

**Biopolitical tendencies in the interwar Eastern Galicia:
role of the ethnic minorities**

By

Iryna Mysiv

Submitted to

Central European University

Nationalism Studies Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Supervisor: Mária M. Kovács

Second Reader: András Kovács

Budapest, Hungary
2019

Abstract

The thesis focuses on biopolitical tendencies in the interwar Eastern Galicia. They are considered through the prism of the eugenics movement, as well as its connection with state policy. Since this territory belonged to the Second Polish Republic during this period, the eugenics was looked at in the context of the Polish policy itself. In addition, the issue of minorities is raised, as well as their role in the construction of a new strong state.

Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
Sources.....	3
Historiography.....	4
Methodology	7
Natural sciences and politics.....	10
Biopolitics, as the intersection and mutual incorporation of life and politics	11
Social Darwinism, as a predecessor to a eugenics movement	13
Issues and challenges of eugenics as a cutting edge in improving the quality of a “national body”	15
Influence of hygiene and public health on the institutionalisation of the state	21
Blood researches, as an advanced branch of Polish science	23
Racial determinism and ethnic minorities' issues in Second Polish Republic.....	26
Eastern Galicia – the Piedmont of nation-building	26
The evolution of the policy of the Second Polish Republic in the interwar period	30
Anthropological studies in Second Polish Republic and racial determinism	38
Races on the Polish territories.....	42
Studies on races in South-Eastern Poland	45
Ukrainian “racial hygiene”	47
Conclusion.....	51
Tables.....	52
Bibliography.....	61

List of tables

Table 1 – The Diagram of Czekanowski. Czekanowski, Jan. *Zagadnienia antropologii Zarys antropologii teoretycznej*. Księgarnia Naukowa T.Szczęsny i S-ka, Toruń 1948, 76.

Table 2 – Races, outlined by different authors. Czekanowski, Jan. *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej*. Krakow, 1928.

Table 3 – The Nordic type. Czekanowski, Jan. *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej*. Krakow, 1928.

Table 4 – The pre-Slavic type or the Eastern race. Czekanowski, Jan. *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej*. Krakow, 1928.

Table 5 – The Alpine type. Czekanowski, Jan. *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej*. Krakow, 1928.

Table 6 – The Dynaric Type. Czekanowski, Jan. *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej*. Krakow, 1928.

Table 7 – The Sub-nordic type. Czekanowski, Jan. *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej*. Krakow, 1928.

Table 8 – The anthropological map of Poland, outlined by Czekanowski

Introduction

The questions of eugenics and racial theories are very problematic. They were suppressed not only in science but also in the political aspect since in public opinion they were associated with negative connotations of the Second World War. Medical research, genetic experiments, ethnic cleansing are the horrors that began to emerge in the minds of people when referring to eugenic or anthropological research. However, the implementation of theoretical concepts in practice in such a radical way was not from the beginning of such studies. The use of biological theories in politics, as well as the radicalisation of all spheres of life, which led to such consequences, changed these concepts to no avail.

At the beginning of the 20th century, scientific societies began to emerge throughout Europe, which disseminated the dogmatic ideas at various levels of social and political life. The purpose of this activity, supported by research in various areas of biology, anthropology, and genetics, was the rise of humanity to a new civilisation level. In addition, the issue of health has been firmly established not only in scientific researches but also in the political sphere – biologisation of politics has taken place. The foundation of the biopolitical program of racial hygiene and “hereditary biology”, and also combination of these ideas with geopolitical considerations became the result of such double influence.

Biologisation of various spheres of political life, that is, the application in the political sphere systemic approach, characteristic of the totality of life sciences was called biopolitics. Life and its quality have become the central element of the sphere of decisions and actions. Not only was the life of one individual important, and the collective – the nation or people began to be perceived as a “body”, and the very improvement of the life and health of this “body” became the goal of the newly emerged states’. In the interwar period, the issue of degeneracy was a new development – the degeneration of the nation became the main fear of political leaders. Along

with the improvement of the situation by positive methods – the introduction of hygiene in life, new research in medicine, etc. firmly stood a struggle with factors that negatively affected the development of society – alcoholism, mental illnesses, genetic abnormalities, etc.

The emergence and formation of new states in the same period required the institutionalisation of various structures. Thus, the emergence of various scientific societies influenced the development of state institutions, not only in the context of those that rose in their activities but also in the role of a unifying factor.

By the mid-1920s four major schools of anthropology had emerged in Poland: Jan Czekanowski's Lviv school of anthropology, which used statistics in analyses of racial types, the Warsaw morphological school, Poznań comparative school of physiological development, and the school of comparative anatomy at the University of Warsaw. Thus, all these societies and organisations have used completely different methods of research. Italian professor Gini even called eugenics the bridge between statistics and genetics.

There were several projects for the future state development, among which federal and national ones were the most supported. All of them had their own national minority policies. An important change in the Polish eugenics and anthropological research was the beginning of the policy of *Sanacja* that can be characterised by its focus on regionalism and ethnic belonging. The politics of the Second Republic revolved around the issue of national minorities, mostly Ukrainians and Jews.

National minorities in the vision of Polish statesmen of the interwar period were perceived as a threat – they were supposed to be tamed in one way or another, and biological methods of research, which were also included in the political sector, were supposed to help. The Ukrainians saw as part of the state – they were supposed to be fully assimilated; instead, the Jews did not lose their place in the new Poland – they were to be expelled beyond the borders of the state.

While Polish anthropologists differentiated between different ethnic and racial types in Poland and politicians used these research for propaganda purposes, some representatives of the Ukrainian national minority also joined the discourse. The ideas of the superiority of a certain race or nation are inherent in the nationalism of the interwar period, among which was both Polish and Ukrainian ones. For example, the ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism, Dmytro Dontsov, in correspondence with an anthropologist Rostyslav Jendyk, argued for the distancing of the Ukrainian nation from the nations of neighbouring states, as well as the use of certain traits inherent in different racial types in shaping the future course of politics.¹

Thus, I am interested in the relationship between politics and biological research in the interwar period in Eastern Galicia, which is a multinational region, which is why it is a rather complicated region to study. In addition, it was a subject to political claims by several state and non-state peoples. In this context, I am interested in regional peculiarities of anthropological and eugenic studies, as well as their influence on the political sphere in the region.

Sources

Although, the range of sources for the chosen topic should be wide: correspondence, newspapers, publications, brochures, official documents, etc., search for them revealed some difficulties. Since the theme of eugenics was very controversial in the post-war discourse, not all documents were saved. Moreover, since eugenics used to be a rather broad movement, which included both researchers from different fields (such as anthropologists, doctors, historians, ethnographers, etc.) and political figures, the search for the necessary sources are expanding considerably while at the same time pursuing a very narrow search in specific institutions.

Thus, as sources, in addition to archival data, I used publications of people, involved the movement, such as publications in magazines, books, and brochures printed prior to 1940.

¹ ЦДАЛ. Колекція мікрофільмів. № м/ф 83982 Листи осіб на літери "Д-І" до Д. Донцова / Letters of persons on the letters "D-I" to D. Dontsov

Such materials allow us to see some discourse on issues of eugenics, as well as national and ethnic minorities. Since these publications represent the opinions of certain people or organisations to which these people belong, it becomes possible to construct their vision of both themselves within the movement and its connection with the state. From these publications, we learn about the scientific developments of the researchers or public figures themselves, studies of their predecessors, as well as their critical attitude to certain ideas.

Historiography

In Western historiography, the issue of eugenics and racial theories was raised earlier – in the 1990s, however, in Central and Eastern Europe, this topic has long been silenced, still not being very broadly studied. After the Second World War, given the negative connotations of such studies, it was tabooed both in terms of history of ideas, political history, and history of science. Studies involving major European states, such as Germany, England, France, originated from the peripheral status of backward states, with regard to issues of colonialism. Instead, information and, therefore, different literature on Central and Eastern Europe reached the West with difficulty. Studies on the history of eugenics in the Eastern block were not postponed due to the relationship between the centre-periphery, according to Magdalena Gawin, but because of the backwardness of research in this region during the Cold War.²

The communist propaganda of the 40-50s created a certain vision of eugenics as a negative phenomenon, linking it with the experiments and assassinations of World War II. Moreover, most scientific societies, including eugenic ones, have been dissolved or subjected to rigorous political oversight, so the issues associated with their work could not be the subject of proper evaluation for many years. Hence, the concealment of information about the local eugenics movement in the Eastern block seems logical, since there was a certain distancing

² Magdalena Gawin and Kamila Uzarczyk, *Eugenika - biopolityka - państwo: z historii europejskich ruchów eugenicznych w pierwszej połowie XX w.* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2010)

from this problematic issue. The connection of racism and eugenics to the old colonial attraction of great powers did not leave room for ambivalence, which was demanded by the problems of local eugenic movements.

In the Polish context, the consequence of such a policy of silence was the lack of raising the subject of eugenics, even in studies of the history of science, despite the high representation of the scientific elite in eugenic societies. Moreover, even the pre-war textbooks were subjected to this censorship, from which the phraseology concerning the eugenics or racial theories was removed.

Given the lack of sources, it is difficult to say whether such secretion of eugenics from the attention of scientists and doctors after the Second World War was provoked by its own censorship or a human factor in removing from the historical memory unprofitable moments that could compromise reputations of these people.

Despite this, studies of eugenics and biopolitics began to take up, though not so long ago. In his book *The Pure Society: From Darwin to Hitler*, André Pichot argues that eugenics was not the work of a few people and especially Nazi ideologists, but that it used to be the mainstream, and it were the opponents of the ideas of eugenics who were the intellectual “eccentrics”. In addition, the author suggests that the taboo on the recognition of the common faith in the eugenics was intended to minimise and disguise the links between eugenics and racist themes and modern biology.

In the book “Eugenics - biopolitics - the state. From the history of European eugenic movements in the first half of the 20th century” (“Eugenika - biopolityka - państwo. Z historii europejskich ruchów eugenicznych w pierwszej połowie XX w.”), edited by Magdalena Gawin and Kamila Uzarczyk, the group of authors explores various issues, both from the history of eugenics and its consequences. Just like other collections that cover the existence of a single phenomenon in different conditions and countries, this book investigates a phenomenon of

eugenics in the European context. Issues of eugenics, biopolitics and state establish a broad and at the same time an interesting perspective on the consideration of various aspects of the history of the eugenics movement in the context of the biopolitical theory. In their articles, the authors demonstrate the process of gradual medication of political discourse, which is closely linked to the development of a modern state.

Also, Magdalena Gawin attempted to write the history of the Polish eugenic movement, from the 1880s to 1952 in her book “Race and modernity. The history of the Polish eugenic movement (1880-1952)” (“Rasa i nowoczesność. Historia polskiego ruchu eugenicznego (1880–1952)”). In her research, the author focused mainly on both the political and social context of eugenics and searched for a “style of eugenic thinking” on Polish lands. Magdalena Gawin defines eugenics as the science of improving the human race or the physical and psychological properties of the human body. She presents the development of the Polish eugenic movement in chronological order, in an international context, claiming that the movement could no longer be isolated from similar ones, arising in different parts of Europe. She also mentions that the English and German researches also had a great influence on the Polish scientific environment.

The book by Magdalena Gavin is another proof of how erroneous the idea is that the term “eugenics” relates only to the Nazi ideology of racial purity. An analysis of the documents collected by the author also suggests that the idea of eugenics was neither a product of Nazi ideology or its popularity was limited to the Third Reich. As it was already mentioned, the studies of eugenics existed already in the Habsburg Empire, and Magdalena Gavin’s book may become a guide in the study of Polish eugenics in a later period. In addition, eugenics was not only a method of interpreting empirical facts but became a kind of ideology that shaped the approach to key social issues.

The book “The History of East-Central European Eugenics, 1900-1945” contains 100 primary sources, translated from different East-Central European languages. It redefines the European history of eugenics by exploring the ideological transmission of eugenics internationally and, moreover, its application locally in East-Central Europe. In addition to the Polish case, this book presents an analysis of the main eugenics organisations, individuals and policies that shaped the sphere of eugenics in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania. Moreover, it explores how ethnic minorities interacted with national and international eugenics discourses to advance their own goals. Also, the book provides a comparative analysis of the emergence and development of eugenics in East-Central Europe more generally and contains a list of all eugenic societies and journals from the countries, presented in a book.

In the book “Modernism and Eugenics”, Marius Turda explores the history of Europe in the context of eugenics programs. It shows that between 1870 and 1940 there was anxiety about the racial destiny of nations. When Poland gained its independence in 1918, the great question arose about national unity, strengthening its own position as a nation on the international scene in the context of modernisation.

Methodology

Currently, studies often go beyond the scope of one discipline. For a more complete description of the socio-political processes historians, sociologists, as well as political scientists feel the need for an interdisciplinary view. This allows them to construct more complete models of the interpretation of certain phenomena. Since the very essence of the eugenics movement is complex, because it includes politics, intellectual developments and the everyday lifestyle, it is important to apply the interdisciplinary spectrum. The focus of this work is the “medicalisation”

of the Second Polish Republic's policy, as well as its influence on the "othering" on the territory of Eastern Galicia in the interwar period.

