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# THE SOCIETIES "PROSVITA" OF VOLHYNIA VOIVODESHIP IN CONFRONTATION WITH THE POLISH AUTHORITIES (1921 – 1934)

**Abstract.** The article focuses on the analysis of the national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which resulted in the persecution of the Ukrainian public organizations and the Ukrainian national movement, in particular in Volhynia Voivodeship, during the interwar period. The political situation in the lands of Western Ukraine after their entry into the Polish state and the peculiarities of the formation and implementation of Promethean policy in these areas are studied.

The national idea promoted by "Prosvita" was considered to be hostile by the Polish administration in Volhynia because it contradicted the state doctrine of transforming the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a unitary state. Advocacy by "Prosvita" of the Ukrainian language and culture contradicted the visions of the nation-state's national policy. **The purpose** of the study is to identify and analyze comprehensively the causes and features of the Polish authorities' persecution of "Prosvita" in Volhynia Voivodeship during the 1920s and 1930s and to analyze the consequences of the liquidation of "Prosvita". **The methodological basis** is the principles of historicism in the combination of all its components, systematics and scientificity. Interdisciplinary research is focused on the involvement of historical comparative and historical system methods, techniques of microhistorical analysis. **The Scientific Novelty.** The dynamics of the relations formation between the national and cultural organization of the people of Volhynia "Prosvita" and the Polish state administration has been traced on the basis of the new discovered archival documents. It has been found out that it was during the voivodship of Heinrich Yuzevsky in Volhynia that a purposeful policy of oppression and persecution of "Prosvita" by the Polish authorities began, which eventually caused the complete liquidation of one of the most popular and respected public organizations in the region. The liquidation meeting of "Prosvita" took place in Lutsk on July 1, 1934, after which the majority of the society's branches ceased to operate. On the basis of the researched archival documents the authors came to **the conclusion** that as a result of the implementation of the "Volhynia experiment" the voivode Heinrich Yuzevsky destroyed the cultural and educational society "Prosvita" under various pretexts in the region and created societies to implement the voivode's political programme. These societies became the "Prosvita Houses".

*Key words:* "Prosvita", the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Volhynia Voivodeship, public organization, oppression, national policy, persecution, the Ukrainian hromada, national idea.

## "ПРОСВІТИ" ВОЛИНСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА У ПРОТИСТОЯННІ З ПОЛЬСКОЮ ВЛАДОЮ (1921 – 1934 рр.)

Анотація. У статті аналізується національна політика Другої Речі Посполитої, результатом якої стало переслідування українських громадських організацій та українського національного руху, зокрема у Волинському воєводстві, у період між двома світовими війнами. Досліджується політична ситуація, що склалася на землях Західної України після їх входження до Польської держави та особливості формування і реалізації політики прометеїзму на цих теренах. Національна ідея, яку пропагувала "Просвіта", вороже сприймалася польською адміністрацією Волині, оскільки суперечила державній доктрині перетворення Другої Речі Посполитої на унітарну державу. Обстоювання "Просвітою" української мови та культури йшло у розріз із баченнями національної політики державницької нації.

Метою дослідження є виявлення та комплексний аналіз причин і особливостей переслідування польською владою "Просвіти" у Волинському воєводстві у період 20–30-х рр. XX ст. і аналіз наслідків її ліквідації. Методологічну основу становлять принципи історизму в єдності всіх його компонентів, системності та науковості. Міждисциплінарне дослідження орієнтоване на залучення історико-порівняльного й історико-системного методів, прийомів мікроісторичного аналізу. Наукова новизна. На онові виявлених нових архівних документів прослідковано динаміку формування взаємин поміж національно-культурною організацією волинян "Просвіто" та польською державною адміністрацією. З'ясовано, що саме у період воєводства Генріха Юзевського на Волині розпочинається цілеспрямована політика утисків та переслідування "Просвіти" з боку польської влади, яка у кінцевому результаті призвела до повної ліквідації однієї із наймасовіших та найшановніших у краї громадських організацій. Ліквідаційні збори товариства "Просвіта" відбулися у Луцьку 1 липня 1934 р., після чого більшість осередків товариства припинили існування.

