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## ETHNIC PROBLEMS IN POLAND AND IN HER EASTERN NEIGHBOURS

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The paper presents, first, the numbers and the spatial distribution of the ethnic minorities in Poland. Then, the ethnic structures existing on the territories of the eastern neighbours of Poland, that is – in Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, and the Kaliningrad district, are presented. Hypotheses are constructed on the basis of the statistical analysis and the historical-geographical assessment, concerning the possibility of emergence of conflicts of ethnic origin between various nationality groups inhabiting the four political units located on the eastern side of Poland.

**Key words:** ethnic minorities, ethnic conflicts, Central Europe

The political events, which took place in Central-Eastern Europe, uncovered, as a consequence of the breakdown of the totalitarian regimes, the surfacing nationalist attitudes. A number of ethnic conflicts emerged, exerting a destabilising influence on the functioning of individual countries and on the conditions existing in the entire region. The national antagonisms are largely the heritage of the past. The abrupt downfall of the communist system dramatically re-established the ancient ethnic prejudices. Gaining of political freedom by the nations previously kept under Soviet domination brought new threats and the possibility of new discrimination with respect to the citizens differing by their language, nationality, or religion. The Yugoslavian conflict showed the force of

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national and religious prejudices. The societies of Central-Eastern Europe, free from the imposed ideology and the Soviet domination, are not all capable of freeing themselves from the destructive antagonisms, which run counter to their deep interests. The continuing economic difficulties and the deepening social frustration may bring interest in these ideologies, and populist leaders, who would put the blame for the difficulties of everyday life on the citizens of different nationality or religious denomination, or who would wave the finger at the enemies living just behind the border. In connection with all this, the need arose to have a deeper insight into the ethnic situation existing in the countries located between Russia and Germany.<sup>1</sup>

It must be very clearly stated that the outbreak of the violent military conflict in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and the unstable conditions prevailing in the remaining Balkan countries, may have a destabilising effect on the other countries of Central-Eastern Europe. As of now the situation in the direct neighbourhood of Poland is rather peaceful. This, however, does not mean that no potential threats exist. They are primarily located on the eastern side of the Polish border. Within these areas numerous conflicts of ethnic origin took place in the past. Hence, cognition of the contemporary ethnic situation in these areas has essential significance, and not just in scientific, but also in political terms.

The present paper presents the problems related to the number and distribution of the ethnic minorities in Poland, and then the numbers and distribution of the nationalities inhabiting Belarus', Lithuania, Ukraine, and the Kaliningrad district, that is – within all the political entities located in the direct vicinity of the Polish Eastern border.

A precise determination of the ethnic structure of the contemporary Polish state is very difficult. The population censuses carried out in the years 1950, 1960, 1970, 1978, and 1988, did not contain the questions related to nationality nor ethnicity. Thus, ethnic structure can only be established on the basis of rough estimates.

Ethnic minorities of Slavic origin in Poland<sup>2</sup> include Belarusians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Russians, and Czechs. Nowadays, Belarusians are the largest group among them (250,000 persons). The primary factor in the maintenance of their separate identity is the fact that they are simultaneously Orthodox Christians. Belarusians inhabit the border-adjacent Eastern areas, to the North of the river Bug, and to the South-East of the town of Białystok, mainly in the vicinity of Białowieża, Hajnówka, and Bielsk Podlaski.

The number of the Ukrainian population is estimated at approximately 180,000. They live highly dispersed, as a result of the forced resettlement of some 140,000 Ukrainians in 1947 from the South-Eastern territories of Poland. Only 20-30,000 of them remained within the old land of their residence, that

<sup>1</sup> A broad monograph by the same author, dealing with this subject, and entitled „*Miedzy Rosja a Niemcami. Przemiany narodowościowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XX wieku*” („*Between Russia and Germany. Ethnic transformations in Central-Eastern Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*”, in Polish), was published in 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Contemporary Poland is one of the most ethnically homogeneous European countries. In the inter-war period, on the other hand, Poland featured high ethnic differentiation. It is roughly estimated that among the 35 million inhabitants of Poland in 1939 there were 24 million Poles, 5 million Ukrainians, 2 million Belarusians, more than 3 million Jews, 0.8 million Germans, and 0.3 million representatives of other nationalities, see *Rocznik Statystyczny GUS (Statistical Yearbook)*, Warszawa 1939.

is – in the region of the Lower Beskidy Mts. and Bieszczady Mts., the towns of Przemyśl and Hrubieszów. The majority of the Ukrainian population inhabit the areas of Western Pomerania (like the neighbourhood of Biały Bór) and of Lower Silesia. They also live in the North of the country close to Gołdap and Górowo Iławieckie. In view of the dispersion the Ukrainians, who are in their majority Greek Catholics (Uniates, members of the Byzantine-Ukrainian Church), have a definite difficulty with the maintenance of their language and national customs, and they are undergoing gradual Polonization.

