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**MYRON KORDUBA'S COOPERATION WITH POLISH PERIODICALS DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD: SOCIO-POLITICAL DISCOURSE**

**Abstract.** The purpose of the study is to attempt a holistic understanding of the socio-political issues brought to light by M. Korduba in the columns of Polish magazines during the interwar period. **The research methodology** is based on the traditional for historiography combination of principles and general scientific (comparison, generalization, analysis and synthesis), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and comparative, historical and typological, historical and psychological) methods of research. **The scientific novelty** of the article is based on a wide range of sources to elucidate the features of M. Korduba's cooperation with the Polish press in the Second Polish Republic. **Conclusions.** In conclusion, it should be noted that M. Korduba's cooperation with Polish magazines in the interwar twenties was due to the need to convey to the new owners of the Galician lands the Ukrainian vision of many problems of interethnic coexistence, which, as a result of ill-considered state

policy, took on threatening forms. With a considerable tact and proper historical reasoning, the scholar deconstructed the myths prevalent in the Polish journalism of the people's democratic camp about the Ukrainians as an ethnic community that never became a nation, and therefore must come to terms with its stateless status. Rejecting such a vision, M. Korduba emotionally insisted on the unconditional right of representatives of the largest national minority of the Second Polish Republic to have state-funded native-language schooling at all levels, public institutions free from police surveillance, and the press free from censorship. The historian also pointed out the danger of Polish officials fostering a "war psychosis" among their community, which forced them to see a fellow citizen of a different nationality as an enemy. The scholar emphasized that overcoming these relics of the Polish-Ukrainian war should create the basis for establishing an inter-neighbourly dialogue, and thus the emergence of a civil society united by common values. Insightfully M. Korduba predicted that only under such conditions the Polish statehood would have a chance to exist between the German and Soviet totalitarian regimes. As we know, the calls of the scholar and his like-minded people were not heard, and it caused tragic consequences for our peoples during the years of world confrontation.

**Key words:** M. Korduba, socio-political journalism, Polish-Ukrainian relations, interethnic understanding, polemic.

## СПІВПРАЦЯ МИРОНА КОРДУБИ З ПОЛЬСЬКИМИ ЧАСОПИСАМИ МІЖВОЄННОГО ЧАСУ: СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ ДИСКУРС

**Анотація.** *Мета* дослідження полягає у спробі цілісного осмислення актуалізованої Мироном Кордубою суспільно-політичної проблематики на шпальтах польських часописів міжвоєнного часу. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на традиційне для історіографії поєднання принципів та загальнонаукових (порівняння, узагальнення, аналізу і синтезу) і спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний та історико-психологічний) методів наукової праці. **Наукова новизна статті:** на підставі широкого кола джерел відтворити особливості співпраці М. Кордуби із польською пресою Другої Речі Посполитої. **Висновки.** У підсумку відзначено, що співпраця М. Кордуби з польськими часописами у міжвоєнне двадцятиліття була зумовлена потребою донести новим господарям галицьких теренів українське бачення багатьох проблем міжнаціонального співжиття, що внаслідок непродуманої державної політики набували загрозливих форм. З чималим тактом і належною історичною аргументованістю, вчений деконструював поширені в польській публіцистиці народно-демократичного табору міфи про українців як етнічну спільноту, що так і не стала нацією, а отже, повинна змиритися зі своїм бездержавним статусом. Відкидаючи таке бачення, М. Кордуба емоційно наполягав на безумовному праві представників найбільшої національної меншини Другої Речі Посполитої мати фінансоване державою рідномовне шкільництво всіх рівнів, вільні від поліційного нагляду громадські інституції та позбавлену цензурних переслідувань пресу. Також історик вказував на небезпеку плекання польськими чиновниками серед своєї громади "воєнного психозу", що змушував бачити у співгромадянину іншої національності ворога. Подолання цих реліктів доби польсько-української війни, наголошував учений, має створити основу для налагодження міжсусідського діалогу, а відтак і появи об'єданого спільними цінностями громадянського суспільства. М. Кордуба проникливо передбачав, що лише за таких умов польська державність матиме шанс на існування між німецьким та радянським тоталітарними режимами. Як знаємо, заклики вченого і його однодумців не були почуті, що мало трагічні наслідки для наших народів у роки світового протистояння.

