

# **Layers of Identities in the University Student Life of the Second Polish Republic: cases of Warsaw and Lviv (1918-1939)**

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## **Abstract**

Thesis focuses on the processes of identification in the student life of the Second Polish Republic. The rapid change of the political discourses in the newly established country also influenced students. Memories of wars, political turmoil and the generational conflicts influenced the youth. While their organization system mirrored the big politics, they also were rethinking and reinterpreting the views of their predecessors. Consequently, students embodied some of their ideas in real life.

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## Introduction

The interwar period brought a number of radical changes to the political life. On the case of the Second Polish Republic's cities of Warsaw and Lviv I will look into the processes of how new developments changed one's identity and the processes of its formation.

Eastern Europe was a traditionally complicated territory considering the ethnic component. Before the war various national movements were not only demanding their rights from the monarchy, but also competing with each other. The ineffective and rather simplified approach to the national states creation only complicated the situation. Borders were set artificially without caring much for the real ethnic composition of many regions. As a result, throughout the whole interwar period newly created Eastern European countries had a number of problems: minorities' rights, national politics and assimilation and territorial pretensions to or from the neighbors, who treated the established borders as a breach of justice. The region was a gunpowder barrel ready to blow up any moment, probably, being not ready to provide wise politics and policies over the newly established post-war European theater. These changes are visible in the student life. I selected Warsaw and Lviv as two main educational and political centers of the Second Polish Republic.

Unfortunately, the secondary literature of the topic is not developed. A number of works dedicated uniquely to the students and their organizations presents them in a descriptive way.<sup>1</sup> They discuss the structure of organization and their political affiliation without a deeper look into the intellectual developments of students. The same tendency is seen in the works on the students' press, not mentioning the fact, that the last work on this

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Jan Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza We Lwowie 1918-1946: Portret Kresowej Uczelni* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007).

topic was published in the late 1990s.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, I will focus my research on the primary sources and literature which touches upon youth of the Second Polish Republic.

### **Hypothesis**

The new rules of politics changed the behavior of the parties in Poland. Previously hidden ideas and programs were not anymore taken away by censors or controlled by the imperial administrators. As a result, the political scenery of Poland faced a rapid change, which led to appearance of new parties and powers. Every problem of the new state was reinterpreted through the lens of conservative or radical, left, right or centrist. In addition to that, military actions on the territory of a new state speeded up the crystallization of political programs. At the same time, students who came back from the front line could not have avoided the new agenda of the country. Veterans who came back to their studies did already have their positions favoring one or another movement based on their pre-war and war-time experiences. However, academia was functioning differently than the Sejm or any of the ministries. The limitations of the bureaucrats did not affect students and the restrictions of the police to access the university gave them more space for the maneuvers. Consequently, the ideologies of the parties were developing in a different framework, interacting with opposition more openly and closely.

University with its resources for intellectual development and more free legal sphere was influencing the students. As a result, they reinterpreted the parties' ideologies and layered them together with the academia. Thus, academic and political were fused together, bringing various layers of ideological, national, and social groups together. It also included their religious affiliation as one of the key factors forming the basis of one's identity. I will attempt to trace the ways of the fusion between them and how Polish academia was influencing the use of political programs by the students.

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<sup>2</sup> Anita Magowska, *Polska Prasa Studencka W II Rzeczypospolitej*, Prace Komisji Historycznej / Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, t. 47 (Poznań: PTPN, 1994).

## Sources

The range of sources for the chosen topic is wide: correspondence, newspapers, publications, magazines, brochures and posters, official documents (statutes, meeting reports, corporative bench ruling documents, memoirs, police reports, and files of sentenced students). Newspapers and publications allow us to see what did various authors thought about their time, popular topics in politics and universities. As every newspaper, magazine and other publications represented a certain kind of organization or union; it is possible to construct their vision of themselves, others and the state. Brochures and posters demonstrate the activity of students and their organizations in and outside the university, what allows seeing the practical instruments of identification. Students were using their press branches as the official ideological fight tools. In the second chapter I have decided to focus on the materials of corporations, works of some professors, propaganda leaflets, and journals. The third chapter is focused on the materials from the police, and reports from the universities' administration together with students' reflections on it.