In my work, I tried to describe the main theoretical provisions of the application of the eugenics policies, and to offer an explanation of how these theories were implemented in the policy of the Second Polish Republic, especially in the context of the policy of national minorities. The thesis aims to closely look both at the Polish eugenics in a geopolitical context and the evolution of the Polish politics in Eastern Galicia, therefore it is very important to define terms that are used and to display the processes that stood behind them. That is why the first half of my diploma is devoted to more general concepts and definitions and their connections with the eugenics movement, and the second part adds the political context in the Eastern Galicia in the interwar period. Since the focus of my research is on the history of ideas, I mainly use the methodology to frame the research.

Among others, I used identity theories, group and out-group relations and formation of the discourse. Term "discourse" is used as a process of "reflecting a distribution of knowledge, authority, and social relationship, which propels those enrolled in it".³ Eugenic movement used to create a certain discourse and existed in one. The problems of social categorisation, social identity, social psychology of minorities are raised by Henry Tajfel in his "Human groups and social categories" (1981). The scholar defined a theory of social identity as a "part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership".⁴ Tajfel also writes about social grouping, which leads us to the question of in-group and the out-group relations that include prejudice and discrimination among or between different groups.

³ Kevin C. Dunn and Iver B. Neumann, *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research* (University of Michigan Press, 2016), 20.

⁴ Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (CUP Archive, 1981), 255.

In my work, I tried to describe the main theoretical provisions of the application of the eugenics policies, and to offer an explanation of how these theories were implemented in the policy of the Second Polish Republic, especially in the context of the policy of national minorities. The thesis aims to closely look both at the Polish eugenics in a geopolitical context and the evolution of the Polish politics in Eastern Galicia, therefore it is very important to define terms that are used and to display the processes that stood behind them. That is why the first half of my diploma is devoted to more general concepts and definitions and their connections with the eugenics movement, and the second part adds the political context in the Eastern Galicia in the interwar period. Since the focus of my research is on the history of ideas, I mainly use the methodology to frame the research.

Among others, I used identity theories, group and out-group relations and formation of the discourse. Term “discourse” is used as a process of “reflecting a distribution of knowledge, authority, and social relationship, which propels those enrolled in it”.⁵ Eugenic movement used to create a certain discourse and existed in one. The problems of social categorisation, social identity, social psychology of minorities are raised by Henry Tajfel in his “Human groups and social categories” (1981). The scholar defined a theory of social identity as a “part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”.⁶ Tajfel also writes about social grouping, which leads us to the question of in-group and the out-group relations that include prejudice and discrimination among or between different groups.

In my work, I did not focus on the identification and description of the activities of various scientific societies, mainly paying attention to the Lviv school, since it was central for

⁵ Kevin C. Dunn and Iver B. Neumann, *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research* (University of Michigan Press, 2016), 20.

⁶ Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (CUP Archive, 1981), 255.

the region. The system of social categorisation is used by me both regarding the representatives of the eugenics movement (their scientific orientation inside the movement, as well as their links with political forces), and regarding the issues of national minorities. Since Eastern Galicia is a multiethnic region, while conducting my research, I focused both on a feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic or national group, and on the state policy regarding these groups.

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper proposed to use the term identification as a process of the formation of people's identity and belonging, defined by a set of variables surrounding a person or a group.⁷ However, external and internal identification (image of in-group and out-group) does not always coincide, which is very noticeable on the example of Ukrainians living on the territory of Eastern Galicia. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, they went from "Rusyns" to "Ukrainians". Political opportunity structure used to open and close for them, and they themselves were perceived as part of a national project or an obstacle to its implementation by the Polish government.⁸

It's also worth mentioning the concept of *Histoire Croisée* (entangled history), described by Michael Werner and Benedict Zimmermann. This approach focuses on the existence of many points of view as a result of different languages, terminology, traditions, etc. It adds a new dimension to the study: similarities or differences and the transfer of experience are seen as interdependent perspectives. In my study, I draw attention to the entanglement of politics and the natural sciences: as scientific works became an instrument of political propaganda, and political forces became influential for researches' directions.

Natural sciences and politics

⁷ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (February 2000), 1.

⁸ Doug McAdam and Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge University Press, 2001, P. 412), 110.

Biopolitics, as the intersection and mutual incorporation of life and politics

In 1978–1979, at the Collège de France, Michel Foucault read a course of lectures, the edition of which was called “The Birth of Biopolitics”. The scholar drew attention to the fact that, since the second half of the 18th century, the evolution of politics took place in the direction of the formation of a new policy of power, which was aimed not at the individual, but on the collective body of mankind. He referred to the population not as to a political-legal community, but as an independent social body, which is defined through processes and phenomena associated with birth rates, mortality, improvement in health, duration and quality of life. Thus, the regulation of the population took place through the central state institution, while other disciplinary measures extend to the functioning of institutions such as schools, prisons, army, hospitals. For Foucault, biopolitics was a product of the present, associated with the development of the state institutions. In his opinion, biopolitics is aimed at creating a society in which the greatest power of the state will be no power over death (execution), but power and control over life. Michel Foucault also connects the revival of neo-racism with the dissemination of ideas from the field of biopolitics.⁹

In addition, in the chapter “The Birth of Social Medicine”, Foucault shows how the health system, as having “access to the body”, was transformed for the purposes of the police and fulfilled its most important functions – population census, monitoring the state of the workforce and the level of the working population. He wrote that in the beginning, medicine was not interested in the human body as a labour force which meant that it was not interested in the body of the proletariat, or in general the human body as labour. This did not happen until

⁹ Зарождение биополитики Фуко / Foucault's biopolitics, Monocler, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://monocler.ru/zarozhdenie-biopolitiki-mishelya-fuko/>

the second half of the XIX century when the problems of the body, health and level of the productive forces of the individual was posed.¹⁰

In classical philosophy of politics, it is a sphere of decisions and actions that only intersects with the sphere of biological life. Instead, in biopolitics issues of body and life become basic, its essence. The concept of biopolitics is primarily linked to the name of Rudolf Kjellen, who considered the concept of the state being organic and, accordingly, the state was perceived as a living organism by him. He considered states are “superindividual creatures..., which are as real as individuals, only disproportionately bigger and more powerful in the course of their development”.¹¹ According to Kjellen, the state as a form of life is characterised by social struggles over interests and ideas articulated by classes and groups. He was not the only one to see the state as “living organism” – many political scientists, as well as biologists spoke of the states as a collective subject which ruled over its own “body and spirit”. This concept argues that the state is not a legal construction whose coherence is a result of the free will of individuals’, but an organic form of life that precedes individuals and collectives and provides the institutional foundation for their activities.¹²

During the period of National Socialism, the original concept got a new antidemocratic character, based on racist bias. Now the concept of “the people’s body” existed in the form of an authoritarian and racially homogeneous community. The consequences of the idea that there was a natural hierarchy of peoples and races, provoked by “inherited biological quality” lead to the fact that the subjects of history were viewed as self-enclosed communities with a common genetic heritage. That meant that individuals not only could but must have been treated unequally. Also, this new ideology meant that social relations and political problems were attributed to biological causes. Studies in eugenics got a new life, being practically meaningful

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979* (France: St Martin’s Press), 135.

¹¹ Tomas Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction* (NYU Press, 2011, pp.158), 23.

¹² Ibid.

by discriminating against secretive “unprofitable” groups. Policies regarding racial politics did not only regulate reproductive behaviour but also provided responses to the “dangers” of racial mixing. The development of genetic material was done through protection against internal and external national enemies.

The ideology of early biopolitics was based on many different sources – social Darwinist ideas, biological, anthropological and medical concepts, nationalist ideologies, influencing them and producing new theories and studies in these disciplines.¹³

It was in the Third Reich that the integration of politics and medicine was established, which led to the establishment of modern biopolitics.¹⁴ Among the founders of the theory of biopolitics in Poland can be called Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, Apolinary Garlicki, Tomasz Janiszewski. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska wrote that “the nation is an organisation based on a bio-genetic community.”¹⁵ Apolinary Garlicki claimed that “the nation lasts only as long as it preserves a healthy and pure collective idioplasm.”¹⁶ Tomasz Janiszewski said that “Health and physical health alone determines the existence of nations and states.”¹⁷

Social Darwinism, as a predecessor to a eugenics movement

Another doctrine that stimulated the spread of the application of biological laws to the issues of the understanding of society was Darwin's theory of natural selection. His original ideas did not go beyond biological processes, though his followers began to explain the evolution of social life by the biological laws of natural selection. Thus, social Darwinism is a sociological theory according to which the laws of natural selection and the struggle for

¹³ Tomas Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction* (NYU Press, 2011, pp.158), 35.

¹⁴ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Suwerenna władza I nagie życie*, tans. Mateusz Salwa (Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka, 2008), 44.

¹⁵ Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, *Zagadnienia polityki populacyjnej* (Warsaw: F. Hoesick, 1927), 15.

¹⁶ Apolinary Garlicki, *Zagadnienia biologiczno-społeczne* (Przemyśl, Warsaw: Drukarnia Jana Łazora, Wydawnictwo Książnicy Naukowej, 1924), 258.

¹⁷ Tomasz Wiktor Janiszewski, *Polskie Ministerstwo Zdrowia Publicznego: zadania, zasady organizacy i zakres działania Zarządu Spraw Zdrowotnych w państwie polskiem* (Krakow: self published, 1917), 10.

survival, discovered by Charles Darwin in nature, extend to relations in human society. According to this theory, the domination of the ruling classes was justified by their biological superiority. Social Darwinists in their works have common elements: the naturalisation of social, recognition of natural selection and struggle for existence as the main social determinants and the analysis of social conflicts and contradictions in this context. Social Darwinism was not limited to sociology but extended to different studies, such as anthropology, psychology, political science, etc. Also, elements of the social Darwinist ideas are used by different conservative movements, and in its extreme manifestations, social Darwinism is on a verge with the eugenics and racism, which it is widely associated in the general discourse with.

Also, based on the principle of struggle for existence but a purely sociological concept was developed by Herbert Spencer, a prominent English philosopher and sociologist, one of the founders of positivism, and an ideologue of social Darwinism. In addition, Herbert Spencer became one of the founders of the organic theory of the state. In his work “Social Statistics” (1851), he expressed the view that the term “social organism” should be seen in a certain objective reality – the commonality of the principles of the organisation of society and of an individual biological organism. Spencer stressed the existence of similarity in the principles of organisation/structure and development/evolution of society and biological organism, the existence in all living nature of the laws of transition from simple to complex (integration), from homogeneous to heterogeneous (differentiation) and from indefinite to definite. In society, this process means the gradual union of various small groups of people into larger and more complex associations – tribes, states, the emergence and deepening of class differentiation in the process of division of labour, the formation of specialised bodies of political power. However, Spencer pointed out a number of differences that exist between the biological

organism and society.¹⁸ Social Darwinism is a positivist and deterministic doctrine: the social conflict, from its point of view, is eternal and irresistible, although, according to Spencer, it ultimately leads to the formation of an ideal society. However, some adherents of this theory, on the contrary, draw from it the conclusion about the degradation of mankind.

In Poland, at the beginning of the eugenic movement, these ideas were also mainly studied by positivists. They in every way spread the theories of already mentioned Herbert Spencer and Alexander Świątochowski, who argued in the Warsaw press of scientific inquiry, education, economic development, and equality of rights for all, regardless of sex, class, ethnic origin or beliefs. Since eugenics is a very broad concept that seeks to improve the human species in different ways – establishing a healthy lifestyle, improving living conditions, abandoning bad habits, it became a common field for the representatives of different spheres. Moreover, even eugenicists saw themselves not just scientists, but pioneers of a new form of intellectual activity somewhere in between science and political activity.¹⁹

Issues and challenges of eugenics as a cutting edge in improving the quality of a “national body”

The term eugenics was used for the first time by Francis Galton in his work “Inquiries into human faculty and its development” to describe the new science that was looking for the ways of improving the human kind. His works were done through mathematical and biological methods – using quantitative measurement and analysis of the differences in the physical dimensions of the human body, he explained the class differentiation in Britain.²⁰

Galton outlined the eugenics according to the theory of evolution, which at that time prevailed in natural studies. He described it as a science that deals with influences that can

¹⁸ Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics: The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and The First of Them Developed* (Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1995, pp. 430), 230.

¹⁹ Marius Turda, *Modernism and eugenics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 189 pp.), 12.

²⁰ Ibid.

improve and develop the innate properties of the human race in the most useful way for society. However, Galton was not limited to external influences, on the contrary, brought to the forefront the internal properties of the race. The goal of the eugenists was to create an appropriate social and national environment for peoples, so Galton proposed to “invigorate the national organism and alleviate its existing social pathologies”.²¹ Both biological and social discourses on health differentiated between “worthy” and “unworthy” members of society, which is why these methods of social selection were criticised.

When the eugenic movement grew up in an independent newly formed Poland, one of the most important tasks was to create a scientific base and avoid amateurism and dilettantism. Since the concept of eugenics included various studies, scholars of various directions were involved in this movement, as well as those who were engaged in matters of hygiene, genetics, or Mendelian inheritance. It was important to outline the boundaries of eugenics and the relation of this movement to other sciences. For scholars, such a division was important because of the possible compromise of their works by the works of pseudo-scientists.

The task of eugenics was to combat factors that adversely affected the development of race or people, as well to develop their growth both quantitatively and qualitatively by reducing mortality rates. According to a Polish anthropologist and eugenicist Karol Stojanowski, this could be done through gaining knowledge of the revival and improvement of the human race, as well as the practical implementation of this knowledge. The medium for obtaining such knowledge was through acquaintance with human material, its properties, as well as hereditary features relating both to the research of the idioms and social groups.²² Thus, conditionally, it is possible to divide the eugenics into purely scientific and social.