**Ключові слова:** М. Кордуба, суспільно-політична публіцистика, польсько-українські взаємини, міжнаціональне порозуміння, полеміка.

**Probleen Statement.** In Myron Korduba's intellectual biography, a dominant plot is the scholar's collaboration with academic and socio-political periodicals. Such importance is due to the cultural situation peculiarities in Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century, when printed publications were popular platforms for operational communication of intellectuals with colleagues and a wide readership. In

view of this, over the past decades the scholars, who focused on Korduba studies, have made considerable efforts to clarify the specifics of a prominent historian's cooperation with many newspapers and magazines. It is expected that their focus was on M. Korduba's diverse contributions to the Ukrainian periodicals on both sides of the Zbruch River (Batiuk, 2014; Batiuk, 2016). Such a substantive emphasis, despite its justification, led to the marginalization of other important subjects in the scholar's creative heritage. This refers to the historian's active cooperation with many European periodicals, in whose columns he not only defended the Ukrainian vision of key events of the past region "from the San to the Don", but also popularized the current demands of modern Ukrainianhood. Drawing attention of historians to this little-known aspect of M. Korduba's intellectual biography, we will analyze his contributions to the Polish periodicals of the interwar period, when socio-political subjects dominated at the time.

**Review of Recent Research and Publications.** As it has been already mentioned, the issue of M. Korduba's cooperation with periodicals has a rather extensive literature today. At the same time, the publications of the Ukrainian scholar in the pages of Polish periodicals of the Second Polish Republic are mostly mentioned incidentally when clarifying his contemporary scientific activity (Polishchuk, 2019) or public (Pikh, 2012; Telvak, 2024). This particular aspect of the historian's work was first addressed by Oleh Pikh and Oksana Ruda, who comprehensively analyzed his long collaboration with the Polish men's historical magazine "Historical Quarterly" (in Polish "Kwartalnik Historyczny") (Ruda, & Pikh, 2012). However, as Lviv researchers found out, this cooperation mostly lasted until the beginning of World War I. In turn, in the context of the entire intellectual biography of M. Korduba, Tetiana Kulchytska tried to focus on the issue under study (Kulchytska, 2007). But she also focused on the historiographical component of the scholar's contributions to the Polish press mostly. The aforementioned circumstances determined the relevance of the topic of our research.

**The purpose** of the study is to attempt a holistic understanding of the socio-political issues brought to light by M. Korduba in the columns of Polish magazines during the interwar period.

**Research Results.** The issue of establishing cooperation between M. Korduba and the Polish press publications should be considered in the general context of the historian's formation as an intellectual. The powerful influence on this process of his teacher and founder of the Lviv school of Ukrainian studies, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, is meant (Telvak, Pedych, & Telvak, 2021). As it is known, the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus" had quite difficult relations with the Polish elites, as he defended the maxim of equality of an interethnic dialogue consistently, which was denied to him by the leaders of Galician politics, who were carried away by the slogans of national democracy (Telvak, Yanyshyn, & Telvak, 2023). Therefore, Lviv Professor avoided any systematic cooperation with his Polish colleagues, considering it more expedient to concentrate on the modernization of Ukrainian science and culture. In this spirit of a certain national exclusivity, he also educated his Galician students.

However, representatives of his Lviv school, who grew up in the realities of multicultural Galicia different from their teacher, not only did not see anything harmful in cooperation with eternal national competitors, but on the contrary, considered it necessary given the need to popularize Ukrainian cultural and political aspirations. Therefore, they were actively published in the Polish press, despite the condemnation of the authoritative teacher. Thus, when M. Hrushevsky saw M. Korduba's articles on the pages of "Kwartalnika Historycznego", then I asked him directly – "Why do you publish your articles there?" (Kupchynskyi, 2016, p. 113). In response, the aspiring historian justified his cooperation by the desire to have an

authoritative Polish journal in his own library, which cost a lot but was given to employees free of charge. However, the young man pointed out only the pragmatic component of his cooperation, without revealing information and popularization motivation.