## Methodology

I am focusing on identity theories, group and out-group relation, formation of the discourse, and a multi-level entanglement that includes politics, intellectual developments and the everyday life. I mainly use the methodology to frame the flow of the research. This thesis aims at looking closer at each step and defining how academia influenced they way students were thinking of themselves and the others. Consequently, it is necessary to define the terms used to display these processes.

Henry Tajfel in Chapter 12 of his *Human groups and social categories* deals with problems of social categorization, social identity and social comparison and in Chapter 15 with the social psychology of minorities. He developed a theory of social identity, which he



defined 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”<sup>3</sup>. Tajfel also introduces social categorization process as a system of orientation, which forms an individual’s place in society. It includes the in-group and the out-group system, which describes processes of discrimination between various groups. What is important for our case, according to Tajfel, this process is applicable for not only national or ethnic feelings but also to groups as football teams, social class, occupation and many others. This approach allows to frame the first and second chapters of the thesis as it displays the relation between the individual and a group. At the same time, it displays how a student organization can relate to a political party. Thus, I will look into the use of categories by the political powers and their representation in the Polish academia.

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper joined the debate and presented identity as a very generalized term, having too much meanings included.<sup>4</sup> They propose to use the term identification as a concept that best describes the formation of one’s identity. The idea is based on the belief that the formation of one’s self-representation or self-understanding is process that is defined by a set of variables that surround a person or a group. At the same time it displays the interdependence between external and internal identification. The former creates the image of the out-group, the latter does so with the in-group. All three main parts in this thesis are looking at different stages of the identification process for defining how various categories of ethnicity, nationality, political affiliation and organizational belonging merge and entangle with each other.

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<sup>3</sup> Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (CUP Archive, 1981).

<sup>4</sup> Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘identity,’” *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (February 2000):1.

While analysing the journals and leaflets together with the way of creating corporations in the second chapter I will be referring to the term “discourse” and its derivatives. Discourse is a process which shows “reflecting a distribution of knowledge, authority, and social relationship, which propels those enrolled in it”.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, “discourse community” is a modus through which people operate and usually involves the situative identification, which also means placing a set of values in the coordinates system of one’s existence.<sup>6</sup> Students exist in the discourse and create it themselves. While the first chapter will describe the discourses around them, the second will pay attention to the way they form their own understanding of the society, based on the symbols, words, categories they already know.

Werner and Zimmermann in 2006 published the article, which argued for the entangled history, or *histoire croisée*.<sup>7</sup> The entanglement in this thesis is displayed on various levels. First of them is the merge of the political parties with the student organization in the academia. Second, represents the adaptation of the political programs and views of students to the realities of the academic life. Third, shows how two previous levels are embodied in the action of the everyday life. Another point of Werner and Zimmermann is vital for understanding of the historical process wherever it is going on: “entities, persons, practices or objects that are intertwined with, or affected by, the crossing process, do not necessarily remain intact and identical in form.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, presenting the final part of the hypothesis, it shows how the generational gap and the merge of the academic with political created a separate student culture.

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

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 37.

## 1. Second Polish Republic Politics in The Early 1920s: Youth Movements.

This chapter aims at the representation of the new political scenery of the Poland and its connections to the youth movements of Poles, Jews and Ukrainians. The possibilities of new political life in the Second Polish Republic were not limited by the previous imperial law. However, it did take some time to eliminate the three different legal systems existing in the country. After that was achieved, some parties went out from the half-legal or illegal spheres and entered the politics race. This chapter considers the part of the hypothesis that concerns the fast spread of the ideological issues to the youth life in Poland and shows how the new discourses merged into the programs of youth organizations. I will define the main ideological points of the groups present in academia, their background on the wider political scene of the Second Polish Republic, and process of debates around them in the 1920s. It is important to mention that the final goal is not to demonstrate the full network of political life, but rather its entrance to the lives of younger generations.