²¹ Marius Turda, *Modernism and eugenics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 189 pp.), 24.

²² Karol Stojanowski, *Rasowe podstawy eugeniki* (Poznań, 1927, s. 63.), 3.

Social eugenics, in turn can be divided into three subspecies: positive, preventive and negative. Such a division was made at the International Congress in Paris in 1923. Positive eugenics aims to increase the number of positive qualities of people and includes biological education; the biological registration of the whole society, based on statistics; research on heredity; studying issues on sexuality, issues on marriage and legislation in this area. The eugenics of prevention, which was the starting point for the development of the eugenics movement in Poland, meant to prevent the spread of racial “poisons”. These “poisons” were those that negatively affected the reproductive function: alcohol, radium, x-ray; those that negatively affected the embryo; those that negatively affected the development of primary or secondary sexual characteristics; and those that caused infertility. Also, preventive eugenics was considered to prevent the cross-fertilisation of racially unusable types on the basis of thorough elaboration of human material in a given territory. In addition, this type includes the prevention of negative fluctuations within the population as a result of migration: the arrival of undesirable migrants and a decrease in the percentage of unwanted types due to migration. And in the end, the negative eugenics causes the greatest caution and neglect. Its main task was to restrict the reproduction of people with disabilities, as well as underdeveloped ones, both physically, mentally and morally, which, in turn, would result in an improvement of the human species.²³

Scientific eugenics, on the one hand, relied on statistics and biology, on the other hand, it was also dealing with reproduction. A great contribution to these studies was made by Polish anthropological school who introduced a great scientific knowledge of the races, as well as their mixing.

If for the eugenics movement of the great powers, such as England or America, colour races were inherent, the most urgent issues for the Polish eugenics were the acquisition of

²³ Karol Stojanowski, *Rasowe podstawy eugeniki* (Poznań, 1927, s. 63.)

independence, border defence and politics regarding peoples. Leon Wernic, a Polish dermatologist and venereologist, eugenicist who was one of the founders of the Polish eugenic society, wrote about a breeding program that would allow the creation of the best human material for the management of the newly created state. In addition, already in the post-war period, trying to revive the pre-war eugenics movement, he did many links to the Nazi idea of racial hygiene, arguing that compulsory sterilisation, as well as control of marriages, remain in accordance with the norms of a civilised society.²⁴

The theory of evolution which has become a factor of the interest of the scientific community, especially the German one, of the racial issues, has opened a vast space for speculation of their value. Studies that included new statistical methods confirmed the old ideas about the gradual degradation of humanity as a result of races' mixing. The thesis of inequality of races in anthropological and sociological textbooks came out as a normal scientific theory.

In Poland, the same racial question was not so acute, especially given the fact that among the Poles and Polish Jews there was a high percentage of the Nordic race's representatives, that was used as an argument in discussions with German counterparts on racial mixing. Moreover, although the Polish study of races, as well as serological studies on blood types, belonged to the German "Zeitgeist", nevertheless, the theory of the superiority of the Aryan race, as well as the harmfulness of the mixture of races, were criticised among Polish scholars.²⁵

In the spirit of the naturalistic direction of sociology, the racial anthropological school also emerged. Its basis is the idea that the racial factor is a decisive feature in the historical process. In this way, the proclamation of the biological and cultural diversity of the races, the withdrawal of their hierarchy, the definitions of "higher" and "lower" races take place. On the

²⁴ Magdalena Gawin and Kamila Uzarczyk, *Eugenika - biopolityka - państwo: z historii europejskich ruchów eugenicznych w pierwszej połowie XX w.* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2010), 12.

²⁵ Ibid.

basis of this idea happened the advancement of the ideology and practice of struggle for the preservation of “purity of race”, as well as the races' mixing as causes of degradation of society. One of the founders of this theory was the French philosopher Joseph Gobino. The main reasons for the development of society, he saw in the race characteristics of peoples, believing that social institutions and culture are originated from racial or biological features.

The researcher Francesco Cassata in his work “Eugenika i rasizm biologiczny w propagandzie faszystowskiej “La Difesa della razza”” made the division of racism to a biological and nationalistic. While the followers of biological racism were dragging on to the separation from the society “small-breed” or “unprofitable” types that would lead to the population’s degradation, nationalist racists pointed to the protection of nations from the influences of the races of other peoples.

While some representatives of the eugenic movement distinguished alcoholics, people with mental problems, criminals as “small-breed” types, others – ethnic groups. These two mutually exclusive scientific flows, however, came together in the question of races’ mixing, as well as the Jewish question.²⁶ Representatives of nationalist racism, such as Karol Stojanowski, rejected compulsory sterilisation and organisation of marriages but promoted the deprivation of all civil rights from Jews as they were viewed being a dangerous race.

Eugenic discourses reflect the views and demands of the majority of the population, a dominant ethnic group within the state. Though, both majorities and minorities addressed the issues of degeneration and extinction, it is noteworthy how the eugenics was used in diagnosing the ethnic minorities’ intentions of impending crisis. This issue was raised due to the problems of creating a united ethnic subject as the biopolitical state presupposed. Much of the eugenic

²⁶ Magdalena Gawin and Kamila Uzarczyk, *Eugenika - biopolityka - państwo: z historii europejskich ruchów eugenicznych w pierwszej połowie XX w.* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2010), 15.

message was not just included in political discourse but in the newly formed and growing societies and state institutions.²⁷

The strongest support for the eugenics movement has been received in the environment of radical intellectuals. In Poland existed “Polish Eugenic Society” (“Polskie Towarzystwo Eugeniczne”) (walki ze zwyrodnieniem rasy) that published a periodical “Race issues from the point of view of social health” (“Zagadnienia Rasy z punktu widzenia zdrowia społecznego”).

As already noted, the Polish eugenics did not inherit the ideas of the superiority of the Nordic race. Polish serologist Ludwig Hirschfeld, who along with his wife wrote a “Serological Differences between the Blood of Different Races, at the Congress of General Pathology (Zjazd Patologii Ogólnej) in Rome in 1939 called the ideas of the “La razza” magazine a mixture of Mendelian inheritance, ideas about blood types and caricatures of Jews. In addition, he criticised the photographs that would have to represent the Nordic type of Italians, calling them a stupidity.²⁸ In addition, among the representatives of the “Polish Eugenic Society”, there were Jews who pointed to the non-nationalist nature of the Polish eugenics.

Polish hygienist Kazimierz Karaffa-Korbutt even claimed that Polish eugenics was class-, not race-oriented. He wrote that the rhetorics eugenists used towards workers was paternalistic: they used concepts like “human material”, “human factor”, “production material”, “labour force”, “production force”, “military material”.²⁹ One of the sources of the development of eugenics research in Poland was the fear of degeneration of the urban population. For example, Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska wrote about the savagery of the working class.³⁰ She also claimed that in all highly developed civilisations, the number and geographical location of the people were the subjects of politics. She recalls Greeks, Spartans and Romans, who prevented

²⁷ Marius Turda, *Modernism and eugenics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 189 pp.), 31.

²⁸ Ludwik Hirschfeld, *Historia jednego życia* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957, s. 184), 86.

²⁹ Kazimierz Karaffa-Korbutt, *Praca i odpoczynek* (Krakow: Okagowy Związek Kas Chorych, 1929), 36.

³⁰ Jerzy Jedlicki, *Świat zwyrodniały. Lęki i wyroki krytyków nowoczesności* (Warsaw: Sic!, 2000, 305 ss.), 256.

overpopulation through colonial policies, the elimination of sick and weak, as well as territorial expansion.³¹

In the 1930s, representatives of the eugenics movement, in light of the global economic crisis proposed a radical method of solving socio-economic problems through forced segregation and sterilisation, as well as a ban on marriage to those people who were recognised as “small-breed” or “unprofitable” individuals.³²

Influence of hygiene and public health on the institutionalisation of the state

As already noted, the connection between eugenics and hygiene was very tight. The purpose of the study and the activities of hygienists, after hygiene was separated into science, was to research the external influences on people and their health. Just as eugenics, hygiene can be as individual, one that applies to everyone separately, and social – one that applies to the whole “body” of society.

The purpose of hygiene was to support the existence of the weakest through the reduction of negative external influences: elimination of pathogens of diseases, improvement of living conditions, influence on elimination of dirt. Interesting is the fact that, although hygienists were involved in the fight against diseases, nevertheless, sexually transmitted diseases were part of the study of eugenics. As already mentioned, the issue of fertility was included in the sphere of eugenics, along with the negative factors affecting fertility, among which in the first place were sexually transmitted diseases.³³

Following the First World War, the newly formed states of Central and Eastern Europe, among them Poland, felt a strong need for expert knowledge in building up and reorganising

³¹ Drugi Zjazd Eugeniczny Polskiego Towarzystwa Walki ze Zwyródnieniami Rasy, Zagadnienia Rasy 1922, nr 1, s. 8-10

³² Eugenika - koszmar, którego dzisiaj nikt nie pamięta, Salon24, accessed April 17, 2019, <https://www.salon24.pl/u/arturbazak/22499,eugenika-koszmar-ktorego-dzisiaj-nikt-nie-pamieta>

³³ Leon Wernic, *Eugenika a stosunek jej do higieny szkolnej* (Warsaw, 1950), 4.

their administrations and institutions. The formation of new states coincided with a phase of rapid change characterised by high social mobility and processes of knowledge transfer into the new states, and one important areas, affected by these changes, was public health.

The arena of public health in Poland was thus shaped by questions of backwardness, lacking hygiene, resources for public health, epidemics, eugenics, and a “healthy body” able to defend the “healthy nation” against internal enemies (bacteria and its carriers) and external enemies (mainly Germany and Russia).³⁴ After the long period of being a nation without a state, this concern with national existence, also in biological terms, played an important role in the modernisation discourses.

Public health in Poland after the First World War first and foremost had the functional role of preventing epidemic infectious diseases and providing a hygienic infrastructure for the country. Rates of infectious diseases and infant mortality in East Central Europe were far higher than in Western Europe, and Poland was particularly affected by the typhus pandemic that happened in Eastern Europe. There were an estimated 25 to 30 million cases between 1919 and 1921, from which approximately four million occurred in Poland.³⁵

Besides the functional roles that public health used to play in the development of a national administration and a social infrastructure, it also served the ideological goals of strengthening social and ethnic cohesion, building a national identity and establishing normative values in the newly created state. The revival of experts of different types and specialisations were one of the important processes in the development of scientific societies in modern European and non-European history.

³⁴ Katrin Steffen, “Experts and the Modernization of the Nation: The Arena of Public Health in Poland in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge*, Bd. 61, H. 4, 2013, pp. 574-590, 580.

³⁵ Marta Aleksandra Balińska, “The National Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Poland 1918–1939”, *Social History of Medicine*, Volume 9, Issue 3, December 1996, Pages 427–445, 429.

A sanitation law was adopted on 19 July 1919, specifying the responsibilities of the Ministry of Health as follows: fighting contagious and social diseases, caring for mothers and children, implementing eugenics, combating alcoholism, fighting occupational diseases, and dealing with all issues that concern medical and hygienic institutions. Besides this law, nineteenth-century sanitary regulations from Austria, Galicia, and Prussia stayed in effect until June 1939, when a new law on public health was adopted.³⁶

Poland also hosted many international conferences, for example, a large conference on sanitation in Warsaw in 1922 organised by the League of Nations Epidemics Commission and devoted to questions of epidemic control in Eastern Europe, with lectures by experts from Europe, Russia, and the United States. Poland was regarded as having attained a prominent position in the world in the area of health politics. The State Institute for Hygiene gained a very high international reputation as a renowned scientific institution.

Blood researches, as an advanced branch of Polish science

In addition, eugenics were the subject of hygiene issues, as well as those researchers who were involved with them and were familiar with genetics. The Mendelian inheritance of recessive and dominant genes has become a breakthrough in science. Thus, the researcher who belonged to the eugenics movement should have knowledge of biology, anthropology, and statistics. Eugenics in Poland was projected onto in order to create an ethnonational identity. As Marius Turda claims, in gaining the goal of creating a state regulated by scientific norms both of health and hygiene, eugenists didn't just offer to cleanse the national body of the defective and degenerated members of the society, but also to refashion the society and the state

³⁶ Jan Nosko, *Zachowania zdrowotne i zdrowie publiczne - aspekty historyczno-kulturowe* (Łódź: Instytut Medycyny Pracy, 2005), 19.

in the connection with the principles of racial homogeneity and protectionism.³⁷ To do so the blood researches started all over Europe with Poland leading in the field.

Ludwik Hirszfeld, a Polish microbiologist and serologist, who is considered a co-discoverer of the inheritance of ABO blood types, together with his wife Hanna Hirszfeld had examined some 8000 soldiers and introduced the field of seroanthropology into research in Poland. He was also active in another field, which he again linked to the country's ability to defend itself and which was in fact a vital question in times of war: the organisation of blood transfusions. He was proud that Poland was the first country in Europe to legally regulate the question of blood donors, although he also complained that no separate institute for blood transfusion was founded.