Our assumption is based on M. Korduba's consistent making contacts with many influential Polish magazines of the Second Polish Republic. In their columns, the historian, despite the threat of persecution and even loss of job, with his characteristic courage, explained to the creators of the revived Poland an existential need for the two peoples to normalize relations between neighbours, because the new masters of the situation often behaved like real occupiers and assimilators. At the same time, the scholar was given specific subjects for scientific or public journalism by the life of that time, which for the local population of Western Ukrainian territories was full of difficult struggle for their own national, cultural, and political subjectivity.

Thus, when speculative theses about the ethnic "immaturity" of the Ukrainians, who as the people were formed much later than their neighbours, were spread in the Polish journalism in the 1920s and 1930s, M. Korduba considered it necessary to outline a professional position on this issue. As it is known, during the interwar period, the Ukrainian intellectuals in the "free world" intensively developed the origin issue of our people, and a Galician scholar also took a prominent part in this discussion. Based on the theses of his teacher M. Hrushevsky about the early medieval genesis of the Ukrainians, he put forward a bold theory about the commonality of the Ukrainian and Belarusian peoples until the 17th century (Yusova, 2004). This thesis was questioned by the Belarusian linguist, historian and political figure Jan Stankiewicz in the pages of the journal "National Affairs" ("Sprawy Narodowościowe"), an organ of the Warsaw Institute for the Study of National Affairs (Stankiewicz, 1931). Responding to his Belarusian colleague, M. Korduba developed his ethnological concept in the columns of the same magazine about the simultaneous appearance of the Poles and the Ukrainians on the ethnic map of Europe (Korduba, 1932).

Since then, the Ukrainian scholar had established closer contacts with the aforementioned Institute for the Study of National Affairs and its printed tribune. This was evidenced by the invitation of M. Korduba to deliver a report on the formation of the Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Middle Ages (the 10th-13th centuries). As a great expert on the Ukrainian chronicles and Polish chronicles, the scholar comprehensively analyzed the intensive dynastic relations between representatives of the Piast and Rurykovichy dynasties, reconstructed the increasingly wide trade contacts, and emphasized the mutual enrichment from cultural interactions (Korduba, 1933b). Therefore, the speaker concluded, during the princely times, relations between the two peoples were rather harmonious, as respectful and equal treatment of the neighbour dominated.

However, as mentioned above, the situation was completely different during the interwar period. To explain to the Polish reader the Ukrainian vision of the current state of interethnic relations, M. Korduba chose the monthly "Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński", which was the printed organ of the Polish-Ukrainian Society headed by Stanisław Stempowski, the Polish writer and public and political figure. This institution and its media platform were part of the state policy of the so-called Promethean movement, which Polish officials opposed to the Soviet national policy.

The largest number of M. Korduba's posts focused on discussing the problem of national higher education, which was important for the Western Ukrainian community. Unlike many Polish and Ukrainian participants in the discussion regarding the model for founding the

Ukrainian University, the scholar had considerable pedagogical experience in secondary (gymnasiums in Chernivtsi and Lviv) and higher (Ukrainian Secret University and University of Warsaw) educational institutions, so his vision of the situation was distinguished by consistency and pragmatism. Thus, unlike many Ukrainian colleagues, he opposed the idea of a private higher education institution strongly, rightly pointing out the difficulty of recognizing its diplomas not only by the Polish state, but also by Western countries. Thus, he emphasized the lack of alternatives to competing for a state-funded higher education institution (Batiuk, 2017).

In the article “On the Issue of the Ukrainian University in Lviv”, M. Korduba primarily reminded the Polish readers that the issue of Ukrainian higher education was not something unexpected, as some publicists had portrayed it, but had been discussed for decades, ever since in the second half of the 19th century the Ukrainians had declared their ambitions for higher education. From that moment on, the chauvinistic part of the Polish figures of the Galician region expressed the view that the creation of the Ukrainian University as a source of education for the local population and the associated growth of irredentist sentiments in its environment were quite dangerous. Since then, as M. Korduba pointed out with regret, this vision had taken hold of increasingly wider circles of the Polish community, who saw their neighbours as nothing more than the second-class people.