The remaining Slavic groups are smaller. The number of Slovaks is estimated at around 15 thousand. They live in two areas, directly adjacent to the border with Slovakia. One of them, associated with the region of Orawa, stretches around the locality of Jabłonka, the second, to the south-east of Nowy Targ, encompasses a couple of villages between Jurgów and Kacwin, within the region of Spisz.

The group of the Russian population is also quite small. Except for a number of villages of the so-called “Old Believers”, located in north-eastern Poland, they live mostly in large towns. They are often the descendants of the Polish-Russian marriages, partly – of the so-called “white emigration”, that is of persons who came to Poland after the October Revolution. As they live in dispersion among Poles, they undergo an accelerated language-wise and cultural assimilation.

The Czech population of approximately 5 thousand people lives in the South of Poland close to Głubczyce, as well as in the township of Żelów to the South-West of Łódź, in central Poland.

When speaking of the population of Slavic origin we should mention several hundred persons of Macedonian extraction, who came to Poland at the end of the 1940s, after the civil war in Greece. Macedonians live primarily in Gdańsk, in the vicinity of Zgorzelec, and in the Eastern part of Poland, in Ustrzyki Dolne.

If we account also for the small numbers of Bulgarians and Serbs, the total number of ethnic minorities of Slavic origin, residing currently in the territory of Poland comes up to some 500,000 persons.

It is more difficult to determine the number of Polish citizens of German origin. They live in Opole Silesia, on the territory to the East of the river Odra in the area of Ozimek, Strzelce Opolskie, Kędzierzyn-Koźle and Racibórz. Various cultures touched and crossed each other in this area. The ethnic settings are very complicated there. Divisions often cut across families. Besides, the population has a very changeable ethnic attitude. Some of them declare Polish or German or Silesian nationality, while others are undecided or change their declared nationality depending upon the political situation. That is why it is very difficult to give the number of persons, who can be classified in the German minority. The language criterion is very deceptive. There are cases when German nationality is declared by persons not speaking German at all. On the other hand, there are cases when bilingual persons declare Polish nationality.

The lists of persons of German extraction, established on the occasions of elections to the Diet or the senate, or to the local government bodies, allow us to estimate the number of inhabitants of the Opole Silesia declaring German na-

tionality as roughly equal to between 300,000 and 350,000. This would correspond to approximately 25 % of the population inhabiting this particular area.

Of the Jewish minority, amounting before the World War II to 3 million people, a dozen or so thousand people remained. They are primarily older people, dispersed within bigger towns (Warsaw, Łódź, Cracow, Wrocław, Wałbrzych). Many of them are Polonized as to their language, customs, and culture.

A distinct ethnic group is constituted by the Lithuanians, residing in a small region, located close to the Polish-Lithuanian border, near Puńsk and Sejny. Their number is estimated at roughly 10,000.

There is also a specific ethnic group of the Gypsies. It is estimated that some 15,000 Gypsies live in Poland. They are dispersed across the entire territory of Poland.

An interesting ethnic group is constituted by the so-called Polish Tartars. A couple of hundred of them live dispersed on the whole territory of Poland. Most of the Polish Tartars now living in Poland came from the region of Vilna (Lithuanian – Vilnius) in the framework of the post-war repatriation action.

Poles of Armenian extraction also live in great dispersion, primarily in large towns. This ethnic group, of altogether a dozen or so thousand persons, is to a large extent Polonized already, although they still cultivate their national customs.

The remaining ethnic groups are much smaller (between a dozen and a couple of hundred persons) and do not play any important role.