На основі досліджених архівних документів автори дійшли висновку, що внаслідок втілення у життя "волинського експерименту" воєвода Г. Юзевський знищував під різними приводами культурно-освітнє товариство "Просвіта" у краї і створив товариства, які мали впроваджувати в життя політичну програму воєводи. Ними стали Просвітянські хати.

**Ключові слова.** "Просвіта", Друга Річ Посполита, Волинське воєводство, громадська організація, утиски, національна політика, переслідування, українська громада, національна ідея.

**The Problem Statement.** The place and role of the "Prosvita" society are difficult to overestimate in the lives of Western Ukrainians, who became the part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the interwar period. After all, it was this Ukrainian cultural and educational society that brought together the most conscious Ukrainian elite, representing the national culture, language, education, and promoting the Ukrainian national idea by all possible means. Being founded in 1868 by the Galician intelligentsia, "Prosvita" gained more and more supporters in Volhynia at a fairly rapid pace, becoming, one of the most popular organizations in Volhynia region after the end of World War I.

That is why, the newly established authorities of the Second Commonwealth were hostile to the "Prosvita" society, considering it as a threat to the Polish national interests, at all costs, trying to polonize the newly annexed territories. On the other hand, the "Prosvita" movement became more and more widespread, and its popularity grew, thus causing concern on the part of the Polish authorities and, subsequently, persecution.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The problems of formation and evolution of the oppression policy and persecution of the "Prosvita" society in Volhynia were raised by the Ukrainian historians and political scientists. In particular, M. Kuchererepa (Kuchererepa, 2001), (Kuchererepa, 2016) doing research on public organizations in Volhynia during the interwar period, also focuses on the "Prosvita" society, analyzing its relations with the Polish authorities. Much attention of Volyn scientist is devoted to the creation and activity of "Prosvita Houses" in Volhynia region in the mid-30s of the XXth century.

It is necessary to single out the scientific work of M. Filipovych, who studied the political conditions of "Prosvita" in Volhynia during the interwar period, as well as its national, cultural and educational activities. The researcher published a number of scientific articles (Filipovych, 2016), (Filipovych, 2018), and a thorough monograph "Lutsk Prosvita in 1918 – 1935" (Filipovych, 2007), which is interesting and useful for the presented research.

The book of a historian from Ivano-Frankivsk, V. Komar "The Concept of Prometheanism in the Politics of Poland (1921 - 1939)" is devoted to the national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was implemented during 1921 - 1939, in particular to the policy of Prometheanism (Komar, 2011). In the book there are covered various aspects of the political situation which developed and evolved in the lands of Western Ukraine after their entry into the Polish state. The book is intended to shed light on interethnic contradictions and the reasons for the Polish authorities' persecution of the Ukrainian national and cultural organizations, such as "Prosvita".

A historian from Ternopil, I. Zuliak did great work on the study of "Prosvita" (Zuliak, 2005). Although the author focuses on the activities of "Prosvita" in Galicia, but his remarks on the basic principles of the public organization were useful for the presented article.

In addition, the authors used a wide range of archival documents to write this article, which shed light on the peculiarities of the liquidation of the "Prosvita" society in Volhynia Voivodeship in the mid-1930s of the XXth century.

The purpose of the article is finding out and comprehensive analysis of the causes and features of the Polish authorities' persecution of "Prosvita" in Volhynia Voivodeship during the period of the 1920s and 1930s of the XXth century and the consequences analysis of "Prosvita" liquidation.

**The Main Material Statement.** It is common knowledge that before World War I Volhynia was the part of the Russian Empire, as, in fact, the majority of the Ukrainian lands. After the end of the Great War, in the autumn of 1918, Volhynia appeared at the epicenter of a new conflict: the struggle of two peoples for the establishment of their own statehood at these territories. The newly established independent states of Ukraine and the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth waged a bloody war, the latter of which emerged victorious. Hence, Western Volhynia, as well as the territories of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and Western Belarus became the part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Strilchuk, 2018b, pp. 146–147).

The new Polish state set itself the task of establishing and strengthening control over the Ukrainian lands which were the part of it, hoping to transform the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a mono-national state by polonization and colonization, by attacking the Ukrainian national church, by destroying public and cultural organizations, and persecuting the leaders of the Ukrainian national idea (Komar, 2011, p. 119).