The historian argues that the sentiments of the Polish community became even more radical after the occupation of Western Ukrainian territories. From the first years of the existence of the revived Polish state, the national democrats, as the dominant political force, fueled chauvinistic sentiments among their compatriots, consistently denying the right of Ukrainians to a complete national education system. And only the international obligations to the Entente when transferring Galicia to the Polish protectorate forced the authorities to begin discussing the Ukrainian University issue. However, as the scholar convincingly illustrated many examples, such a discussion turned out to be profanation. It is said that any planned Ukrainian University centres were immediately rejected as impossible. And it was not only about Lviv, which was desired by our people, but even about ordinary provincial towns: as soon as the name of a settlement was mentioned in the press, the Polish administration organized a corresponding refusal note from representatives of the indignant Polish community. Frankly mocking this situation, M. Korduba noted: “It would seem that if the government decided to locate the unfortunate university in the forests on Hoverla, a deputation of bears and wolves would appear with their protest” (Korduba, 1933c, p. 5).

Instead, the Galician scholar explained to the Polish reader that the desire of the Ukrainians to have their own higher education was completely natural and did not violate state interests at all. On the contrary, the Polish state should be concerned that the Ukrainian youth did not go abroad to study, where there was a significant risk of radicalization of their sentiments. Also, the requirement to establish a higher education institution in Lviv was not a whim, explained M. Korduba, but only a simple logistical necessity, since the city was home to the largest number of Ukrainian scholars and the richest cultural institutions (libraries, archives, and museums). The Ukrainian scholar reinforced this vision of the situation with the authoritative voices of such democratically minded Polish intellectuals as former Minister of Education Leon Wasilewski and Kraków Professor Volodymyr Semkowycz. Therefore, M. Korduba concluded, an important task of the journal “*Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*” should be “to popularize among the Polish public those Ukrainian desiderata that do not contradict Polish state interests and that sober minds, free from all kinds of prejudices and unhealthy

chauvinism, recognize as correct and necessary [...]. Among such cases that require an immediate positive solution, I include, first of all, the issue of the Ukrainian University in Poland” (Korduba, 1933c, p. 8). Interestingly, the editor-in-chief of the Polish press, Volodymyr Bonczkowski, acknowledged that his Ukrainian colleague was completely right and, in a note to his article, suggested launching a broad discussion of the problem raised by M. Korduba.

The initiator of the discussion took part in it. The article by the Galician scholar “A Few Dates from the History of Efforts of Ukrainian Society to Establish its Own University” (in Polish “Kilka dat z dziejów dążeń społeczeństwa ukraińskiego do uzyskania własnego uniwersytetu”) is meant. The motive for writing it, M. Korduba calls the need to demonstrate the continuity of the idea of the Ukrainian higher institutions to the Polish society. Thus, the publicist reached back to the period of the Fraternal School of Stavropegia, then turned to the past of the Ostroh Academy and the Mohyla Academic Centre (Korduba, 1934a, p. 1). In detail M. Korduba described the Ukrainian competitions for higher education during the Austrian rule (Korduba, 1934a, pp. 2–4). Thus, the reader learned about the circumstances of the Studium Ruthenum establishment at Lviv University, and later the emergence of the first Ukrainian departments in 1849, 1862, and 1872. Since then, the scholar claimed, the unequal struggle of the Poles and the Ukrainians for the expansion of the rights of their people in this main higher educational institution of Eastern Galicia had begun. Its Polish leaders, using their economic and political dominance in the region and powerful influence in Vienna, through bylaws actually eliminated the legally Utraquist nature of the University and gradually gave it an increasingly Polish national nature. The Ukrainians, in turn, the historian claimed, responded to such consistent restrictions on their cultural rights with obstructions in the state parliament and the Galician Sejm, as well as a fierce struggle of youth within University walls, which took the form of mass secessions. Despite the efforts of the Polish politicians at the time to completely deprive their national opponents of influence at Lviv University, state law guaranteed associate professors and professors the right to conduct lectures in their native language, so by the beginning of World War I, the Ukrainians had 12 departments. Therefore, the author of the article emphasized, the current situation at Lviv University was completely unnatural, when after the Polish victory in the internecine war all Ukrainian departments were forcibly abolished. In view of this, M. Korduba concluded, if Polish calls for interethnic reconciliation were sincere, it was time to give the Ukrainians a higher education in the historical centre of their cultural life – Lviv.

