Polish-Ukrainian relations
80 years after the massacre in Volhynia

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 led to a clear improvement of the image of Ukrainians in Polish society and in mutual relations. The percentage of Poles positively evaluating Polish-Ukrainian relations has more than doubled since 2018, from 29% to 64%. It is worth noting that an earlier increase in positive ratings was recorded due to the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014. Only 4% of Poles assess the current Polish-Ukrainian relations as bad.

How do you evaluate the current Polish-Ukrainian relations?

- Very good
- Rather good
- Neither good nor bad
- Rather bad
- Very bad
- Don't know

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Very good (1)</th>
<th>Rather good (3)</th>
<th>Neither good nor bad (28)</th>
<th>Rather bad (14)</th>
<th>Very bad (1)</th>
<th>Don't know (4)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUL 2013</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>JUL 2014</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUN 2023</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>3</td>
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Back in 2018, the assessment of Polish-Ukrainian relations was relatively bad among older respondents. However, as research shows, since the outbreak of the war, older Poles have been among the most favourable to Ukrainians, and the corelation we observed five years ago has now reversed. Among the age groups, the highest percentage of positive assessments is now recorded among respondents aged 45-54 (71%). Above-average percentages of positive assessments of mutual relations are also observed among residents of big cities (73% in the largest cities compared to 61% in rural areas), the better educated (73% among respondents with higher education compared to 59% with primary or lower secondary education), as well as respondents with higher income per capita (76% among respondents with the highest income vs. 51% among people with the lowest income).

**In your opinion, does the common history of Poles and Ukrainians - various events from the past - rather unite or divide both nations?**

![Table showing percentages of responses](chart)

The assessment of the common history of Poles and Ukrainians has also improved noticeably, though less clearly. Currently, almost one-third of Poles (31% compared to 23% five years ago) believe that the events of the past unite our nations, while the opposite belief still prevails (53% now, compared to 60% in 2018).

Despite the prevailing belief that our common history divides Poles and Ukrainians, the vast majority of respondents believe that reconciliation between our nations is possible (78%). This is a significant 14-point increase from the measurement five years ago, when the percentage was 64%, which also illustrates the general, positive change in the attitude of Poles to Ukrainians. The largest share of people who believed in the possibility of reconciliation was recorded in December 2004 (81%), when pro-democratic protests, referred to as the Orange Revolution, were taking place beyond our eastern border.
In your opinion, is reconciliation between Poles and Ukrainians:

The percentage of Poles who have heard of the Volhynian massacre is growing rapidly - just over half of respondents (59%) had heard of it fifteen years ago, and now it is almost the entire society (92%). Even if we compare the current result to five years ago, there is a clear, 11-point increase. It is also noteworthy that there has been an almost 30-point increase in the percentage of respondents declaring that they have heard a lot about the Volhynia crimes, from 37% in 2018 to 64% now. This sharp uptick is probably related to the increased presence of Ukrainians in Poland, which contributed to more frequent mentioning of topics related to Ukraine in the Polish public debate.

Have you heard about the crimes that took place in 1943 in Volhynia?

Half of respondents believe that in connection with the approaching 80th anniversary of the Volhynia massacre, the president of Ukraine should officially apologize for the crimes committed at that time on behalf of his nation. Another 28% think he should apologize, but there will be time for that after the war, while 13% of respondents do not see the need for an apology from the Ukrainian president.
Do you think that in view of the approaching 80th anniversary of the Volhynia massacre, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky should formally apologize on behalf of his nation for the crimes committed at that time?

The belief that President Zelensky should apologize on the 80th anniversary of the Volhynia massacre is more common among older respondents (60% of people aged 65 and over, compared to 42% of those aged 18 to 24), the less educated (55% of respondents with primary or lower secondary education compared to 42% with higher education), and also more often among those taking part in religious practices (64% among people participating several times a week, compared to 38% among those not practicing at all).

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: “Polish-Ukrainian relations 80 years after the massacre in Volhynia”, July 2023. Fieldwork for national sample: June 2023, N=1055, mixed-mode interviews. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.