Therefore, it is logical that after the incorporation of new territories into Poland, on February 4, 1921, a new administrative unit was formed at the territory of Western Volhynia – Volhynia Voivodeship with its center in Lutsk. In fact, from that moment on, the Polish authorities faced the issue of unifying a political and cultural life at the newly annexed territories with the political and cultural life of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In fact, the establishment of the Polish rule in Volhynia coincided with the development of "Prosvita". In contrast to Galicia, where the organization operated since 1868 in Volhynia, its first center appeared in 1916 in the town of Maciej, Kovel County, and was associated with the presence of the Ukrainian Sich riflemen there. During the years of 1917 – 1920, the "Prosvita" movement spread across the entire territory of Volhynia gradually, hence, at the time of the region's entry into the revived the Polish state, although "Prosvita" had an extensive network of branches, but the majority of the "Prosvita" branches were rather weak, being at the stage of organization, and they operated with extreme caution, which distinguished Volhynia "Prosvita" from neighboring Galicia. Another feature of Volhynia "Prosvita" was that the majority of "Prosvita" branches had separate statutes, such as branches in Kremenets, Dubno, Rivne, Lutsk, Horokhiv, Volodymyr, Kovel (Kuchererepa, 2016, p. 28).

In order to characterize the relations between the Polish state administration and the nationally conscious leadership of "Prosvita", let's take a brief look at the socio-political situation in the region. Without doing a detailed analysis of the activities of "Prosvita" in Volhynia, we note that the organization gained a national popularity due to significant work in the cultural and educational spheres, and also as a national organization which supported the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Analysis of archival documents shows that in fact a third of "Prosvita" branches in Volhynia created their own choir, promoting the best examples of folk and professional music, and every second "Prosvita" in the region had its own reading rooms and libraries.

However, the Ukrainian schooling was the most important platform for "Prosvita" activities in Volhynia Voivodeship. For example, there were 442 Ukrainian schools in the region as of 1922. However, as early as in 1924, the Polish authorities adopted two laws aimed at restricting the Ukrainian language, in general, and the Ukrainian-language schooling, in particular. Thus, the first of the laws introduced restrictions on the Ukrainian language in the state institutions and judicial institutions (Filipovych, 2018). The second law concerned the field of education, introducing bilingual or utraquist school education. Of course, the Polish language of instruction prevailed at such bilingual schools.

In fact, the above mentioned reform put an end to the Ukrainian schooling: the number of schools in which the Ukrainian language was the language of teaching declined rapidly, which is clearly illustrated by statistics: if as of 1925 there were still 500 Ukrainian schools in Volhynia Voivodeship (Kuchererepa, 2016, p. 32), in the 1927/28 academic year there were only 5 schools, in which teaching was conducted in the Ukrainian language (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9a, c. 1076).

At the beginning of the 20s of the XXth, in Volhynia, a mass movement aimed at the Ukrainization of the Orthodox Church unfolded. The "Prosvita" society was at the head of this movement. The movement aroused the concern of the Polish authorities and forced the latter to take more decisive measures to restrict Orthodoxy (Strilchuk, Petrovych, 2016,

pp. 78–79). Therefore, in parallel with the attack on the Ukrainian schooling system, the Polish authorities launched the attack on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Analysis of the documents suggests that the policy of the Polish government towards the Orthodox Church was formed and evolved during the interwar decades, but its general essence was reduced to the issue that all non-Polish nations, including the Ukrainians, had to be a complete subject to the political, cultural and religious domination of the Poles. In practice, this meant that the Orthodox Church, as such, did not fit into the doctrine of the religious policy of the Polish state.

The "Prosvita" activists, the Ukrainian church and public figures in Volhynia tried to implement the model in practice, which consisted in the fact that the church should be Ukrainian in its national character, and its structure – synodal. This state of affairs could guarantee the broad participation of the laity in the management and development of the church (Stokolos, 2005, p. 61). A. Richynskyi was the ideologue of this vision (Petrovych, Petrovych, Prytuliuk, 2016, p. 179). In particular, he believed that "since the Ukrainians make up the vast majority in Volhynia Voivodeship, they must have a decisive voice in the matters concerning the Orthodox Church, regardless of the state in which this church exists" (Richynskyi, 1927, pp. 3–4).