Another challenge that the Ukrainian scholar considered necessary to respond to concerned the attempts of the Polish publicists to desecrate the November Act and, in general, the struggle of the local population of Eastern Galicia for their statehood. The direct impetus for M. Korduba was the article “Uwagi programowe” by the Polish historian, a writer and diplomat Stanisław Łoś, in which he accused the Galician Ukrainians of “the desire to shoot not further than Lviv, rather than defend Kyiv from the Bolshevik invasion” (Łoś, 1935a). In response, M. Korduba pointed out his opponent’s manipulation of dates and events, because the Sich Riflemen actively defended the capital of Ukraine from the Russian aggression (Korduba, 1935a). Also, from the position of the Ukrainian conciliator, the historian pointed out the equal significance to his people of both Kyiv and Lviv. These arguments did not convince the Polish publicist, who in his reply to the article of the Galician scholar emotionally accused the Ukrainian leaders of political shortsightedness, which consisted in drawing their people into the struggle on two fronts (Łoś, 1935b).

M. Korduba could not ignore the numerous facts of the Polish administration of the western Ukrainian lands consistently alienating the largest national minority of the state. It is said that after the occupation of the Galician territories, the new owners began a violent reformatting of public places of memory, purposefully replacing symbols of the Ukrainian presence with the Polish ones. The latter were often xenophobic, anti-Ukrainian in nature and contained hate speech, which made it impossible to establish a dialogue between neighbours. As an example, the scholar cited a memorial sign in Zbarazh, which honoured the Polish victims of the events of 1918 – 1919 (Korduba, 1933a). On the memorial sign, the local authorities placed a frankly provocative inscription: “To the Poles of Zbarazh land who died a martyr’s death in defense of Poland’s eternal rights on the eastern borders at the hands of savage and confused Ruthenians during the coup of 1918 – 1919”. Commenting on the act of Polish officials, M. Korduba, with undisguised wit, asked the Polish reader: what should be more surprising – the “outstanding political intelligence” of the authors of the inscription, the “eastern stoicism of the Ukrainian residents of Zbarazh, who did not try to eliminate this insult” or the “Olympic calmness of the headman”, who sees this essentially anti-state act every day. The scholar called on the Polish authorities to resolutely eliminate such manifestations of “war psychosis” and anti-Ukrainian provocations from public places as a necessary prerequisite for establishing an interethnic dialogue. It should be noted that M. Korduba’s arguments were so convincing that the editor-in-chief of the journal “The Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin” (in Polish “Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński”) V. Bonczkowski fully agreed with his Ukrainian correspondent and called for noting such manifestations of national intolerance for their further removal from the public space.

M. Korduba considered the obsessive initiative of some Polish public intellectuals and officials to change our national name from a modern one (Ukrainians) to an archaic one (Ruthenians), which was one of the brightest manifestations of the state assimilative policy in the Second Polish Republic, to be no less cynical provocation. The immediate impetus for the Ukrainian scholar’s speech was the article by Kazimir Kierski “Why Ruthenians and not Ukrainians” (in Polish “Dla czego Rusini a nie Ukraińcy?”), which appeared in the columns of the popular Kraków magazine “Illustrated Daily Courier” (in Polish “Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny”). In it, a well-known Polish lawyer, imitating the rhetoric of the Endeks, called on state officials and society to resolutely abandon the toponym “Ukraine” and ethnic names derived from it. In his opinion, these terms “were invented by Hrushevsky” and spread by “Ruthenian separatists” with the aim of destroying the unity of the Second Polish Republic community (Kierski, 1936).

Despite K. Kierski’s openly provocative speech, his ideas were quite popular among the Polish public and political figures. Many of them advocated a return to the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth traditions of treating neighbouring people as “kin” people, thereby denying them cultural identity and political subjectivity. Understanding the harmfulness of such rhetoric for the normalization of internecine dialogue, M. Korduba, from the height of his own considerable experience as an onomastic researcher, consistently refuted the speculations of K. Kierski (Korduba, 1937). Ridiculing his argumentation as completely amateurish, the Ukrainian scholar called on his opponent and his like-minded people “not to close their horizons with political and party zeal”, but to look at the problem they raised in the broad context of formation of ethnonyms in European territories. It is said that most of the well-known ethnonyms (for example, Italians, French, Germans) originally came from narrowly local toponyms. Then M. Korduba extremely judiciously explained

to the Polish reader the historical and socio-cultural circumstances of the emergence in the Middle Ages and the establishment in the following centuries of the self-name of the Ukrainians. In conclusion, the historian emphasized: "In the 20th century, one should operate with modern concepts that correspond to this century, and not feverishly cling to the mental categories of long-gone times" (Korduba, 1937, s. 15).