On the basis of the quantitative criterion Poland could be considered an ethnically homogeneous country. All the non-Polish minorities amount to less than 1 million people. Given the total population of the country, this is not a significant quantity. This situation is well illustrated by the table below.<sup>3</sup>

	Persons	% of total population
Poles	37,178,000	97.7
Germans	350,000	0.9
Belarusians	250,000	0.7
Ukrainians	180,000	0.5
Jews	15,000	0.04
Slovaks	15,000	0.04
Gypsies	15,000	0.04
Russians	10,000	0.03
Lithuanians	10,000	0.03
Other nationalities	15,000	0.04
Total for Poland	38,038,000	100.0

On the other side of the Polish Eastern border, that is – in the territory of the sovereign Belarus', Lithuania, Ukraine, and in the Kalinigrad District, belonging to Russia, the ethnic situation is more complex. In distinction from the Pol-

<sup>3</sup>Data and estimates as of 1990. The situation did not undergo changes at a later time.

ish conditions these areas are ethnically inhomogeneous, inhabited by populations of differentiated ethnic origin. They speak various languages and profess different religious denominations.

An important facilitation, allowing for the determination in a more precise manner of the numbers of ethnic minorities in the four units mentioned (the three countries and one district), is provided by the possibility of making use of the statistical data from the consecutive Soviet censuses (of 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989). Since the present report refers only to the static image of the ethnic composition and situation, only the data from the most recent of these censuses are given here.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the ethnic composition of the Belorussian SSR in 1989 was as follows:

	Persons	% of total population
Belarusians	7,905,000	77.9
Russians	1,342,000	13.2
Poles	418,000	4.1
Ukrainians	291,000	2.9
Other nationalities	196,000	1.9
Total for Belarus'	10,152,000	100.0

The data from the very same population census brought the following results concerning the ethnic composition of the Lithuanian SSR:

	Persons	% of total population
Lithuanians	2,924,000	79.6
Russians	344,000	9.4
Poles	258,000	7.0
Belarusians	63,000	1.7
Ukrainians	45,000	1.2
Other nationalities	41,000	1.1
Total for Lithuania	3,675,000	100.0

The ethnic composition of the Ukrainian SSR at the same time was as shown below:

	Persons	% of total population
Ukrainians	37,419,000	72.7
Russians	11,356,000	22.1
Belarusians	440,000	0.9
Poles	219,000	0.4
Other nationalities	2,018,000	3.9
Total for Ukraine	51,452,000	100.0

<sup>4</sup> *Natsionalny sostav naselenia SSSR. Po dannym vsesoyuznoi perepisi naselenia 1989.* Moskva 1991.

Finally, the district of Kaliningrad, a part of the Russian Federation, had the following ethnic composition in 1989:

	Persons	% of the total population
Russians	684,000	78.5
Belarusians	74,000	8.5
Ukrainians	63,000	7.2
Lithuanians	18,000	2.1
Other nationalities	33,000	3.7
Total for the Kaliningrad district	872,000	100.0

Thus, the territory of Belarus', Lithuania, Ukraine the Kaliningrad district, and Poland was inhabited according to the data from 1989 by altogether 104.7 million people, with the following ethnic breakdown:

	Persons	% of the region's population
Poles	38,083,000	36.3 <sup>5</sup>
Ukrainians	37,998,000	36.3 <sup>6</sup>
Russians	13,736,000	13.1 <sup>7</sup>
Belarusians	8,732,000	8.4 <sup>8</sup>
Lithuanians	2,952,000	2.8 <sup>9</sup>
Other nationalities	3,231,000	3.1
Total for the region	104,732,000	100.0

Hence, the entire area analysed here is inhabited by approximately 38 million Poles and a similar number of Ukrainians. These two dominating nationalities are followed, at a distance, by the Russians, of whom there is close to 14 million. The share of the latter in the population of the region is therefore roughly 13 %. Let us note that the Russians are indeed well ahead of the Belarusians, whose number does not attain 9 million. The total number of the Slavic population (not accounting for the marginal groups of the Czech, Slovak, and Bulgarian populations) is approximately 98,600,000, equivalent to almost 95 % of the entire population of the region. There are 3 million Lithuanians, differing by their language from their Slavic neighbours.

Among the countries analysed only Poland is homogeneous in terms of nationality and language. Lithuania also features a clear domination of the native population. The situation is, however, quite different in Ukraine and Belarus'.