In 1916 the two biggest Warsaw universities accepted the new rules for the student organizations.<sup>9</sup> Such things as names, aims, activities, and statutes were fixed in the new official document. However, there was one peculiar point which stated that “political activity is entirely prohibited”. The language of the organizations was to be Polish, which meant that the official documents were kept in it. These were the rules that stayed the same in the 1918 as well. However, it was not prohibited for the members of the corporations and student organizations to be members of political parties or their youth groups. One more thing that never changed was the demand to have a supervisor from the faculty. They were in control of the organization and had a right to give permissions for the activities or to ban the organization in the university. The aftermath of the Great War brought a lot of new possibilities to every political group.

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<sup>9</sup> Ogólne Przepisy Dla Stowarzyszeń Studenckich Na Uniwersytecie o Politechnice w Warszawie. Warsaw, 1916.

Students were important in almost every national movement. Their circles either served as support to the existing political players or were becoming the key actors themselves. Alexander J. Motyl presents the argument also made earlier by Eugen Weber that the generational conflicts and developments of new ideological waves, as a phenomena, are dependent on the level of economic development of the country.<sup>10</sup>

“Where representative institutions do not exist or, existing, do not really function, schools and universities provide almost the only and certainly the most convenient platform for public discussion of national and international issues., and student are bound to form the vanguard of all radical movements. The more backward the country, the greater the part that students play in its political life... gathering a similarly uprooted and concentrated public, facilitating formation of groups and the presentation of action, creating a student self-consciousness and solidarity before the appearance of other politically significant class solidarities”<sup>11</sup>

The aftermath of the WWI also brought new issues to the academic society. First of all, a number of students had to stop their studies to join the military formations taking part in the Eastern European theater of war. After the Polish-Bolshevik war the conflict between Ukrainians and Poles in Lviv forced many of them to postpone their studies. The administrations of the universities, alumni and current students were concerned with the the return of the veterans from the all fighting sides. The instability of the new political system and the lack of a process of checks and balances was bringing new challenges.

The administration and politicians were trying to solve a number of them. One of the common reactions was the creation of the veteran organizations for those who came back to finish their studies. The *Auxilium Acadeicum* Help Union for the Academic Youth in Warsaw was established by the professors of the Warsaw University and the Warsaw Polytechnic. “*They pushed the enemy back from the streets of the capital, saving our culture, our sense, our life, whole of our past and future*”<sup>12</sup>: With these words 21 persons formed the executive

<sup>10</sup> Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929*, East European Monographs, no. 65 (Boulder, [Colo: East European Monographs, 1980), 86.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted after Motyl, *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>12</sup> *Auxilium Academicum*, DUV.P9[508] – Gabinet Życia Społeczengo BUW. – Date unknown.

committee, including rectors of the universities, started the letter that claimed the creation of the union started thus:

*“Those defenders of the Motherland, saviors of Warsaw, future pioneers of our culture are today mostly without the roof, bread, clothes, money to live”<sup>13</sup>. Former soldiers are presented as heroes, who are now dependent on the civilians. Members of the committee ask “every citizen of the state, who loves his motherland, every Polish institution, workers’ union that understand the relevance of the issue, responsibility from the nation’s and humanity’s point of view, will not deviate from paying contributions for the academician soldier, academician savior...”<sup>14</sup>*

The discourse of the heroes and saviors, mentions of the “new spirit” and saviors raises questions to those who signed the document. They were the president of the new union, Józef Mikułowski-Pomorski, member of the *Polska Macierz Szkolna*<sup>15</sup>, active member of the temporary government during the 1917-1918 and Minister of Religious and Education affairs in 1922-1923 and in 1926 and Jan Kochanowski, polish historian, rector of the Warsaw University in 1920-1921, and a member of the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government in the end of the 1920s. The phrasing of the letter and its message is influenced by two major political powers in Poland in 1920s – National Democracy<sup>16</sup> and the followers of Piłsudski. At the same time, some Polish students were denying other minority groups were denying other minority groups of the right to fight for Poland. For example, Jewish students from the Warsaw University in 1918 were told to go to Palestine.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Auxilium Academicum.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Organization founded in the 1906 in the Polish Kingdom under the Russian Empire. Though declaring its apolitical character was following the path of national and Christian education of the Polish people. Influenced by the future leaders of the Polish National Democracy and, particularly, Henryk Sienkiewicz.