Also based on the Institute of Hygiene and Hirszfeld's serological research, the anthropologist Jan Mydlarski conducted an anthropological examination of some 80 000 soldiers, the "Military Anthropological Photograph" ("Wojskowe zdjęcie antropologiczne"), a grand project, conducted in 1920. The Polish Army wanted to tailor new uniforms for these soldiers (at least this was the official pretext). The results went much further than that, however: maps were drawn up showing the spatial distribution of different "types of humans" across Poland, with the Nordic type prevailing in Poland.^{38,39}

The anthropologist Jan Czekanowski summarised the findings as follows: "We all know that the Jews are physically inferior and that they are the worst soldiers. And we also know that the Nordic blond type constitutes the best material for the army, physically as well as mentally." He continued with details about where these Nordic blond types were to be found in Poland. Hirszfeld had contributed to this research since he had postulated that the blood group A, in his

³⁷ Marius Turda. *Modernism and Eugenics*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 189 pp., 78.

³⁸ Jan Mydlarski, *Sprawozdanie z wojskowego zdjęcia antropologicznego Polski* (Kosmos, 1925, ss. 54), 14.

³⁹ Table 8

research called the European Type, appeared more often in the western parts of Poland than in the eastern ones.

Hirszfeld 's main field of expertise, serology, was an area of lively expert discussion on race distribution across Europe. It is not quite clear what Hirszfeld thought about Mydlarski 's and Czekanowski's findings, but he distanced himself from the racial radicalisation that took place for example in the German Society for Blood Group Research. In a report from 1937, he wrote that Mydlarski “had drawn very far-reaching conclusions about the junction between serological groups and anthropological characteristics and about races living in Poland in prehistoric times.”⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Marta Aleksandra Balińska, “The National Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Poland 1918–1939”, *Social History of Medicine*, Volume 9, Issue 3, December 1996, Pages 427–445, 442.

Racial determinism and ethnic minorities' issues in Second Polish Republic

Eastern Galicia – the Piedmont of nation-building

Eastern Galicia is a historical and geographical region in the modern Western Ukraine. After the First World War, Ukrainian politicians planned to create a Ukrainian state on this territory, but Poland became the main reason for the inability to successfully deploy the state-building process on Western Ukrainian lands. In the First World War the parties of Western Ukraine supported the Austro-Hungarian government and Germany in hope that in the case of Russia's defeat, the winners would help the Ukrainians to create an independent state.

In the process of state building of both Ukraine and Poland, the territory of Eastern Galicia played an important role, since it was the aspirations of both parties to extend its power to it. For Ukrainians, this was the Piedmont of nation-building, for the Poles, the political and military one.⁴¹ Up to 1923, both Ukrainians and Poles considered the territory of Eastern Galicia to be their own – they introduced their own policies there and participated in constant struggles.

Revival of the Polish state in the twentieth century was accompanied by several ethnic and territorial conflicts: in the west, Poland was hostile to Germany for Upper Silesia (Shlonsk); in the north – there was a conflict with Lithuania over Vilnius; in the south – with Czechoslovakia over Cieszyn, in the east – for Eastern Galicia with the Ukrainian side. Ethnic minorities living in these territories were also sceptical of the newly formed Poland, for example, the Mazurs and the Silesians favoured citizenship in more economically developed Germany. Especially the Jewish population, being in a conditional opposition to the Polish state, did not welcome the international recognition of its rights to most of the controversial territories. As during the First World War, Ukrainians hoped to stop the Polish control of the contentious territories, during the Polish-Bolshevik war, a part of the minorities hoped for the

⁴¹ Mykola Ryabchuk, “Перевиначення Галичини” / “The reinvention of Galicia”, Zbruch, accessed April 27, 2019, <http://zbruc.eu/node/34476>

rapid destruction of Poland, while sometimes carrying out anti-Polish agitation. It is under such conditions that the issue of national minorities in Poland has risen more than ever, and state policy has taken the direction of reducing the influence of national minorities on socio-political life. That was done through the reduction of civil rights, as well as the repressions against unwanted ethnic groups. For example, confiscation of German property took place in the western voivodeships; Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia who did not serve in the Polish army were denied to study at the universities; Jewish pogroms happened all over the country. Thus, there was a closure of the structure of political opportunities through the suppression of the violent policy of disagreement (outside the legal dimension), as well as the minimisation of the effectiveness of a limited policy of disagreement (within the legal scope) due to the limitation of the influence of national minorities.

Modern boundaries of Galicia were formed during the years of 1772-1918 as a province of the Austrian Empire. The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, also known as Galicia or Austrian Poland, was established in 1772 as a crownland of the Habsburg Monarchy as a result of the First Partition of Poland. In 1804 it became a crownland of the Austrian Empire.

During the nineteenth century the question about the distribution of the province to the Western (Polish) and the Eastern (Ukrainian) Galicia was raised several times, though, it was rejected by Franz Joseph I. This demand was proclaimed by the Supreme Ruthenian Council during the Spring of Nations, and in 1850 received only a partial implementation in a division of court jurisdiction into two districts with seats in Lviv and Krakow. This became the basis for the subsequent separation of Western and Eastern Galicia. When implementing the administrative and judicial divisions, the Austrian authorities did not follow a historical, only ethnic principle, so the dividing line was also considered an ethnographic boundary between the Polish and Ukrainian parts of Galicia.

Under Austrian rule, the division in a western and eastern parts has only existed in the judicial organisation, with a Ruthenian majority in the eastern part of Galicia. Mixed marriages between Poles and Ruthenians were not unusual – the proportion was of 159-384 per thousand, according to the districts. The ethnographic limit in Eastern Galicia crossed every third family. The results of the official census of nationalities in Galicia were confirmed by the results of elections to the Austrian parliament in 1907 and 1911.

Number of votes	Polish	Ukrainians	Old Ruthenians	Zionists
1907	617.544	403.539	152.395	24.757
1911	639.208	362.961	127.108	23.202

From the data, we can see that in the second election the number of Polish votes was increasing, while the other numbers were decreasing.

The numbers for the electoral districts of Eastern Galicia are:

Number of votes	Polish	Ukrainians	Old Ruthenians	Zionists
	310.239	362.555	116.637	21.661
	38,2%	44,7%	14,4%	2,7%

By the Old Ruthenians, the authors have meant the movement that was in confrontation with creating a new Ukrainian State. In the Old Ruthenian and Ukrainian movements we see two conflicting movements in an ethnographically uniform population, though not yet fully developed nationally.

In the second half of the 19th century the majority of Eastern Galician population were Ukrainians, with minorities of Poles, Jews, Germans and Armenians. According to the data of the census of 1910, in Eastern Galicia, of the 5,300,000 inhabitants, 39.8% indicated Polish as their native language, 58.9% chose Ukrainian. However, these statistics are suspected of bias, since the census officials were mostly ethnic Poles. In addition, the Polish-speaking population

also includes ethnic Jews.⁴² The Polish source says that in 1910 the population consisted of: Poles – 59%, Ruthenians – 40%, Others – 1%.

From the numbers, the polonisation of the Jews is also seen. It is due to the weakness of the Zionist movement and the growth of the number of Jews, professing to be Poles. For each 1.000 Jews, there were avowed Poles:

Year 1800	604
Year 1910	925

At the same time the powerful development of the Polish population in Eastern Galicia took place. Comparing the lists from 1857 and 1900, it can be seen that the growth of the Polish population gradually progressed. In 1857-1910 general increase of Greek Catholics in eastern Galicia was 63% and of Roman Catholics – 108%. This was due to the massive emigration of the Ukrainians to Canada and the USA (1900-1910 – 231.000), the inflow of Polish people from Western Galicia to the distorted property and bringing Polish workers to administration and education, as well as the process of polonisation of Ukrainians, especially the intelligentsia.⁴³

In the “Statistics of Galicia” that was prepared by the Polish Commission of Preparatory Work to the Conference of Peace in May 1919 it is said that the increase of the Poles in Eastern Galicia is due to “the assimilation and conversion of the Ruthenians, easily explained by the good relations between both peoples and by the much higher civilisation of the Poles”.⁴⁴

Eastern Galicia used to be a rural area, so cities and towns were inhabited mostly by

⁴² Piotr Eberhardt, *Ethnic groups and population changes in twentieth-century Central-Eastern Europe: history, data, analysis* (M. E. Sharpe, 2003), 92-93.

⁴³ Переписи населення // Енциклопедія Українознавства: в 10 т. / за ред. В.М. Кубійовича. (Львів: НТШ, 1996 – Т. 6. – 1996. – С. 2011–2013) / *Perepysy naselennya // Encyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva: v 10 t. / ed. by V.M. Kubijovych* (Lviv: NTSh, 1996 – Т. 6. – 1996. – С. 2011–2013)

⁴⁴ Polish Commission of Preparatory Work to the Conference of Peace, *Statistics of Galicia* (Paris, May 1919), 3.

Poles and Jews, while in the countryside the Ukrainians prevailed. Such a division of the place of residence proved to be problematic in the future, as the largest city and administrative centre of the Lviv region was mostly populated by the Poles at the time, and was considered an important centre of Polish culture.

While near 90% of Ruthenians in Galicia were involved in agricultural work and 10% in other professions, near 60% of Poles were engaged in agriculture and 40% in other professions. In the Eastern Galicia 91% of Ruthenians and 44% of Poles were engaged in agriculture, 7% of Ruthenians and 39% of Poles – in industry or commerce and only 1% of Ruthenians, while 17% of Poles – in intellectual work.⁴⁵

The evolution of the policy of the Second Polish Republic in the interwar period

Polish eugenics was characterised by its progressiveness – as already noted, this movement contributed to the institutionalisation of the newly formed state. Poland lost its independence in the 18th century with three divisions of Poland and restored it only in 1919. Developed health policies have not been established in territories that belonged to different states, and with the rise of social mobility, as a result of the industrial revolution, venereal diseases also spread. The most favourable situation was in Lviv, the political and administrative centre of the future Eastern Galicia. Poles there had self-government, so there was an opportunity to pursue an independent policy. The Polish language was introduced as the main one for educational institutions in the region, besides, many new institutions of higher education were opened.

Interest in the theories of heredity among the Polish intelligentsia appeared at the end of the 19th century – the students even collected groups where they read works by Cesare

⁴⁵ Polish Commission of Preparatory Work to the Conference of Peace, *Statistics of Galicia* (Paris, May 1919), 4.

Lombroso and Francis Galton.⁴⁶ After the 1905 revolution, as Leon Wernic wrote, an ethical revolution took place.⁴⁷ Magazines and scientific societies devoted to health were opened.

The issue of degeneration was very acute in the early 20th century. The most common causes, harmful to human material, were alcoholism and sexually transmitted diseases. In turn, Leon Wernic proposed to prohibit marriage to all people who had serious illnesses. He wrote that “The ultimate goal of marriage is to preserve and perfect the species.”⁴⁸ Leon Wernic and his supporters justified their ideas saying that they wanted to reduce the level of human suffering. Such ideas were not too widespread, so, even inside the eugenics movement, he was called a radical. Thus, the ideas behind the concept of Darwin, as well as natural sciences, became the basis for the eugenic ethical revolution.

In 1917, a Congress of Polish Hygienists (Drugi Zjazd Higienistów Polskich) was held, in which one of the speakers stated that it was the responsibility of the future Polish state to “breed a homogeneous and healthy type of Polish citizen”.⁴⁹

Proponents of eugenic “social correction” understood that social engineering required state infrastructure. In order to identify “individuals of little value”, it was necessary to have huge people’s and money recourses. Thus, the issues of eugenics and state policy began to intertwine, and the state saw the eugenics movement as the main institution empowered to pursue eugenics policies on a national scale.

In January 1919, Ignacius Yan Paderevsky, who represented the nationalist force that prompted the adoption of the Constitution of 1921, embraced the prime minister's post. Although during this period nationalist forces were in power, yet the policy regarding national

⁴⁶ Magdalena Gawin, “Progressivism and Eugenic Thinking in Poland, 1905–1939” in the *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Central European University Press, 2007, pp. 478), 167-184.

⁴⁷ Leon Wernic, “O uświadamieniu płciowym młodzieży w okresie szkolnym i przedszkolnym”, *Zdrowie* 6,8 (1907), 455.

⁴⁸ Leon Wernic, “Małżeństwo z punktu widzenia higieny społecznej i seksualnej”, *Czystość*, nr 6 (1907), s. 85

⁴⁹ Jan Boguszewski, “Zadania eugeniczne w Polsce” in the *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Central European University Press, 2007, pp. 478), 239.

minorities was not stable – different strategies on this issue replaced each other. After the victory of Poland over The West Ukrainian People's Republic that managed to last just for nine months, the effectiveness of the policy of disagreement decreased for both radical and moderate representatives of the ethnic minorities. While the former were engaged in an active underground struggle, the latter went on to appeal to the international community with the requirements to recognise the special status of Eastern Galicia, as it turned out, unsuccessfully. During the Riga peace, the eastern borders of Poland were held not in favour of the Ukrainians, which meant the real recognition of Poland by the international community.

The national project of Dmowski, the leader of the National Democrats, was intended to create a strong united Catholic-nationalist state. To implement it, it was necessary to incorporate as many eastern, including the Ukrainian lands, as much it would be possible to completely polonise, transforming Poland into a monostate power. In the eyes of Polish politicians, Ukrainians did not have a distinct national identity, which meant that they would easily be polonised. The political slogan “Poland for Poles” defined the policy of national-democrats.⁵⁰

The policy of National Democrats was conducted in such a way as to prevent national minorities from being an obstacle to the implementation of the plan for a strong and homogeneous state. The formation of Soviet Russia added arguments to the National Democrats in a way that Poland had to become an outpost that would protect Western civilisation from the Bolshevik threat.