<sup>5</sup> Poles: in Poland – 37,178,000 in Belarus' – 418,000 in Ukraine – 219,000 in Lithuania – 258,000 persons (the data on the number of Poles in the Kaliningrad district are missing).

<sup>6</sup> Ukrainians: in Ukraine – 37,419,000 in Belarus' – 291,000 in Poland – 180,000 in Lithuania – 45,000 in the Kaliningrad district – 63,000 persons.

<sup>7</sup> Russians: in Ukraine – 11,356,000 in Belarus' – 1,342,000 in the Kaliningrad district – 684,000 in Lithuania – 344,000 and in Poland – 10,000 persons.

<sup>8</sup> Belarusians: in Belarus' – 7,905,000 in Ukraine – 440,000 in Poland – 250,000 in the Kaliningrad district – 74,000 in Lithuania – 63,000 persons.

<sup>9</sup> Lithuanians: in Lithuania – 2,924,000 in the Kaliningrad district – 18,000 in Poland – 10,000 (the data on the numbers of Lithuanians in Belarus' and Ukraine are missing).

Both these countries host a very significant Russian minority, which dominates within definite areas over the native population (like in the Crimea, Donbas, or the Eastern regions of Belarus').

The purely statistical information, and yet in a static setting, cannot provide a fully reliable basis for the construction of justified hypotheses as to the possibility of appearance of ethnic tensions or conflicts. To propose anything in this domain would require having a broad historical, sociological and economic knowledge. The quantitative data do not provide information on the most important question, namely on the mutual relations between the individual ethnic groups. These relations are a result of centuries of experiences in interactions, transmitted from generation to generation. It is known that each community has deeply-rooted stereotypes of the ethnically differing groups. They tend to surface in an irrational manner at the historical turning points. Each ethnic and nationality group cultivates not only its own tradition and historical heritage, but also emotional attitudes with respect to the neighbours differing by their nationality, language, or religion. These problems are very complicated and hardly lend themselves to a scientific inquiry. Yet, numerous examples prove that when an ethnic minority exceeds a certain threshold in terms of population share or number, this fact usually constitutes a factor in creation of a conflict situation. The atmosphere of mutual animosity, distrust, and competition, turns frequently into aggressiveness, which may bring consequences that are hard to predict.

It can be concluded on the basis of the purely quantitative data presented here that of the units described (Belarus', Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, the Kaliningrad district) it is only in Poland and in the district of Kaliningrad that there are apparently no prerequisites for the appearance of any more significant ethnic conflicts. Ethnic minorities constitute in Poland only 2.3 % of the entire population. There are just two relatively small areas where ethnic minorities slightly dominate over the majority population: Belarusians in the South-Eastern part of the Białystok region, and Germans in the Eastern part of the Opole region. This, however, is of no great significance and cannot constitute any threat to the stability of the state.

Russian population dominates the Kaliningrad district in a decisive manner. If we add to the proper Russians the Russian-speaking population, then we can conclude that not quite 10 % of the total population is constituted by the ethnic minorities in the district. This group is composed of a variety of nations, which are, in addition, quite evenly distributed across the district. The high level of urbanization accelerates the processes of assimilation and Russification of the dispersed Belarusians and Ukrainians, forming the largest groups.

The situation is different, though, in Lithuania, and especially in Belarus' and Ukraine. There are roughly 11,400,000 Russians living in the territory of Ukraine (22.1 % of total population). One must also add that close to 17 million people (32.8 % of total population) treat Russian as their mother tongue. Taking into account that this population is unevenly distributed, with clear concentrations in definite regions, where they dominate over the Ukrainian population, we can conclude that the problem is very serious indeed, and that this situation can bring unexpected consequences. One can hardly assume full loyalty of this

population with respect to the sovereign Ukrainian state. There is a possibility of the appearance of strong centrifugal tendencies, which could encounter a reaction from the Ukrainian side, aiming at full integration and Ukrainization of their state's territory. The Ukrainian nationalism is strong solely within the Western Ukraine, and the population from these territories, being largely faithful to the Byzantine-Ukrainian (Uniate) Church, will constitute the leading force, transforming the structures of the Ukrainian society to date. The probability of emergence of a conflict situation is high. In view of the large demographic potentials involved in the hypothetical confrontation there is a danger that the situation might get out of control and take the form of a political fight. The authorities of the sovereign state face a dilemma that is hard to resolve. A consent to the secession of a part of Eastern Ukraine and the limitation of the territory of the state to the ethnically Ukrainian lands can hardly be accepted by the new authorities, since such concessions could lead to the loss of up to 1/3 of the republic's territory.