<sup>16</sup> Further I will use terms *endecja* or *endeks* regarding the Polish National Democracy.

<sup>17</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn, *Zionism in Poland: The Formative Years, 1915-1926* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 88–89.

### 1.1. Polish National-Democracy and Christian Democracy

In the early 1920s the faculty of the universities were mainly pro-Endecja. The Warsaw central branch of radical-right members were controlling the Lviv. After the end of the Polish-Bolshevik war the National Union of the Academic Youth took over the Organizaiton of the National Youth in Lviv. It also had a great support from the major academicians in Lviv. Among the most influential professors were Jan Czekanowski, Adam Skałkowski, Stanisław Ostrowski, Stansław Głabinski, Ludwik Jaxa Bykowski, Jan Kasprowicz and many others.<sup>18</sup> Głabinski was one of the leaders of the endecja movement in Lviv, Ostrowski became a president of Lviv in 1936, Jaxa Bykowski was one of the most radical eugenicists in the whole Poland, leading the research on the Polish racial specifics under the control of Jan Czekanowski. However, a part of the radical-right faculty switched to the Sanacja camp in 1927. The major number of the Zespół Stu members left the endecja, including Ostrowski.

With a well-developed structure and strong representation across the country, the radical-right camp, which had its roots the National League established in 1893, managed to collect media, social activists and enough support to become stabilized politically during the 1919-1926 period.<sup>19</sup> The leader of the movement Roman Dmowski led the People's and National Union, established in October 1919, to the election success. Theoretically, the new party had to unite the nationalist, conservative and Christian social elements under the traditions of the National League. All the program basics were taken from the Polish nationalist traditions.

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<sup>18</sup> Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza We Lwowie 1918-1946*, 42–45.

<sup>19</sup> Jan Jachymek and Waldemar Paruch, *More Than Independence: Polish Political Thought 1918-1939* (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press, 2003), 125–26.

National Democratic foreign policy was based on taking Germans as the biggest enemies of the Polish nation. Together with some of the Eastern expansion ideas Endeks'<sup>20</sup> idea was in theory achievable if the Poles got united and managed to build a country with a monarchic strength.<sup>21</sup>

At the same time, the People's and National Union never explained the inner policy in details. Together with the right for national development of any minority, the state itself had to be of a Polish character only. As a result, cities and territories around them had to be Polish by the "culture and spirit" <sup>22</sup>while other influences, especially Jewish, had to be eliminated. The domination of the Poles had to be achieved, as the "civilizational work in the past eliminated the Polishness."<sup>23</sup> To come to the desired result, the *Endecja* followers believed that the educational system had to be built on the nationalist ideas with the deep connection to the Polish traditionalism and, as a part of tradition, religion. This was the way to construct a "Catholic-Pole", where, however, the national idea had to take precedents over religion. This resulted in few conflicts between the church officials and the party leadership.

A union between the *endecja* and Christian-Democrats was established in 1923. This weakened the position of the radicals as PSL-Piast also joined the coalition. After that, two main concepts became leading in the ideology of the Polish right-wing: to re-establish a radical right government that would follow the People's and National Union program and to follow the Italian example by gaining the power outside of the parliament, which would capture the power and form the fascist state system.<sup>24</sup> The former was the main idea, supported by the majority but facing harsh criticism from Dmowski after 1926, the latter was weaker and didn't find much support before the Piłsudski *coup d'état*.

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<sup>20</sup> Here and further meaning the representatives of the Polish National Democracy. Word originates from *Endecja*.

<sup>21</sup> Jerzy Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Książka i Wiedza, 1974), 112.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, 122.

Both intellectually and politically the radical right tradition was leaning towards the French. Maurass' ideas of the integral nationalism and French radical-right political movements influenced the further developments of Polish nationalists' thought. "The ideal of a 'brave, resourceful man' present in the views of Balicki..."<sup>25</sup>, created at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was following the general integral nationalism ideas of creating the new nation and the new human, which had to be a cog wheel of the national mechanism. Rybarski wrote that the nation had to become a "supreme principle", the achievement of which was the highest goal.<sup>26</sup> Among the constituents of the idea were the family, religion and hard work in all possible spheres of the everyday life, including social building process and the successful entrepreneurship. The belief that the masses were politically passive by birth was a catalyzing factor, leading to the aggressive and offensive policies intended to mobilize them by creating the encouraging atmosphere to make them act.