The Riga Peace conducted the real eastern borders of Poland and in a geopolitical sense justified the existence of the Polish state in the eyes of Western Europe. The international prestige of Poland as a protective border from Bolshevism increased, which meant that the representatives

⁵⁰ Witold Wojdyło, *Kwestia ukraińska w myśli społeczno-politycznej obozu narodowo-demokratycznego w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej – Polska i Ukraina: sojusz 1920 roku i jego następstwa* (Toruń: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu M. Kopernika, 1997. – 558 s.), 370.

of London and Paris less listened to the proposals of Ukrainian diplomats to establish an independent state in Eastern Galicia. Thus, the newly formed Second Polish Republic received not only international recognition but also support for the creation of a strong state, while the issue of the independent East Galicia in general and the West Ukrainian People's Republic, in particular, was less politically beneficial.

National assimilation of the ethnic minorities in the Polish environment was carried out by methods of economic, political, ideological and cultural-educational discrimination. The policy of polonisation of Eastern Galicia was carried out through the repressions and persecutions, carried out with the assistance of the National Democrats. It was necessary to demonstrate the belonging of the West Ukrainian lands to Poland and to prevent the uprising of an independent state in these territories.

During 1920-1922, the policy of the Polish state regarding national minorities used to be quite moderate. Such a coup was caused by the strong tension in the country, which had to be reduced, so the Polish government tried to establish contact with both the Ukrainian emigration government and other national minorities' representatives. However, already in 1922, the newly elected President Gabriel Narutowicz who was supported by various minorities was assassinated. At the same time, despite the newly proclaimed self-governance of the Galician voivodeships, all the inhabitants of Galicia, regardless of their ethnic group, were obliged to serve in the Polish Army. In addition, the Constitution guaranteed the right of magnates to the land, which entailed the expropriation of land from peasants, most of whom in Eastern Galicia were Ukrainians. A sediment policy also took place – the state provided the Polish veterans of the war with land in the region. The year 1922 in Eastern Galicia is characterised by a large number of sabotage actions. Recognition of the sovereignty of Poland

over Eastern Galicia in 1923 led to the actual accession of the region to the Polish state, as well as the spread of impossibility to disobey Polish politics in this region.⁵¹

After the elections of 1922, the radical camp started using the anti-semitic discourse directly. All-Polish Youth lobbied the idea of the bench ghetto (“ghetto ławkowe”). During the interwar period, Poland had to grapple with a notorious lack of capital. Thus, central planning and state subsidies played a decisive role not only in the development of science but also in technology and medicine and their implementation in various industrial branches and health institutions.⁵² The economic crisis and political conflicts left their mark on the organisation of the health system. In 1923-24 the independent ministry of health was abolished due to the financial crisis that followed the hyperinflation of those years as well a political conflict between the left and the right wings in Poland. The left one was in favour of the ministry and the continuation of a progressive social policy since 1918 when many former socialist politicians were in power. The right one, in turn, favoured separating public health from social welfare and spending more money on the military.⁵³ The crisis in Poland by the end of the 1930s led to the rise in support for the radical groups, and new branches for the right were created.

In 1926, as a result of the coup, the government of Jozef Pilsudski came to power, which pursued its policy on the principles of federalism and “Prometheism”. Such a change of power and the establishment of a new policy, the so-called “sanation”, was provoked by the political failures of the National Democrats and rising temper of regional nationalism. The federative project of Pilsudski became known as the doctrine of “Polish Prometheism”. This project also included the creation of a new and strong Poland, but it was supposed to be a federation. Polish,

⁵¹ Ivan Gomza, *Суспільно-політичні рухи. Навчальний посібник* (Національний університет “Києво-Могилянська академія”, 2018, 176 ст.), 41.

⁵² Irena Kostrowicka i Zbigniew Landau i Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski XIX i XX wieku* (Warsaw, 1984), 16.

⁵³ Marta Aleksandra Balińska, “The National Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Poland 1918–1939”, *Social History of Medicine*, Volume 9, Issue 3, December 1996, Pages 427–445, 429.

Lithuanian, Belarussian and Ukrainian lands should have been included in it, but the leading role was assigned to the Polish ethnic, political, economic and cultural element.

Not only that Pilsudski personally paid attention to the issues of national minorities, among his officials were Tadeusz Golovko and Henryk Józewski, known for their Ukrainophile position. The policy of this new government was based on the principles of solidarity when the individual came to the fore, and satisfaction of state interests was considered in the light of the satisfaction of the citizens' interests. Therefore, in order to strengthen loyalty to the state, the government was ready to find a place in political and social structures for all the citizens.⁵⁴

Piotr Dunin-Borkowski, as the voivode of Lviv, also has developed a program that included establishing contacts with Ukrainians "in order to overcome separatist tendencies and establish a joint program for solving urgent problems".⁵⁵ The main success of the sanation policy was the participation of Ukrainian forces in the parliamentary elections of 1928.

The turning point in the anthropological and eugenic research was the beginning of the sanation policy and its focus on regionalism. After Czekanowski became a rector of the university he moved closer in the political position to this regime. Also, the influence of eugenics theories on the political thought was made by a publicist of the National Democrats, Ludwik Poplawsky. In order to "collect objective data" and pursue "rational scientific and economic policies" in the East, general Tadeusz Kasprzycki, the deputy of the vice-minister of military affairs launched Commission for Scientific Research of the Eastern Lands (*Komisja Naukowych Badań Ziemi Wschodnich*). By so doing he gave the primary role to the scholarship of ethnic belonging. The politics of the Second Republic still revolved around the issue of national minorities, mostly Ukrainians and Jews.

⁵⁴ Władysław T. Kulesza, *Koncepcje ideowo-polityczne obozu rządzącego w Polsce w latach 1926–1935* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo, 1985, Pp. 310)

⁵⁵ Volodymyr Komar, "Українське питання" в політиці урядів Польщі (1926-1939 рр.) // Ukrainian issues in the policy of the governments of Poland *Український історичний журнал* № 5 (2001) P. 120-128.

However, since 1928, the situation became crucial – Gabriel Czechowicz, the Polish Treasury Minister from 1926 to 1929 who was close to Pilsudski, was accused of misuse of government funds. Besides that, the Great Depression became a reason for the crisis in the Polish economy. In 1930, the fractionation of the elites took place – at the Congress of Democratic parties, Pilsudski was distrusted. It has begun a new wave of sabotage and terrorist actions from Ukrainians, now that Pilsudski has shown himself to be a weak leader.

Faced with the revival of the opposition forces, the Pilsudski regime began to recapture, and the Constitution of 1935, extending the powers of the head of state, laid the foundations of an authoritarian regime. In 1932 more than 50 professors, known for their sympathy with the opposition, among them those who belonged to ethnic minorities, were dismissed from their jobs.⁵⁶ However, in the same period, Ukrainian nationalists in Eastern Galicia received news of the dispossessions of Ukrainians conducted by the USSR government, as well as the Holodomor. These, as well as other circumstances, provoked the impossibility of focusing on Moscow in creating their own national project, as well as forced the representatives of the Ukrainian political elite of Eastern Galicia to promote a policy of understanding with the Polish authorities.⁵⁷

Such aspiration was reciprocal – after the death of Joseph Pilsudski, the government lost its charismatic leader. Thus, the Polish government has promised Ukrainians to fulfil a number of requirements, such as the termination of the policy of colonisation, the opening of the Ukrainian university, and the support of civic organisations. However, these requirements were not fulfilled, moreover – the distribution of ethnicity on the basis of ethnicity allowed the

⁵⁶ Peter Stachura. *Poland, 1918-1945: An interpretive and documentary history of the second Republic* (Routledge: London and New York, 2004, 240 pp.)

• ⁵⁷ Andrzej Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921-1939* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979, P. 262)

Polish government to resolve the Ukrainian issue by limiting the influence of the Orthodox Church and strengthening the Polish influence.⁵⁸

The Jewish population of Poland was also not homogeneous either in social or religious, economic, political or ideological spheres. It is worth noting that Jews mostly were not polonised (only 8% called themselves Poles) and mainly used Yiddish, less Hebrew languages. In addition, Jews were inhabitants of cities, for example, in Lviv, their percentage was about 35%.⁵⁹ The Jews were engaged in crafts, banking and economic spheres, as well as in science. Also, because of their high income, they were taxed heavily that would become even bigger problem during the economic crisis.

All rights and freedoms of national minorities were distributed to Jews, besides that there were Jewish educational and cultural organisations, newspapers, educational and religious institutions, and they had the opportunity to study at universities. Of course, polonised Jews were in a better position. Peter Stachura notes that Polish anti-Semitism was part of a pan-European one. According to the author, it was not based on racial issues, but proceeded from Christian traditions, economic and cultural concerns. During the economic crisis, Jews were massively fired from state, military, teaching posts.⁶⁰

Jewish anti-Polish sentiments were not as vivid as the Ukrainian ones, but they were aimed at state anti-Semitism, especially from the National Democrats. Polish government considered the Jews as a threat to the state, they were accused of cooperating with the Bolsheviks and were scapegoats for stirring the trouble. The concept of scapegoat was first used in the Old Testament to refer to the innocent, but identifiable with those who bear the burden of guilt. In modern social psychology, this concept has been rethought and scapegoaters

⁵⁸ Ivan Gomza, *Суспільно-політичні рухи. Навчальний посібник* (Національний університет “Києво-Могилянська академія”, 2018, 176 ст.), 67.

⁵⁹ Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dnia 9 grudnia 1931 r. (Lwów, Warszawa, 1937. S. 11), 4.

⁶⁰ Peter Stachura. *Poland, 1918-1945: An interpretive and documentary history of the second Republic* (Routledge: London and New York, 2004, 240 pp.), 56.

are those who blame the victim for the failures of scapegoaters, while they consider themselves innocent. Thus, responsibility for military failures, economic crises, and failures of political strategies transfers to a small group of people in order to maintain self-esteem of the majority of the population. Thus, a common enemy is singled out, which only strengthens ties within the group, in our case, the national community. Also, scapegoating considers that scapegoats belong to a different species or group than scapegoater.⁶¹ In Poland, such scapegoats were Jews, who were blamed for the failures in state policy.

Anthropological studies in Second Polish Republic and racial determinism

The interwar period was marked by the influence of the German and British anthropologists, who used statistics and mathematical methods. Bronislaw Malinowski was one of the brightest figures in Polish anthropology. After leaving Poland in 1910, Malinowski as a student of the London School of Economics became involved in British social anthropological studies and influenced the development of Polish anthropology. Malinowski used to study and work with indigenous cultures, and though he had a critical attitude towards racism, different races were treated differently by him. Even later in the 1940-s, he argued that although all races have similar potential, those who had been colonised had to be kept under the governmental control.⁶²

Though Polish anthropology was taught in the Jagiellonian University back in the middle of the 19th century, a turning point in its development happened when the Anthropological Academy was established at the Academy of Learning, a primary Polish scientific institution working during the annexation of Poland as a continuation of the Kraków

⁶¹ Attila Pók, "The Politics of Hatred: Scapegoating in Interwar Hungary" in the *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Central European University Press, 2007, pp. 478), pp. 375-388.

⁶² Dorota Glowacka, "Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present", *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 173-176.

Scientific Society. In 1877 the “Collection of the Data of National Anthropology” (“Zbior Wiadomosci Antropologii Krajowej”) was published by Izydor Kopernicki. He became a prominent lecturer of anthropology, in 1879 he put forward the idea to compile an ethnographic map of Galicia. Among his works was the monograph “O góralaśh Ruskich w Galicji” (“On the Russian Highlanders in Galicia”), named “the first systematic study of Ukrainian Carpathians” by I. Franko, Ukrainian writer and political activist.⁶³ Kopernicki’s death became a marking point in Polish anthropological studies finishing the first period of its development.

The new period was started by the young scholars – students of Rudolf Martin: J. Czekanowski, E. Loth, S. Poniatowski and others. In 1908 a Chair of anthropology at the Jagiellonian University was reopened and in 1913 at the Lviv University, a Chair of ethnology was renamed into the Chair of anthropology and ethnology.⁶⁴

Apart from the racial determinism that dominated both anthropological rhetoric and the study of particular ethnic or social groups, some anthropologists used racial reasoning and more precisely the features inherent in different races to provide answers to socioeconomic problems. In this manner, psychiatrist Adrian Demianowski, basing on his work in the Kulparków Hospital in Lviv, connected “anthropological types” to certain criminal activities.⁶⁵

Other connection – between anthropology and ethnology was especially strong in Lviv, where the Chair of Ethnology had existed since 1910. After Jan Czekanowski took this position, now as the chair of Ethnology and Anthropology, he described the Lviv school's of anthropology work as: “research of humankind as the biological basis of social phenomena”.⁶⁶ He also introduced physical anthropology to the leading ethnological journal “Folk” (“Lud”) as the foremost science of the future. In addition to the establishment of the Lviv

⁶³ Ivan Franko, “O rosyjskich góralach w Galicji”, *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 1889 p., № 4, c. 742 – 745.