On the other hand, the Russian population, having a strong national consciousness, and treating with disregard the newly sovereign republic, will become the factor weakening the cohesion of the state and limiting the independence aspirations of the Ukrainians, tending to an association with Russia. In an extreme scenario this may lead to the breakdown of the country into two parts.

Similar demographic conditions exist in Belarus'. The country is inhabited by 1,300,000 Russians (13.2 % of the total population) and by 3,300,000 persons, for whom Russian is the mother tongue (32.2 % of the total population). In spite of the high similarity of the demographic situation to that existing in Ukraine, with the similar signs of an advanced stage of Russification, the future political consequences may be entirely different than in Ukraine. This is the effect of the national indifference of the Belarusians. The national ambitions and aspirations concern only a handful of Belarusian intellectuals. The victory of A. Lukashenka, who openly proclaimed the goal of the return to the association with Russia, in the presidential elections, was evidence that such a goal is popular in the society. The consecutive Belarusian-Russian "alliance" agreements were in fact accepted by the majority of the Belarusian society. At the same time, the events in Belarus' set in motion a very dangerous tendency in Russian politics. Full incorporation of Belarus' may constitute the first step to the reconstruction of the new empire, exceeding the limits of the Russian Federation. This could lead to the threat to a independence of Ukraine and might move the boundary of the new Russian empire into the direct vicinity of Warsaw.

Western Belarus' is inhabited not only by a significant Polish minority of more than 400,000 persons, but also by more than one million persons of Roman Catholic religion or Roman Catholic heritage. These people speak Belarusian or Russian in their everyday life. They are not fully decided as to their nationality. In the period between the world wars, when these areas belonged to Poland, they would usually declare Polish nationality on the occasion of the censuses. Afterwards, when they lived within the confines of the Soviet Union, and were subject to pressure from the administration, they concealed their Polish parentage and declared Belarusian nationality or were formally treated as Belarusians. Lack of stronger Polish-Belarusian antagonisms did not force these people to unequivocal declaration. A wider opening of the Polish-Belarusian

border and the shaping of the Polish district within the neighbouring region of Vilna may become the stimulus to the revival of the Polish community in Western Belarus'. Such a movement will aim at the development of Polish culture and national consciousness, and the return of Roman Catholic Church to these areas. It should be expected that the strengthening of the Polish community would not bring the centrifugal tendencies in Western Belarus' nor the Polish-Belarusian disputes. The tendencies to date show that Polish-Belarusian conflicts are not very probable and there will rather prevail the tendency to co-operation and integration of the two societies, without excess exposure of national differences. Yet, the issue of the Polish minority will be a factor in the association of the Belarusians with the Russian state.

A more difficult situation may develop at the Polish-Lithuanian interface. The Polish minority in Lithuania amounts to altogether 250,000 persons. A compact Polish settlement area surrounds the capital of Lithuania, Vilna. This fact constitutes an objective point of ignition, irritating for the Lithuanian national aspirations. Both Lithuanians and Poles are aware of the necessity of reaching an agreement and a compromise settlement. In spite of this the mutual relations are soaked with distrust and the apprehension as to the hegemony of one of the two sides. These two nations are linked by the common Roman Catholic religion, but are divided by the language barrier. More serious conflicts between the two communities seem to be out of question, but it is probable that the persistence of tensions and disputes will make the coexistence of the two nations, so close to each other, difficult, and will affect bilateral relations on the state level.

During the decades of the Soviet occupation a high number of Russian or Russian-speaking population moved into the territory of Lithuania (altogether 429,000 persons, equivalent to 11.7 % of the total population). Most of these newcomers would not speak Lithuanian and would cultivate different customs and traditions. This population group constitutes an alien element, unfriendly with respect to the independent Lithuanian state. Having lived for years and years in isolation from the surrounding Lithuanian society this population is now in a very difficult situation. They have altogether lost their privileged position. They are highly resistant to the attempts at Lithuanization. The assimilation processes and the absorption of this population into the Lithuanian society will take a long time. It can be expected that this will constitute a very serious problem that the authorities of the independent Lithuania will face for a long time in the future.