Along with his purely polemical journalism, many of M. Korduba's contributions to the Polish magazines were of a popularizing nature. Sometimes the reasons for the appearance of such texts were tragic events in the history of our people. For example, let us recall a number of thorough memorial essays by the Galician scholar, in which he honoured the memory of his teacher M. Hrushevsky, who prematurely passed away at the end of November of 1934 in Kyslovodsk (Telvak, & Telvak, 2018). It was M. Korduba who, on the pages of such authoritative publications as "Biuletyń Polsko-Ukraiński" (Korduba, 1934b), "Pion" (Korduba, 1934c) and "Przegląd Historyczny" (Korduba, 1935b), conveyed the irreparable national loss of the Ukrainians to the Polish reader. In the obituaries he wrote, the scholar focused on explaining to the Polish audience the phenomenal cultural service of the Great Ukrainian. At the same time, he emphasized that it was owing to his "History of Ukraine-Rus" that our people gained their historical subjectivity.

Given the long-standing struggle of the Polish nationalist journalism against the scientific and public authority of M. Hrushevsky, M. Korduba separately addressed the problem of the teacher's understanding of the conditions for establishing an interethnic dialogue. Using many examples, the Galician historian proved that the teacher was never an enemy of the Polish people, as the NDP press traditionally presented. Instead, the obituaries emphasized, the prominent historian consistently opposed the ideology of reviving "historical Poland" at the expense of infringing on the cultural and political rights of the Ukrainians. Following the rhetoric of M. Hrushevsky's journalism, his student pointed out to the Polish reader the need to establish equal and respectful relations as a prerequisite for the effectiveness of an inter-neighbourly dialogue. It should be noted that it was M. Korduba's memorial articles in the Polish and Ukrainian periodicals that significantly influenced the Hrushevsky-related discourse of the Czech (Telvak, & Telvak, 2019), French (Telvak, & Telvak, 2022), and German (Telvak, Yanyshyn, & Telvak 2021) historiography of the second half of the 1930s.

**Conclusions.** In conclusion, it should be noted that M. Korduba's cooperation with Polish magazines in the interwar twenties was due to the need to convey to the new owners of the Galician lands the Ukrainian vision of many problems of interethnic coexistence, which, as a result of ill-considered state policy, took on threatening forms. With a considerable tact and proper historical reasoning, the scholar deconstructed the myths prevalent in the Polish journalism of the people's democratic camp about the Ukrainians as an ethnic community that never became a nation, and therefore must come to terms with its stateless status. Rejecting such a vision, M. Korduba emotionally insisted on the unconditional right of representatives of the largest national minority of the Second Polish Republic to have state-funded native-language schooling at all levels, public institutions free from police surveillance, and the press free from censorship. The historian also pointed out the danger of Polish officials fostering a "war psychosis" among their community, which forced them to see a fellow citizen of a different nationality as an enemy. The scholar emphasized that overcoming these relics of the Polish-Ukrainian war should create the basis for establishing an inter-neighbourly dialogue, and thus the emergence of a civil society united by common values. Insightfully M. Korduba predicted that only under such conditions the Polish statehood would have a chance to exist

between the German and Soviet totalitarian regimes. As we know, the calls of the scholar and his like-minded people were not heard, and it caused tragic consequences for our peoples during the years of world confrontation.

Finally, we would like to point out the considerable relevance of the analyzed journalism of M. Korduba for understanding the current state of the Polish-Ukrainian dialogue. We should state that in both cases a hundred years ago and now, some politicians, in an attempt to increase their own electoral appeal, construct a divisive discourse. This leads to the growth of hate speech in the mass media, which once again alienates neighbouring peoples. Based on the interwar experience, a consistent fight against these manifestations of xenophobia will give a chance to avoid repeating the tragic pages of our past.

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