A significant event in the church and religious life of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the period under study was the decision of the Polish government at the end of 1924 to recognize officially the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church on September 17, 1925. However, the de-Russification of the Orthodox Church was difficult, in other words, the Ukrainization of the Orthodox Church in Volhynia began to slow down by the middle of the second decade of the XXth century. In such situation, the national and patriotic Ukrainian elite, gathered around the "Prosvita" society, tried, at least in part, to take on the role of a driving force in intensifying the movement to Ukrainize the Church. Thus, A. Richynskyi called for the organization of the Ukrainian Church Congress in Lutsk, which should have resolved all the features and problems of a religious and church life (Aloshyna, 2010, p. 28).

In general, the Polish officials were irritated at the Ukrainian national interests defense by "Prosvita" leading figures and the public organization activities, hence, "Prosvita" was subjected to various oppressions by the Polish authorities, which was traced, first of all, in the refusal to register the public organization's charter. As a result, Galician "Prosvita" supported Volhynia "Prosvita", in particular, numerous educators from Eastern Halychyna made proposals to change the charter of "Prosvita" or to adopt an updated version of it, which would emphasize that "..."Prosvita" field of activity is the whole state of Poland" (Zuliak, 2005, p. 130), thus trying to solve the Polish authorities refusal issue to register the statutes of Volhynia "Prosvita". However, the Polish authorities did not allow Galician "Prosvita" activities to be extended not only to the Polish lands but also to Volhynian Voivodeship, where "Prosvita" did not have any centralized structure.

As there was not any "Prosvita" coordination center in Volhynia, there was the drastic need to establish "Volhynia Prosvita" center. Therefore, on the initiative of Lutsk "Prosvita" the first congress of Volhynia povit (county) societies was summoned, which took place on February 15, 1921. The delegates listened to a series of reports concerning the Ukrainian schooling state in Volhynia and the work organization of "Prosvita" and made a decision on organizational formation of the "Association of Cultural and Educational Organizations of Volhynia", approving the Charter of the Association. However, the voivodship authorities refused to register the above-mentioned Statute (Strilchuk, 2018a, p. 84).

The Second Congress of Volhynia "Prosvita" took place in the voivodship center in July of 1922 and it began with a statement, which condemned the anti-Ukrainian policy carried out by the Polish government. In addition, the government's opposition to the Ukrainian schooling was highlighted, in connection with which the representatives of the povit "Prosvita" at the Congress expressed distrust in the school board (education authority) and school inspectors. At the same time, a decision was made to open the Ukrainian bookstores and "Prosvita" publishing organ (AAN, UWW, sygn. 978/63, p. 104). The Congress, which took place in July also adopted a resolution on Volhynia "Prosvita" center establishment, with the approval of its Statute.

It should be mentioned that the Voivodship Administration refused to register the Statute of Volhynia "Prosvita" as well as the previous time. In fact, the same refusal was confirmed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in May of 1925, after "Prosvita" appealed the decision of the Voivodship Administration.

Despite all the difficulties and opposition of the Polish authorities, by the end of the second decade of the XXth century, "Prosvita" gained popularity, and the number of "Prosvita" educational centers in Volhynian Voivodeship increased. In 1928, there were 640 "Prosvita" educational centers in Volhynia, uniting 16 700 people (Strilchuk, 2018a, p. 84).

I. Zuliak, the renowned researcher of "Prosvita" wrote the following words concerning the above-mentioned period: "The Society "Prosvita" was considered to be an informal Ministry for Education and Culture in Western Ukraine, forming the Ukrainians' national consciousness, educating the Ukrainians in the national and state spirit. "Prosvita" became a symbol of a national unification, a center that united the creative forces of the nation, was the basis of faith in a better future. Its merits were significant, as the society performed a socially significant function" (Zuliak, 2005, pp. 115–116).