The 1922 elections to the Sejm and the presidential elections brought changes to the political atmosphere in the country. Newly elected president Gabriel Narutowicz was killed just few days after taking the new post. The assassin, Eligiusz Niewiadomski, who worked for some time in the Ministry of Art and Culture, was a follower of the *endecja*. National Democrats refused to agree with the election results, where their candidate lost. After the elections, radical-right parties started to share the discourse about the influence of the Soviets, Jews and left. Few weeks of the public unrest in Warsaw led Stanisław Wojciechowski to the president's seat.

In a very short period Polish nationalists gained control over the academic corporations which were united in the Union of Polish Academic Corporations (ZPKA) created in 1921. At the constitutive meeting seven major corporations adopted the Ideological Declaration of ZPKA (*Deklaracja ideowa*). It clearly stated, that in the system of values

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<sup>25</sup> Jachymek and Paruch, *More Than Independence*, 134.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.



among the members of the corporation ‘state’ is primary. However, at the same time on the second place there was a “good of the nation”, which theoretically could have been positioned higher if the state was not of a Polish character. Also, the second point of declaration obliged every corporation to work for Poland treating it as work for the whole nation. The ZPKA document also states that there is a number of facts, which endanger the ethnic unity of Poland, every Pole is a brother for the corporation and they should be framing their work on the democratic character. Clearly, the ground for the radical-right ideas was in the corporation movement even before the *Endecja* joined academic life on the student level. As a result, they had no problems of integrating into the existing ZPKA system and their corporations, which had to accept all the points of the declaration.

The leader of the *endecja* movement Roman Dmowski also became an honorary head of *Młodzież Wszechpolska* (MW), which was established in 1922 in Warsaw, gathering the members of National Union of the Academic Youth and organizations under their control. Thus, they created the umbrella system, which had a vast majority all over Poland in the biggest universities of the country. In fact, it doubled the party system and later became an effective clandestine communication and mobilization channel after the legal operation of it was banned.

The program of MW is referring to Jan Ludwik Popławski as one of the creators of the Polish nationalist ideology. He was an activist student in the 1880s and got arrested for his activities in Warsaw. After moving to Lviv he joined Roman Dmowski and was writing for the *Przegląd Wszechpolski* and took part in the creation of the National-Democratic Party. Wszechpolaks, who set Popławski as an example<sup>27</sup> wanted the youth to be educated in the “ideologically healthy” atmosphere which stood against apolitical views and lack of political

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<sup>27</sup> In 1928 Polish national-democratic journal for youth published a special leaflet on the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Popławski’s death.

programs among the older generations.<sup>28</sup> Another version of the declaration calls for the “civilizational cleanliness of the nation” which would stand against the secret and public international organizations, cosmopolitanism, class egoism and flourishing individualism.<sup>29</sup>

Patryk Tomaszewski in his book on the Polish Corporations argues that it is hard to evaluate the role of corporations in the anti-left, anti-Jewish, and anti-Sanacja movements calling for the analysis of individual cases rather than corporations.<sup>30</sup> However, this approach might seem rather a justification of the organizations. As will be shown in next chapters, members of the corporations shared their views with *Endecja* and were often criticized together with members of Polish far-right organizations. A number of leaflets from the Warsaw University, analyzed further shows that many of them were signed by the name of the corporation next to the radical-right organization name like MW or Odrodzenie. At the same time, socialist-oriented students were criticizing pro-right forces for overusing the corporations’ symbols rather than caring about real issues.

Following the example of the radical-right movement student leadership of *Endecja* was looking for the support among the Catholic youth organizations. Even in the "Odrodzenie", which was looking for ways of cooperating with the Sanacja regime. From 1928 the conflict between the Młodzież Wszechpolska and Odrodzenie was evolving and resulted in a separation of the Christian Democrats or so-called *chadecja* movement.