⁶⁴ Jan Czekanowski, *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej* (Krakow, 1928), 3.

⁶⁵ Olga Linkiewicz, “Applied Modern Science and the Self-Politicization of Racial Anthropology in Interwar Poland,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 2 (2016), <http://abimperio.net/cgi-bin/aishow.pl?state=showa&idart=3987&idlang=1&Code=3ygxgwTNG4MD1ATtWZurJfFm1>.

⁶⁶ Jan Czekanowski, *Człowiek w czasie i przestrzeni* (Warsaw, 1934)

anthropological school of scientists, Jan Czekanowski is an important figure due to using mathematics and statistics in the studies of the racial structures. He developed the famous Diagram of Czekanowski, which helped to organise a table displaying various clusters of statistic data.⁶⁷

The methodology introduced by Czekanowski in his anthropological studies was based on the idea that the mixing of various “anthropological components” or morphological features leads to the emergence of transitional types that shape the features of particular peoples. The ratio of these components within the people, for which Czekanowski developed the author's system of mathematical analysis, forms the difference between the various peoples. As already noted, the statistical method has firmly entered anthropological studies, but it was Czekanowski who was the first to use this method in Poland. His students continued using this methodology in their research, which, to a large extent, concerned the anthropological zoning of the world, as well as the peculiarities of the population of those or other regions.

Lviv University in 1910-1930 was one of the world's anthropological centres. Anthropological research at that time was closely related both to ethnology and to primitive history, but not to natural sciences, as it was during the later Soviet period. After Yan Czekanovsky became the head of the Department of Anthropology and Ethnology (since 1936 – the Department of Anthropology), he created an Anthropological and Ethnological Institute, where his students worked at assistant positions. The activities of the department, as well as the institute, are reflected both in the writings and memoirs of Jan Czekanowski himself and in specialised publications.⁶⁸

“Czekanowszczyca”, a group of Czekanowski's students, emerged in 1930. These members of his school in their researches speculated on the issues of the Jewish race, for

⁶⁷ Table 1

⁶⁸ Jan Czekanowski, *Działalność Zakładu antropologiczno-etnologicznego Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie w piętnastolecie 1914-1928* (Lviv, 1929, ss.11)

example, made studies based on racial differentiation. Solomon Chortkover was one of those who studied the Jewish question, devoting a large number of works to it. Another scholar who belonged to the Lviv anthropological School of Czekanowski but was more radical in his political views, was already mentioned Karol Stojanowski. The researcher Magdalena Gavin writes that, of all Polish eugenics, only Karol Stojanowski can be attributed to the intention of creating a Polish nation-state, in which minorities will not have civil rights.⁶⁹ After May 1926, he broke his connection with the supporters of Pilsudski, joined the National-Radical Camp and completely followed Roman Dmowski's ideology. Also outlining different races, Stojanowski believed that the "Dinaric type" people had a "rebel spirit" and were a ferment against their own nation-state.⁷⁰ Among his works were books "Racial Basis of Eugenics" ("Rasowe podstawy eugeniki") in 1927 and "Racism against Slaviness" in 1934.⁷¹

In 1930 a book called "Outline for Anthropology of Poland" ("Zarys antropologiczny Polski") was published by Czekanowski. He analysed the stages of the development of anthropological science in Poland, outlined the main racial types of people dwelling in Poland and compared them with the studies of other scholars.⁷²

The course of the anthropological studies was connected to inner Polish questions such as eugenics in medicine, nation, regional identity and many others, not the issues of Jews directly. However, these studies have impacted anti-Semitic feelings throughout the country. Other minorities, such as Ukrainians or Belarusians, politically were treated as potential Poles, to become a complete version after being assimilated. This was denied to the Jews as their race had a "spirit of decay" which was built upon the stereotype of Jewish domination in social and

⁶⁹ Karol Stojanowski, *Polsko-niemieckie zagadnienia rasy* (Katowice: Księgarnia i Drukarnia Katolicka, 1939, ss.180).

⁷⁰ Olga Linkiewicz, "Applied Modern Science and the Self-Politicization of Racial Anthropology in Interwar Poland," *Ab Imperio*, no. 2 (2016), <http://abimperio.net/cgi-bin/aishow.pl?state=showa&idart=3987&idlang=1&Code=3ygxgwTNG4MD1ATtWZurJfFm1>.

⁷¹ Karol Stojanowski, *Rasisci i hitlerowcy* (Tecza, 1930, nr 47, s. 2-3.)

⁷² Table 2

economic life of the country.⁷³ In addition, unlike German anti-Semitism, in Poland, the attitudes about exile, rather than the destruction of the Jewish people, prevailed. “In interwar Poland, the ethnic-nationalist political camp claimed “objective grounds” for the project of Jewish mass emigration from Poland”.⁷⁴ In addition, there was a threat from Ukrainians who, having failed to gain independence, opposed Polish politics, and resorted to radical methods of struggle when moderate politics did not work.

Races on the Polish territories

Since the second half of the 19th century anthropology remained under the influence of evolutionary views. This was in the opinion of Czekanowski in the form of focusing on the problems of phylogeny and on the consideration of anthropological features in terms of their progressive or regressive nature, with the intention of distinguishing higher and lower forms.

During the work of Czekanowski in Polish anthropology happened a turning point in the study of man as the basis of social phenomena, as opposed to the idea of perception of the nation or peoples as an organism. The research of the Lviv anthropological institute was based on two questions – the isolation and description of the anthropological components of Poland and peripheral countries, as well as the positive determination of the racial outline of the individuals, made by the Lviv school of anthropology.

In the interwar period, representatives of the eugenics movement actively used the term “race” in very different manner: as a synonym to “community” (nation, society, social group),

⁷³ Oleksandr Zaitsev, *Український Інтегральний Націоналізм (1920-1930-ті роки): Нариси Інтелектуальної Історії (Ukrainian Integral Nationalism (1920s-1930s): sketches of intellectual history)* (Kyiv, 2013), 133.

⁷⁴ Dorota Glowacka, “Poland’s Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present”, *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 173-176.

designating genetic inheritance (inherited racial characteristics) or as an anthropological term denoting particular physical characteristics.⁷⁵

All work was carried out by two methods: differential diagnostics and associative diagnostics. Description and characteristics of the Polish population in the sphere of anthropology were conducted under the influence of Western European studies that distinguished three anthropological types: North European, Alpine (alpejski) and Mediterranean. This, albeit an imperfect division, was borrowed by Polish scientists, but first Deniker, followed by Chekanovsky, apart from these three types, identified other elements inherent in Poland. Such anthropological elements can be compared with biological phenotypes. The term “anthropological type” means a set of primarily morphological characteristics that tend to coexist in reproductive processes, in part, at least against the third law of Mendelian inheritance. Czekanowski made his description of anthropological types in Poland, based on materials collected by anthropologists of the older generation, giving them the names of the letters of the Greek alphabet.

The Nordic type was characteristic for Pomerania and Greater Poland, limited by rivers in the north and south. This type is also located in Scandinavia, Northern Germany, England, and Northern France. People of this type are dolichocephalic (head is longer relatively to its width) and high with light hair, blue eyes, long faces and thin noses.⁷⁶

In central Poland and part of East Prussia lived pre-Slavic type or the Eastern race, according to Deniker. This type contained significant admixtures of the Polish population, especially the lower social class. These are mesaticephalic (the skull is of intermediate length

⁷⁵ Magdalena Gawin, “Progressivism and Eugenic Thinking in Poland, 1905–1939” in the *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Central European University Press, 2007, pp. 478), 167-184.

⁷⁶ Table 3

and width), almost brachycephalic (the skull is relatively broad and short) people with brown hair, brown eyes and wide, snub noses.⁷⁷

On the territory of Malopolska, from the Carpathians to San and Świętokrzyskie Mountains lived people of Alpine type, named so because of the inhabitation of this type in Central Europe, especially in the Alpine countries. This same type is found in Southern Germany, Central France, Austria, as well as Czechoslovakia. Representatives of this type – brachycephalic people of medium height with dark hair and grey eyes, moderately long-faced and with narrow noses.⁷⁸

Stanislaviv and Ternopil Voivodeships were inhabited by Dinaric race, which is especially characteristic for Hutsuls. It was not limited to the territory of Poland, extending up to the Adriatic. Representatives of this type are high, distinct brachycephalic people with long faces, thin noses and a little darker skin. Alpine and Dinaric types are very similar.⁷⁹

In the south-east of Poland lived a Mediterranean type that came from Romania. People of this type are dolichocephalic, low brunettes with wide faces and noses.

To the east of the Vistula and north of the Pripyat, lived the Subnordic type. Their halo of residence spread to the northeast on the territory of Belarus and Russia. Representatives of this type are high brachycephalic people with light hair, moderately long face, moderately wide nose and green eyes. This anthropological type is also common to Ukrainian territories.⁸⁰

In addition to those types that were compactly located on the territories, in Poland lived others, more scattered. Among them, researchers have identified type “e”, which is quite common in Asia and is represented by dolichocephalic people with reddish blond hair. In addition, Middlyarsky distinguished a type of pailoni that was very distinct and numb. These are low brachiocephalic people with dark skin, wide faces and noses. In general, Poland is

⁷⁷ Table 4, 4-9.

⁷⁸ Table 5, 1-4.

⁷⁹ Table 6

⁸⁰ Table 7, 1-6

characterised by the Asian type that has come about as a result of migration from the east. In addition to the visual representation, the confirmation of the Asian type distribution in Eastern Poland is the result of a serological study, which shows that it was precisely on these territories that the type of blood "B" prevails (18%), which is also common in Asia.⁸¹

It is important to note that, albeit culturally and ethnically, Poland is divided into Western and Eastern, anthropological division lies between the North and the South. J. Talka-Hryniewicz generally distinguished only two anthropological types: the Nordic one, which is characterised by light skin, dolichocephaly and high growth; and Southern, which is characterised by darker skin with brachycephaly and low growth. In addition to the types that would characterise the Poles, part of the "Outline of Polish Anthropology" ("Zarys Anthropologii Polski") was devoted to Jewish anthropology. The ratio of research on Jews and politics was dual: the results of these works were used in political anti-Semitic agitation, and, on the other hand, anti-Semitic attitudes passed into the scientific sphere. Even a separate Jewish race ("żydowski typ") was outlined, which was not correct, according to more recent research.⁸²

Studies on races in South-Eastern Poland

In addition, Jan Czekanowski wrote a work on the anthropological structure of South-Eastern Poland. He clarified that these lands, except for the part of Sandomierz Forest and several flood plains, used to be Austrian Eastern Galicia. In addition, this work is the second of a series of works devoted to different regions, the first of which was "The racial structure of Silesia" ("Struktura rasowa Śląska", 1936). The author wrote that these works are very relevant in the context of the fact that "anthropological arguments are now taken into account in the case

⁸¹ Karol Stojanowski, *Rasowe podstawy eugeniki* (Poznań, 1927, s. 63.), 12.

⁸² Ibid.

of very diverse discussions, and not only scientific ones, which is why it is necessary to make them accessible”.⁸³ He also wrote that previous studies did not go beyond statements about differences between Poles, Ruthenians and Jews, as well as inhabitants of mountain and plain regions, and the very essence of these differences was not analysed by previous researchers. Czekanowski wrote that general works related to Poland were often confined to specific issues, such as the territorial and anthropological differentiation of individual regions, and that is why it was necessary to publish monographs concerning the regions before moving on to the development of the whole study of Poland.

The first study of anthropological relations of Southern Poland, performed by Czekanowski, was limited to explaining its territorial-anthropological differentiation. However, an attempt to interpret this result could not yet comprehend the essence of the differences occurring in the anthropological structure of the population of certain parts of the country, which is why the final part was added to the “Outline of Polish Anthropology” (“Zarys Anthropologii Polski”). Conclusions on the anthropological properties of the inhabitants of different regions and the differences between them were based on quantitative analytical data.

The author mentions the work of Jan Mydlarski, who intended to create a previously military anthropological portrait of Poland.⁸⁴ One of the factors that allowed the writing of such works was the announcement of the study of the population of the Eastern Carpathians. Czekanowski’s research, as well as the study, conducted by Ludwik Krzywicki, J. Talka-Hryniewicz, relied on previous studies by Majer and Kopernicki. Anthropological map, made by Czekanowski in 1911, was based on the conclusions of the cartographic questionnaire of the Anthropological Commission, performed by Deniker.

⁸³ Jan Czekanowski, *Struktura antropologiczna Polski Południowo-Wschodniej* (Lviv: Związek Polskich Towarzystw Naukowych we Lwowie, 1939)

⁸⁴ Table 8

The author describes that in comparison with Rusyns, the Poles are lower, with a worse-developed chest, but among them is the highest percentage of light-skinned and blonde people. Also, the Poles are usually brachiocephals with a wide forehead, wide noses and round faces. However, the author can not determine the anthropological differences between Poles living on the territories of Ruthenia and their neighbours-Rusyns. He also notes that Jews differ in their traits from the Poles more than from the Rusyns. Characteristic features of the Jews are more pronounced in the Western territories than in the Eastern, with being characteristic of light skin combined with an elongated head.

The author also refers to the researches of German scientists, indicating that the newest of them were formed under the views of the similarity of anthropological types of Celts and Slavs. Such anthropological type in these works is considered to be Eastern European. A significant difference, which, according to the author, stems from the results of the anthropological questionnaire, between Poles and Rusyns lies in the fact that the Rusyns have fewer admixtures of the Mediterranean and Armenian.