The Third Congress of Volhynia "Prosvita" was held in the city of Rivne at the end of September of 1926. It was attended by 270 "Prosvita" representatives from all over Volhynian Voivodeship, as well as Lviv and Chełm "Prosvita" movement representatives. Among the issues discussed at the Congress there was the issue concerning uniting the separate societies of Volhynia "Prosvita". However, the overwhelming majority adopted a resolution which put an end to hopes for the establishment of a separate Volhynia "Prosvita". The resolution contained an appeal to Lviv Main Council of "Prosvita" with a request to take care of and provide general guidance of Volhynia "Prosvita" (Kucherepa, 2016, p. 29).

In the autumn of 1927, the Fourth Congress of Povit "Prosvita" of Volhynia Voivodeship was planned to be held in the city of Rivne, but the ban of the authorities stood in the way of its summon – the Congress did not take place. There were still some "Prosvita" centers in the region that did not have any unifying center.

In parallel with the refusal to register the Statutes of "Prosvita" and bans on holding "Prosvita" Congresses, the Polish state administration in Volhynia Voivodeship closed "Prosvita" reading rooms, closed the Ukrainian schools, put pressure on the Orthodox priests, and banned the theatrical performances and performances by the Ukrainian art groups (Filipovych, 2016). During the year of 1927, under various pretexts, the activities of dozens of county "Prosvita" centers were banned. The most common reason for the closure of "Prosvita" in Volhynia was declared: "political unreliability". However, the greatest peak of repressions against Volhynian "Prosvita" occurred when H. Yuzevsky, Volhynia voivode was at the head (Strilchuk, 2018a, p. 84).

Furthermore, a new Volhynia voivode saw his "Volhynia policy" in the political assimilation of the Ukrainian population of Volhynia, which would allow integrating Volhynia voivodeship into the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to H. Yuzevsky: "The Ukrainian National Movement in Volhynia, taking into consideration the state interests of Poland, had one

very dangerous feature – it was characterized by a strong Galician influence" (Yuzevskyi, 2017, pp. 152–184). Because of this, the main thing in "Volhynia Programme" of the new Volhynia voivode was the attempt to isolate Volhynia voivodeship from the "political and ideological influences of Eastern Galicia". In order to complete the above-mentioned issue, in Volhynia it was necessary to liquidate all public, political and cultural educational organizations, the centers of which existed outside Volhynia Voivodeship.

H. Yuzevskyi considered "Prosvita" societies to be a kind of manifestation of the Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia, and therefore launched a ruthless attack on them. In 1928, 318 branches of the society in Volhynia were liquidated (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9-a, c. 1075, p. 30). In addition, "Prosvita" ceased its activities in Rivne, Dubno and Kovel povits (counties). In 1929, "Prosvita" in Volodymyrskyi povit was liquidated. By the middle of the third decade of the XXth century, the Polish administration, headed by H. Yuzevskyi, liquidated the majority of the educational centers in Volhynia Voivodeship.

In September of 1931, Voivode H. Yuzevskyi drafted a document, which was presented to the Polish Minister of the Interior Affairs and contained a number of proposals regarding the peculiarities of the progressive separation of Volhynia from Galicia. "The current political situation in Volhynia", wrote the voivode, "in view of its proximity to Eastern Małopolska, obliges it to take certain steps that would, on the one hand, prevent the spread of terrorist acts and, on the other, emphasize Volhynia's political separateness". According to H. Yuzevskyi, Volhynia Voivodeship separation from Galician Voivodeships would guarantee the impossibility of any propaganda by Galician politicians and, at the same time, would lead to a complete rupture of organizational ties between the local Volhynia branches and the central authorities of Galicia (Filipovych, 2007, p. 54).

H. Yuzevskyi, in accordance with his "Volhynia Programme", sought to destroy the historically established ties between the inhabitants of Western Ukraine, turning the Volynians into loyal citizens of the Polish state. In fact, the policy, which was pursued by Volhynia voivode, formed an artificial wall between Galicia and Volhynia (Kuchererepa, 2001, p. 23).

Meanwhile, the bans on performances by "Prosvita" choirs and theaters in Volhynia Voivodeship, the ban on the Ukrainian schools, and refusal to register "Prosvita" Charter made the society's activities impossible. Finally, the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth decided to ban "Prosvita" activities in Volhynia Voivodeship. On June 16, 1934, on the basis of the order of the Povit Eldership, a meeting of Lutsk Povit "Prosvita" was summoned on July 1 the same year. In fact, the meeting was summoned to liquidate "Prosvita".