Originally, *chadecja* was active in the worker’s class environment to create an opposition to the socialist views shared by PPS and other socialist movements.<sup>31</sup> Christian Democracy was leaning more towards the right up to 1926. Thus, the union between the

<sup>28</sup> Deklaracja ideowa Młodzieży Wszechpolskiej (Ideological Declaration of the All-Polish Youth), DU XI P.21 [2373] – Gabinet Życia Społecznego BUW, 1922.

<sup>29</sup> Deklaracja ideowa Młodzieży Wszechpolskiej (Ideological Declaration of the All-Polish Youth), DU XI P.21 [2372], Gabinet Życia Społecznego BUW, 1922.

<sup>30</sup> Patryk Tomaszewski, *Polskie Korporacje Akademickie W Latach 1918-1939 : Struktury, Myśl Polityczna, Działalność*, n.d., 399.

<sup>31</sup> Jachymek and Paruch, *More Than Independence*, 168.

National Democrats and *chadecja* was mirrored into the academia. Ideologically, they both took the Christian values as the foundation for politics. The union between the political organizations on the Sejm level took part in 1922-1923, when the bloc of Chjena included both Christian and National Democrats to get elected to the parliament and acted together during the presidential elections. After the elections the union was broken and the tension from the 1919 period between *endecja* and *chadecja* came back. However, in the academia the union was kept as it was strategically important for both movements. Theoretically, parties like People's National Union, National-Democratic Party, Christian-National Worker's Party and a number of organizations around them can be treated as conservative clericals.<sup>32</sup>

The executive committee of the Union of Academic Youth "Revival" (Odrodzenie) in November 1922 published a leaflet to mobilize voters among students to be elected to the *Bratnia Pomoc* head committee. The organization was associated with the radical right movement and later acted together with the All-Polish Youth (*Młodzież Wszechpolska*). According to the leaflet, the elections had to show the "moral power" and "national consciousness" among Polish citizens.<sup>33</sup> The document, apart from the traditional national-democratic statements on Catholicism and importance of the state, presents the issue of the elections as a fight and an opportunity for the victory of national and democratic ideas. In addition to that, they state that "30% of ethnic minorities are fighting to break the spirit of Poland".<sup>34</sup>

Odrodzenie was also sharing leaflets published in Warsaw in Cracow, Poznan, Lublin, and Wilno. They greet the beginning of the new academic year and state that the "country does not need blood, but the social work" now.<sup>35</sup> The threat, according to the

<sup>32</sup> Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, 146–47.

<sup>33</sup> Odrodzenie, *Koleżanki i Koledzy*, DU V P.9 [530], Gabinet Życia Społecznego BUW, November 1922.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Odrodzenie, *Koleżanki i Koledzy*, DU V P.9 [527], Gabinet Życia Społecznego BUW, no date. On the back of the document somebody wrote „Clericals!”.

students, was coming from ‘‘communist-Jewish digs and clearly organized the ranks of the unsatisfied under the Third International’’.<sup>36</sup>

## 1.2. Polish Socialists and Their Response

When the Polish Socialist Party (further - PPS) Academic Section (Sekcja Akademicka PPS) started its activity in the universities it shared a leaflet. Its double name intentionally has two references. One is the traditional ‘‘Kolezanki i Koledzy!’’. It is used widely by all student groups not depending on the political position. The second ‘‘Towarzyski i Towarzysze!’’ gives a reader a clear understanding of the further contents. Mentioning that the leaflet is the call for the new members ready to achieve the free education and free access of peasants and workers to academia they continue:

‘‘Academic Youth cannot just watch the fight that is going on in the nowadays world, **in time when** [bold text is kept as original – auth.] capitalistic social-economic system stopped being effective, becoming a break for the creative achievements of humanity **when** the ground rebuilding of the system, nationalization of production and agricultural planning economic system – is the demand of the time **when** German, Japanese, and Italian imperialism burns the world **and** fascism acting under various signboards postpones the moment of the unfair system and wants to choke the liberation movement of the working class’’<sup>37</sup>

The catchwords they use are framing the picture of the battlefield against the ‘‘terror of the endecja and ONR’’, ‘‘capitalist system that was slowing the creative powers of humanity’’, ‘‘German, Japanese and Italian imperialisms. The emphasis switches more to the fight against the radical-right as their organizations get more control over corporations and academia. The leaflet ends with the call for the academic youth to stand together shoulder to shoulder with the worker, peasant and the *intelligentsia* to fight under the red flags of the PPS.