The present report showed against the statistical material available the general outline of the ethnic composition of Poland and her Eastern neighbours. The material cited was the basis for the construction of definite hypotheses concerning the future relations between the nations inhabiting the territory considered in the analysis. The results indicate that there are many feasible scenarios for the course of events in the future. They range from the optimistic variants, based on compromise and agreement between the individual national groups, to the pessimistic ones, in which force and violence will decide the resolution of the difficult ethnic problems in this part of Central-Eastern Europe.

This report shows that the ethnic transformations taking place in the countries to the East of Poland are extremely interesting in cognitive terms and im-

portant for political reasons. That is why the work undertaken requires a continuation, aiming at a deeper substantial assessment. In order to explain the existing complex ethnic reality it would be necessary to abandon in the subsequent stage of inquiry the large territorial units such as entire countries and to consider smaller spatial units. It would be necessary, as well, to complement the static approach with the dynamic one and to carry out the retrospective analysis, showing the ethnic transformations within the area of interest to us taking place over a longer historical period.

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Piotr E b e r h a r d t

## NÁRODNOSTNÉ PROBLÉMY V POĽSKU A V KRAJINÁCH JEHO VÝCHODNÝCH SUSEDÓV

Po páde komunizmu sa vynorili v postkomunistických krajinách strednej a východnej Európy národnostné konflikty. Mali destabilizujúcu povahu a dopad na politickú situáciu tejto časti Európy. Po tom, čo sa zbavili sovietskej nadvlády, národy obývajúce tento región nie sú schopné oslobodiť sa od národnostných a náboženských antagonizmov. V súvislosti s vedeckým i politickým významom tohto problému predstavuje uvedený referát počty a priestorové rozmiestnenie národnostných menšín v Poľsku, ako aj národnostnú štruktúru štyroch politických celkov, položených presne na druhej strane východnej hranice Poľska – Bieloruska, Litvy, Ukrajiny a Kaliningradskej oblasti. Poľsko je jednou z najhomogénnejších krajín Európy z hľadiska národnosti a náboženstva. Preto ho neohrozuje konflikt s národnostným pozadím. Pri celkovom počte obyvateľstva 38 miliónov národnostné menšiny spolu nepresahujú 1 milión, čo sú

necelé 3 % z celku. Tieto menšiny pozostávajú z nemeckej (320 tisíc), bieloruskej (250 tisíc), ukrajinskej (180 tisíc), židovskej (15 tisíc), slovenskej (15 tisíc), rómskej (15 tisíc), ruskej (10 tisíc) a litovskej (10 tisíc).

Na druhej strane poľskej východnej hranice sú národnostné menšiny oveľa početnejšie. V Bielorusku je veľká ruská menšina (1 342 000), poľská (418 000) a ukrajinská (258 000). Na území Ukrajiny je 11,4 milióna Rusov (22.1 % z celkového počtu obyvateľov Ukrajiny). Okrem toho takmer 17 miliónov obyvateľov Ukrajiny uvádza ruštinu ako materinský jazyk. Malá ruská enkláva Kaliningradská oblasť je obývaná takmer 900 tisíc obyvateľmi, medzi ktorými jasne dominujú Rusi.

V ďalšej časti príspevku je predložená hypotéza zostrojená na báze štatistického rozboru a historicko-geografického hodnotenia, týkajúca sa možnosti vzniku konfliktov s národnostným pozadím medzi rôznymi národnostnými skupinami, ktoré obývajú oblasti na východ od Poľska. Pri hodnotení národnostných vzťahov v Litve sa venovala pozornosť tým vzťahom, ktoré existujú medzi Litovčanmi a Poliakmi, ako aj medzi Litovčanmi a Rusmi. Analogicky sú veľmi významné aj vzťahy medzi Bielorusmi, Rusmi a Poliakmi žijúcimi v Bielorusku. Na Ukrajine je národnostná situácia celkovo zložitá. Veľmi veľká ruská menšina, ktorá žije v tejto krajine, jasne prevláda v niektorých oblastiach (napríklad na Kryme alebo v Donbase). Predložené informácie spolu s príslušnými rozborami odhalili zložitosť národnostných menších žijúcich medzi Poľskom a Ruskou federáciou. Táto zložitosť môže mať významné politické dôsledky.

Preložila H. Contrerasová