In order to illustrate the circumstances under which this liquidation took place, we present the minutes of the Liquidation Meeting of Lutsk Povit "Prosvita" dated on July 1, 1934: "… 1) at 10 o'clock the meeting was declared open by the Chairman of the society, so due to lack of quorum, it was postponed until 11 o'clock the same day.

2) at 11. 20 o'clock the "Prosvita" Society Chairman declared the Second Meeting open, which was already lawful, the chairmanship of the meeting was held by the Council of the Society headed by its Chairman V. Ostrovskyi....

5) In the order of informing, the Chairman of the Meeting made the speech, proclaiming the main points of the motives for closing "Prosvita" and all the steps of protection, which during this time were carried out by the Council of "Prosvita" (until July 1, 1934).

6) The conclusion on the complaint to the Administrative Tribunal against the decision of the Ministry for Internal Affairs on closing "Prosvita" was announced....

8) According to § 33 of the Charter of the Society, approved by all votes, to transfer all movable and immovable property and cash to eliminate all debts to the "Prosvita" Society in Lviv.

9) To elect the Liquidation Commission consisting of the following persons: V. Otrovskyi, A. Halushchuk, O. Sokal, H. Dzyublykova, A. Salo, O. Proskurytsia, M. Tarasyuk, S. Hovdiy, M. Yasinskyi....

11) The meeting participants listened to the financial report presented by Mr. I. Bondaruk... I. Bondaruk made a remark that the financial report was submitted as of the end of 1932 and amounts to a total of PLN 16.087.57 with balances of assets in the amount of PLN 4269.01 and with debts in the amount of PLN 1960.00.

12) at 14.15 the meeting was closed. 166 people were present at the liquidation meeting..." (CSHAU, f. 348, d. 1, c. 3492, pp. 11–12).

According to similar scenarios, liquidation meetings of all povit (county) and rural brances of "Prosvita" in Volhynia Voivodeship took place during the first half of the 1930s. By refusing to register "Prosvita" Statutes, the Polish authorities outlawed them. Also, there were forced to cease their activities, the majority of "Prosvita" branches in Volhynia gave their property and money to the Galician Society "Prosvita" located in Lviv.

The next step of H. Yuzevskyi, after the liquidation of organizations with Galician origin, was the creation of new organizations loyal to the Polish state. According to M. Kucherepa, Volhynia historian, such organizations were "Ridna Khata" in Lutsk, "Osnova" in Kovel, "Svitlo" in Dubno (Kuchererepa, 2001, p. 24), and the others. The Polish authorities kept an eye on the newly formed organizations.

The authors of the article agree with I. Zuliak, Ternopil historian's judgements, who claimed that the Polish authorities persecution of "Prosvita", in general, and in Volhynia, in particular, is due to the fact that the authorities of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did not understand and therefore did not take into account the national needs of the Ukrainians and tried, at all costs, to divide them, even within one state. It was quite difficult to counteract the oppression and other manifestations of the national policy of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Despite all the oppression and bans, "Prosvita", nevertheless, was able to have a significant impact on the formation of a national identity of Western Ukrainians (Zuliak, 2005, p. 116).

**The Conclusions.** Thus, concluding, we note that the colonization, anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish state towards the Ukrainians, in particular in Volhynia Voivodeship, had a negative impact on the situation of the indigenous population of Volhynia, as well as on the Ukrainian-Polish relations, in general. We believe that "Prosvita" liquidation in Volhynia Voivodeship was due to several reasons:

– firstly, the political situation of the Ukrainian lands that were the part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth;

- secondly, the assimilationist, the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish authorities towards the Ukrainians, in general, and Volhynia "Prosvita", in particular;

- thirdly, complex interethnic and political Polish-Ukrainian relations during the period under analysis;

- fourthly, insufficient cohesion between national Ukrainian political forces and public organizations (sometimes contradictory positions, mutual mistrust and regional involvement led to a split in the Ukrainian national forces).

Ceasing of "Prosvita" activities in Volhynia Voivodeship during the first half of the 1930s had an extremely negative impact on the Ukrainian schooling and the national culture development in Volhynia.

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