Before 1919 there was no single socialist party in all three partitioned parts of Poland that united the movement. The Polish Socialist Party was created only after the lands

<sup>36</sup> Odrodzenie, *Koleżanki i Koledzy*.

<sup>37</sup> *Życie, Koleżanki i Koledzy, Towarzyski i Towarzysze*, DU V P.9 [544], Gabinet Życia Społecznego BUW, no date.

were united. Its original plan was to form a country with the socialist system through parliamentary means. From the very beginning of its history PPS faced breaking into a few minor parties, among them: *PPS-Opozycja*, *PPS-Lewica* and *PPS-Frakcja Rewolucyjna*.

The ideological basics of the PPS were based on the Marxist ideas of revolution and self-government through the federative system. Interestingly, when the ideas of the revolution were mentioned, they were used in a rather metaphorical sense, which meant a fight for the democratic achievement of the dictatorship of the workers.<sup>38</sup> In many issues, the PPS was collaborating with the Pilsudski caucus before 1926. It can be seen in the clear position of the PPS concerning the independence of the young Polish state. The official power was supported by the socialists before May 1926 because of the reason clearly stated by Mieczysław Niedziałkowski: “If a civil war broke out, the Republic of Poland would probably collapse, and all hope, all desires, and all sacrifice of the working class with it.”<sup>39</sup> He was also writing about the concepts of the nation and patriotism. While the concept of the nation was basically taken by Otto Bauer<sup>40</sup>, the concept of the state was rather ambiguous in his writing. Instead, the term “motherland” appeared quite often. It meant the national culture, state loyalty and acceptance of love to it without reservation.

The youth movement of the socialists gathered around the so-called Organization of the Worker’s University. In 1926 it was changed into the Organization of the Youth of the Worker’s University. Also, the Union of the Polish Academic Youth “*Życie*” was in the universities already from the beginning of the 1920s. In Warsaw as well as in Lviv they were fighting for the rights of the workers of any ethnicity to get higher education. This was in many ways connected to the legal ban for the former soldiers and officers of the armies fighting against Poland. Especially, for Ukrainians, who fought for the Western Ukrainian

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<sup>38</sup> Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, 209.

<sup>39</sup> Jachymek and Paruch, *More Than Independence*, 261.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

People's Republic before the Polish-Ukrainian Union and for communists, who joined the Bolsheviks in the war. Later, one of the leaders of the movement – Bronisław Skalak was imprisoned at Soviet concentration camp after 1939.<sup>41</sup>

Following the example of PPS the socialist youth movement was breaking apart. In 1924, as a result of the break, the socialist youth stayed in the Union of The Independent Socialist Youth and those closer to communism stayed in *Życie*. After the May coup d'état, all the communists from the latter got more active and, as a result, the organization was banned in 1928. Thus, the illegal movement of communists started in Lviv and Warsaw. However, in 1931 the new *Życie* was registered and legalized. Among the most famous members were Henryk Kuroń, Eugeniusz Koroczko, and Leon Szczerbicki. Among the reasons for the close police control of the movement was also the cooperation with the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine (further - KPZU), where Ozjasz Szechter<sup>42</sup> was active.

A document from 1922 describes how the socialists among students reacted to the limitations for the non-Polish students to access higher education.<sup>43</sup> The Union of the Independent Socialist Youth “*Życie*” sent a letter to the Ministry of Education and Religion of the Second Polish Republic, demanding the cancellation of the restriction. They also petitioned for the cancelling of the ban of re-acceptance for students of the pre-Great War universities who took part in the war on the non-Polish side. The text of the petition itself can be viewed from three different points of view. First and most obvious is the content of the text: the problem really existed and had to be solved as both Jewish and Ukrainian communities were left without access to the universities. At the same time, it was a propagandistic material, which was supposed to mobilize the youth on the side of Polish

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<sup>41</sup> Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza We Lwowie 1918-1946*, 54.