The Dinaric type, as the characteristic morphological type of Hutsuls, was first singled out by Theodore Volkov. Later, this observation spread to all Ukrainians, even ancient Slavs. And, although such conclusions are doubtful, Czekanowski, on his anthropological map of 1920, allocates the territory to the east of the Carpathians, where Ukrainians or Rusyns lived as a place of inhabitation of the Dinaric type.⁸⁵

Ukrainian “racial hygiene”

Among Jan Czekanowski's students was Rostyslav Jendyk – Ukrainian anthropologist, writer, public and political figure. He is the author of scientific works on the anthropology of

⁸⁵ Jan Czekanowski, *Struktura antropologiczna Polski Południowo-Wschodniej* (Lviv: Związek Polskich Towarzystw Naukowych we Lwowie, 1939), 14

Ukrainians, in particular, “Anthropological attributes of the Ukrainian people” (1934), “Introduction to the racial structure of Ukraine” (1949). In his works, the author stressed that for Ukraine the “continental struggle of the races” is decisive. Jendyk claimed that “the racial structure provides a sufficient basis for separating the Ukrainian population from Moscow and Poland”. He also believed that the Ukrainian nationalists should adopt the principles of “racial hygiene” on the model of Hitlerism, however, these ideas have not become widespread. Rostyslav Jendyk was one of the prominent propagandists of racial anti-Semitism, while his works were even translated into German in Nazi Reich.⁸⁶

Rostyslav Jendyk tried to defend his doctoral work “Anthropological structure of Ukraine with an attachment to the paleoanthropology of Eastern Europe” at the Ukrainian Free University of Munich, which was known for the influence of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists on it. Among those who gave a positive response to the work of Jendyk, was one of the leading specialists on races in the Third Reich, Hans Gunter. Part of the reviewers criticised Jendyk's research for a large number of factual mistakes, and he himself was called a fanatical racist.⁸⁷ As a result, Jendyk failed to defend his work, but it is indicative that it was even considered, and the former ideologue of the racist theory of Hitler's Germany was even invited as an expert.

Such ideas of Rostyslav Jendyk influenced Dmytro Dontsov, a theorist of Ukrainian integral nationalism and a friend of Jendyk. In addition, under the influence of the ideas of racial psychology, he described four races, noting that the majority of the Ukrainian intelligentsia refers to the type of Ossetian, that is, the slave. Such an unusual for them role of the ruling class, caused most of the problems in the Ukrainian state-building process. The hierarchy of people, social groups and nations, according to the author, also determines their

⁸⁶ *Архів Українського Вільного Університету, Фонд Ростислава Єндика / Archive of the Ukrainian Free University, Rostislav Endik Foundation*

⁸⁷ Ibid.

belonging to higher or lower races, and the violation of this principle leads to the decline of nations and civilisations. Thus, Dontsov proposed to form a ruling caste according to racial characteristics.

A German-Polish historian Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe in his work on the biography of Stepan Bandera raised a question of how heavily biological racism influenced the ideology of the pre-war Organisation of Ukrainian nationalists. The author states that “in Ukrainian nationalism, racism and eugenics penetrate into the context of the purification of the Ukrainian nation, language, culture from strangers – especially from the Polish, Russian and Jewish influences in order to obtain a pure Ukrainian race”.⁸⁸ It is not entirely clear whether the author speaks only of the Organisation's ideology or of the broader context. In addition, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe is known for its scandalous reputation as the use of non-academic vocabulary in the work as well as engagement.

Unlike a Polish colleague, Ukrainian historian Alexander Zaitsev says that the idea of racism went deeper not into the ideology of the OUN, but in the ideological ideals of the Front of National Unity (FNE), headed by Dmytro Paliyev. It is interesting that even Reichsführer SS Henrik Himmler in a speech to the German officers of the SS Galicia in 1944 argued that the FNE “was ideologically very close to National Socialism”.⁸⁹

The group headed by Stepan Bandera, that separated from the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, according to Rossoliński-Liebe, was also pro-fascist. He writes that their course was totalitarian and xenophobic (including anti-Semitic), which, however, was the same for other nationalist programs from Eastern Europe at that time.

Among the members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists headed by Stepan Bandera, were people who initiated the declaration of full solidarity with National Socialist

⁸⁸ Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist: Fascism, Genocide, and Cult* (Ibidem Press, 2014, P. 670), 111.

⁸⁹ *YadVashemArchives*, M 53, F.N.274, P.8

Germany, but the majority opposed the pro-Hitler points in the program.⁹⁰ The author also cites texts in which Jews are opposed to Ukrainians as hostile ethnic-religious group. He noted that the national minorities were divided into “friendly” and “hostile”, with Russians, Poles and Jews being among the second group.⁹¹ Although the propaganda of another group of Ukrainian nationalists also had an anti-Semitic component, it was in the group under the leadership of Bandera that the hierarchy of “hostile” and “friendly” peoples and attitudes to them were more clearly spelled out.⁹²

⁹⁰ Національний рух під час Другої світової війни: інтерв'ю з Б. Левицьким, *Діялоги*, 1979, число 2, С. 14

⁹¹ Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist: Fascism, Genocide, and Cult* (Ibidem Press, 2014, P. 670), 181.

⁹² *Архів ОУН (Київ)* / Archive of OUN (Kyiv), Ф.1, Оп.1, Спр. 266, Арк. 1-4.

Conclusion

Eugenics discourse in Europe drew on the modernist myth of regeneration to a new form of politics. Since degradation and degeneration were very actual issues of the interwar period, the states tried to take them under governmental control. The eugenics movement was quite broad and acted on several levels: individual and collective. The family was placed at the centre of the new biopolitical order grounded in eugenics, and the issues of reproduction were the most discussed in biopolitical projects.

In addition to combating the negative factors affecting the health of people and the spread of hygiene ideas, the studies of heredity gained new popularity. In the interwar period, questions of race and nationality dominated the political agenda in Europe. Thus, racial mythology along with the modern hygienic techniques aimed to improve the health of the nation and create new political biology.

The questions of race and nation, eugenists worked with, also their interpretations extracted from empirical data and experiments but also were shaped by cultural attitudes, social needs and political possibilities. Thus, during the interwar period, the discourse of eugenics, due to the militarisation of societies all across Europe, was transformed into the biopolitical project of building the perfect ethnic state.

For Poland, this was important both for the consolidation of the national identity and for the holding of territories under its authority and the creation of a strong and homogeneous Poland. Eugenics made it possible to speak of the controlling national body, cultivating and weeding out extraordinary individuals, and purifying the race.

However, the inclusion of racial issues in the state discourse could not go unnoticed for in-group and out-group relations. The issue of national minorities was very strong in Eastern Galicia, considering its multiethnicity and the elevation of the level of national consciousness among the most widespread minority – Ukrainians. Poland failed repeatedly to respect the

formal statutory guarantees that were offered through conferences, treaties and Constitutions to minorities. In addition to the revival of Ukrainian identity, the problem in Eastern Galicia was also the class division among the poor Ukrainian peasants and Polish landlords.

Since the eugenics served as a certain unifying and institutionalizing factor, it served as a broad field for grouping and manipulation. In Poland there was strong political protectionism of the dominant racial group and the exclusion of ethnic minorities, especially Jews.

Consequently, not only the scientific achievements of the representatives of the eugenic movement had a certain influence on the political vector, for example, the creation of the Ministry of Health, which was the most advanced policy of that time. In addition, such studies, for example, the description of racial types in Poland, could serve as a propaganda tool for “othering” the national minorities. Separating certain morphological features, Polish researchers as if separated other groups, proclaiming them “less valuable”.

State policy also often determined the vector of scientific research. This is how the regional studies began on the outskirts of the country – their goal was to study the minorities living there for the purpose of their further control. Similarly, racial theories could be used to deepen the connection within the group itself.

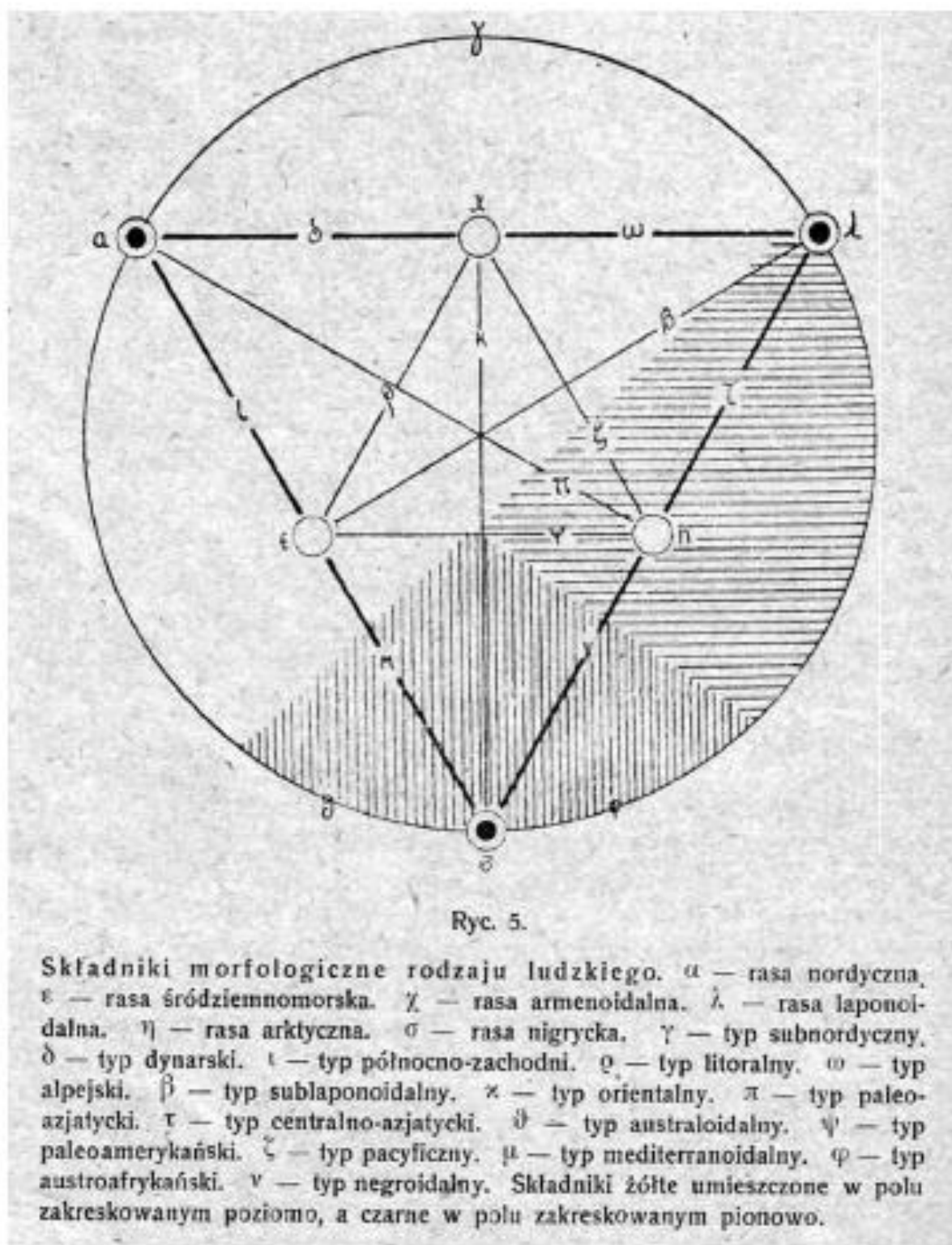


Table 1

Składniki ludności w ujęciach poszczególnych autorów.

Olechnowicz	Dybowski	Rutkowski	Czekanowski	Talko-Hrynciewicz	Deniker
Germański	teutoński	maksimum 78	α nordyczny	jagielloński	nordyczny
—	(szatyn)	maksimum 81	β pre-słowiański	(krywiczański kościuszkowski)	wschodni nadwiślański
—	celtycki	maksimum 84	γ sarmacki	piastowski	subnordyczny
Celtycki	liguryjski	krótkogłowy	ω alpejski	górski	sewenjolski
Ciemny, rosły, krótkogłowy	—	ciemny, rosły, krótkogłowy	δ dynarski	—	subadrytycki
Iberyjski	iberyjski	skrajnie długo- głowy	ε skrajnie długo- głowy	—	iberyjsko-insularny
—	—	—	ρ (śródoziemno- morski)	—	litoralny
—	—	—	—	(mongoloidalny)	—

Table 2

TABLICA I



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

1—9 Typ nordyczny.

Czekanowski, Zarys Antropologii Polski

Przedruk wzbroniony

Table 3



Table 4

TABLICA V



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

1-4 Typ alpejski. 5-6 Typ armenoidalny. 7 Typ litoralny. 8-9 Typ iberyjsko-insularny.

Czekanowski, Zarys Antropologii Polski

Przedruk wzbroniony

Table 5

TABLICA IV



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

1—9 Typ dynarski.

Czekanowski, Zarys Antropologii Polski

Przedruk wzbroniony

Table 6

TABLICA II



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

1—6 Typ subnordyczny. 7—9 Typ północno-zachodni.

