'koho sotsialistychnoho ob"iednannia 'Sel'ians'kyi soiuz' u 1924–1930 rr." *Naukovi zapysky Natsional'noho universytetu 'Ostroz'ka akademiia'. Istorychni nauky* 17 (2011): 149–162.