Czekanowski, Zarys Antropologii Polski

Przedruk wzbroniony

Table 7

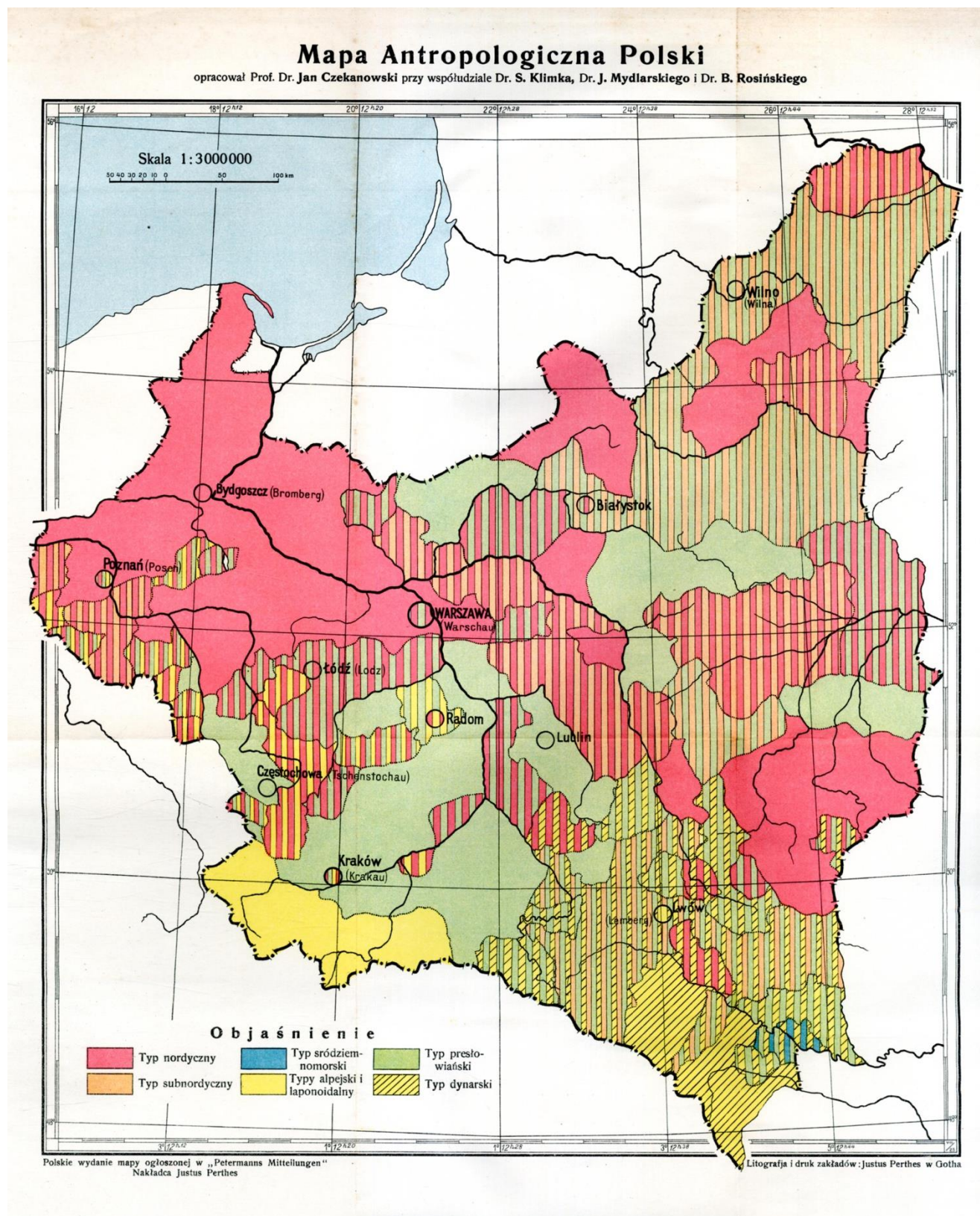


Table 8

Bibliography

Primary Sources

1. Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludnosci z dnia 9 grudnia 1931 r. (Lwow, Warszawa, 1937. S. 11)
2. Drugi Zjazd Eugeniczny Polskiego Towarzystwa Walki ze Zwyrrodnieniami Rasy, Zagadnienia Rasy 1922, nr 1, s. 8-10
3. Polish Comission of Prepratory Work to the Conference of Peace, Statistics of Galicia (Paris, May 1919)
4. Архів ОУН (Київ) / Archive of OUN (Kyiv), Ф.1, Оп.1, Спр. 266, Арк. 1-4.
5. Архів Українського Вільного Університету, Фонд Ростислава Єндика / Archive of the Ukrainian Free University, Rostislav Endik Foundation
6. ЦДІАЛ. Колекція мікрофільмів. № м/ф 83982 Листи осіб на літери "Д-І" до Д. Донцова / Letters of persons on the letters "D-I" to D. Dontsov
7. YadVashemArchives, M 53, F.N.274, P.8

Online sources

1. Eugenika - koszmar, którego dzisiaj nikt nie pamięta, Salon24, accessed April 17, 2019, <https://www.salon24.pl/u/arturbazak/22499,eugenika-koszmar-ktorego-dzisiaj-nikt-nie-pamiet>
2. Ryabchuk, Mykola, “Перевинайдення Галичини” / “The reinvention of Galicia”, Zbruch, accessed April 27, 2019, <http://zbruc.eu/node/34476>
3. Зарождение биополитики Фуко / Foucault's biopolitics, Monocler, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://monocler.ru/zarozhdenie-biopolitiki-mishelya-fuko/>

Secondary literature

1. Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer. Suwerenna władza I nagie życie*, tans. Mateusz Salwa. Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka, 2008

2. Balińska, Marta. "The National Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Poland 1918–1939", *Social History of Medicine*, Volume 9, Issue 3, December 1996, pp. 427–445.
3. Boguszewski, Jan. "Zadania eugeniczne w Polsce" in the *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, 239. Central European University Press, 2007, pp. 478.
4. Brubaker, Rogers and Cooper, Frederick. "Beyond 'identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (February 2000).
5. Chojnowski, Andrzej. *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921-1939*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979, P. 262.
6. Czekanowski, Jan. *Człowiek w czasie i przestrzeni*. Warsaw, 1934.
7. Czekanowski, Jan. *Działalność Zakładu antropologiczno-etnologicznego Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie w piętnastoleciu 1914-1928*. Lviv, 1929, ss.11.
8. Czekanowski, Jan. *Główne kierunki w antropologii polskiej*. Krakow, 1928.
9. Czekanowski, Jan. *Struktura antropologiczna Polski Południowo-Wschodniej*. Lviv: Związek Polskich Towarzystw Naukowych we Lwowie, 1939.
10. Czekanowski, Jan. *Zagadnienia antropologii Zarys antropologii teoretycznej*. Księgarnia Naukowa T.Szczęsny i S-ka, Toruń 1948, 108 s.
11. Daszyńska-Golińska, Zofia. *Zagadnienia polityki populacyjnej*. Warsaw: F. Hoesick, 1927.
12. Dunn, Kevin, and Neumann, Iver. *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research*. University of Michigan Press, 2016
13. Eberhardt, Piotr. *Ethnic groups and population changes in twentieth-century Central-Eastern Europe: history, data, analysis*. M. E. Sharpe, 2003.

14. Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. France: St Martin's Press
15. Franko, Ivan. "O rosyjskich góralach w Galicji", *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 1889 p., № 4, c. 742 – 745.
16. Garlicki, Apolinary. *Zagadnienia biologiczno-społeczne*. Przemysł, Warsaw: Drukarnia Jana Łazora, Wydawnictwo Książnicy Naukowej, 1924
17. Gawin, Magdalena. "Progressivism and Eugenic Thinking in Poland, 1905–1939" in *the Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, 167-184. Central European University Press, 2007, pp. 478.
18. Gawin, Magdalena, and Uzarczyk, Kamila. *Eugenika - biopolityka - państwo: z historii europejskich ruchów eugenicznych w pierwszej połowie XX w.* Warszawa: Neriton, 2010
19. Glowacka, Dorota. "Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present", *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 173-176.
20. Gomza, Ivan. *Суспільно-політичні рухи. Навчальний посібник* (Національний університет "Києво-Могилянська академія", 2018, 176 ст.) / Social-political movements. Textbook (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, 2018, 176 pp.)
21. Hirszfild, Ludwik. *Historia jednego życia*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957, s. 184
22. Hirszfild, Ludwik. *Historia jednego życia*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957, s. 184

23. Janiszewski, Tomasz Wiktor. *Polskie Ministerstwo Zdrowia Publicznego: zadania, zasady organizacyi i zakres działania Zarządu Spraw Zdrowotnych w państwie polskiem*. Krakow: self published, 1917.
24. Jedlicki, Jerzy. *Świat zwyrodniały. Lęki i wyroki krytyków nowoczesności*. Warsaw: Sic!, 2000, 305 ss.
25. Karaffa-Korbutt, Kazimierz. *Praca i odpoczynek*. Krakow: Okagowy Związek Kas Chorych, 1929.
26. Kostrowicka, Irena, and Landau, i Zbigniew, and Tomaszewski, Jerzy. *Historia gospodarcza Polski XIX i XX wieku*. Warsaw, 1984.
27. Komar, Volodymyr. “Українське питання” в політиці урядів Польщі (1926-1939 pp.) // Ukrainian issues in the policy of the governments of Poland *Український історичний журнал* № 5 (2001) P. 120-128.
28. Kulesza, Wladyslaw. *Koncepcje ideowo-polityczne obozu rządzącego w Polsce w latach 1926–1935*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo, 1985, Pp. 310.
29. Lemke, Thomas, and Casper, Monica, and Moore, Lisa. *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*. NYU Press, 2011
30. Linkiewicz, Olga. “Applied Modern Science and the Self-Politicization of Racial Anthropology in Interwar Poland,” *Ab Imperio*, no. 2 (2016), <http://abimperio.net/cgi-bin/aishow.pl?state=showa&idart=3987&idlang=1&Code=3ygxgwTNG4MD1ATtWZurJfFm1>.
31. Nosko, Jan. *Zachowania zdrowotne i zdrowie publiczne - aspekty historyczno-kulturowe*. Łódź: Instytut Medycyny Pracy, 2005.
32. McAdam, Doug and Tarrow, Sidney and Tilly, Charles. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge University Press, 2001, P. 412

33. Mydlarski, Jan. Sprawozdanie z wojskowego zdjęcia antropologicznego Polski. Kosmos, 1925, ss. 54
34. Pók, Attila. "The Politics of Hatred: Scapegoating in Interwar Hungary" in the *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, 375-388. Central European University Press, 2007, pp. 478
35. Rossolinski-Liebe, Grzegorz. *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist: Fascism, Genocide, and Cult*. Ibidem Press, 2014, P. 670.
36. Spencer, Herbert. *Social Statics: The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and The First of Them Developed*. Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1995, pp. 430.
37. Stachura, Peter. *Poland, 1918-1945: An interpretive and documentary history of the second Republic*. Routledge: London and New York, 2004, 240 pp.
38. Steffen, Katrin. "Experts and the Modernization of the Nation: The Arena of Public Health in Poland in the First Half of the Twentieth Century". *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge*, Bd. 61, H. 4, 2013, pp. 574-590.
39. Stojanowski, Karol. *Polsko-niemieckie zagadnienia rasy*. Katowice: Księgarnia i Drukarnia Katolicka, 1939, ss.180.
40. Stojanowski, Karol. *Rasisci i hitlerowcy*. Tecza, 1930, nr 47, s. 2-3.
41. Stojanowski, Karol. *Rasowe podstawy eugeniki*. Poznań, 1927, s. 63.
42. Tajfel, Henri. *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. CUP Archive, 1981
43. Turda, Marius. *Modernism and eugenics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 189 pp.
44. Wernic, Leon. *Eugenika a stosunek jej do higieny szkolnej*. Warsaw, 1950.

45. Wernic, Leon. “*Małżeństwo z punktu widzenia higieny społecznej i seksualnej*”, *Czystość*, nr 6 (1907), s. 85.
46. Wernic, Leon. “O uświadomieniu płciowym młodzieży w okresie szkolnym i przedszkolnym”, *Zdrowie* 6,8 (1907), 455.
47. Wojdyło, Witold. *Kwestia ukraińska w myśli społeczno-politycznej obozu narodowo-demokratycznego w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej – Polska i Ukraina: sojusz 1920 roku i jego następstwa*. Toruń: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu M. Kopernika, 1997. – 558 s.
48. Zaitsev, Oleksandr. *Український Інтегральний Націоналізм (1920-1930-ті роки): Нариси Інтелектуальної Історії (Ukrainian Integral Nationalism (1920s-1930s): sketches of intellectual history)* (Kyiv, 2013), 133.
49. Національний рух під час Другої світової війни: інтерв’ю з Б. Левицьким, *Діалоги*, 1979, число 2, С. 14 / National Movement during the Second World War: An Interview with B. Levytsky, *Diyalogi*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 14.
50. Переписи населення // Енциклопедія Українознавства: в 10 т. / за ред. В.М. Кубійовича. (Львів: НТШ, 1996 – Т. 6. – 1996. – С. 2011–2013) / *Perepysy naseleńnya // Encyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva: v 10 t. / ed. by V.M. Kubijovych* (Lviv: NTSh, 1996 – Т. 6. – 1996. – С. 2011–2013).