<sup>42</sup> Father of Adam Michnik.

<sup>43</sup> State Archive of Lviv Oblast', foundation 26, description, 14, case 147.

socialists, who were in opposition to the state and national democrats, who at that time still had a majority in the parliament. Thirdly, one of the most interesting for this research is the fact that even right after the war there were groups ready to seek cooperation. They also organized a protest and published a resolution supporting it.<sup>44</sup> Even after a decade, Henryk Kuron, member of “Life” and father of the famous Polish post-WWII politician, was supporting these ideas. His son in his memoirs mentioned that he voluntarily went to fight against the Bolsheviks in the Polish-Bolshevik war and quoted one of the father’s talks to the son: “No, in fact, I am not Ukrainian, but I told you so, that you know that a person is born Ukrainian, Jewish, or Gipsy by chance”<sup>45</sup> In the end of the 1920s the organization was forbidden but its members continued their activities in the Club of Young Intelligentsia, Society of Jewish Students-Philosophers of the Jan Kazimierz University and the Club of Ukrainian Students in Lviv.<sup>46</sup>

The foreign policy of socialists influenced the inner border issues. Even though the lands which were treated Lithuanian, Belarusian, German or Ukrainian had to stay in the country borders, the cooperation with these groups was significant. PPS oriented its electoral programs towards the working class of the state in general, which meant it could not specify the ethnic belonging. At the same time, there was a clear anti-German and anti-Soviet vector, which resulted in few clashes with the members of the II International, a member of which the PPS was from 1919 together with the Communist Polish Party and the Polish Workers’ Union.

### 1.3. Jewish Politics and youth movements

Aside from the Polish political side the Jewish movement was also in a complicated situation. First of all, the fresh experience of pogroms during the war time and the rising

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<sup>44</sup> Central State Archive in Lviv, foundation 26, description 14, case 868.

<sup>45</sup> Jacek Kuroń., *Поляки та українці: важкий діалог* (Kyiv, 2012), 19.

<sup>46</sup> Jan Draus *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1918-1939. Portret kresowej uczelni* (Cracow, 2007), 54.

rhetoric of anti-Semitism put Jewish politics into the gray zone “between the extremes of euphoria and despair.”<sup>47</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn compares the Jewish political movements’ developments to a yo-yo, a children’s toy that rolls up and down on a string, and believes it had to deal with the specifics of the Eastern European Jews in general.<sup>48</sup> It meant not only the ups and downs of the movement, but also the appearance and disappearance of unions on the backstage of the attempts to defend the Jewish rights in the Sejm.

At the same time the acculturation of Jews in Poland was a reason for the decrease in the number of activists in the movements, particularly Zionist parties and youth organizations. It meant the use of Polish as native language, and could lead to assimilation: switching from Judaism to Christianity and change of the national identity. The Union of Poles of Mosaic Faith appeared in Warsaw in 1919 and represented a minor group of students who never denied their Jewish identity, but its members also perceived themselves as Poles.<sup>49</sup> Union published its newspapers in Warsaw and Lviv called *Rozwaga* and *Zjednoczenie*. Pages of the periodical openly discussed assimilation, its pros and cons.<sup>50</sup> These processes were not synchronized and did not happen all at once. As a result, the pool of Jewish political organizations was not using a single political scheme for the creation of the in-group. In addition, the number of the mixed marriages before WWI in Galicia was noticeable bringing integration not only to Jewish, but also Polish and Ukrainian societies.<sup>51</sup> The number of interethnic marriages between the Ukrainians and Poles was growing in the 1920s in Lviv, seeing a decline only in the 1930s with the start of Sanacja’s pacification policies. The argument that the situation was opposite on the Jewish side and their community stayed

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<sup>47</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn, “Jewish Politics in Interwar Poland: An Overview,” in *The Jews of Poland Between Two World Wars*, ed. Israel Gutman et al. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, n.d.), 10.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. 11-12

<sup>49</sup> Chone Shmeruk, “Hebrew-Yiddish-Polish: A Trilingual Jewish Culture,” in *The Jews of Poland Between Two World Wars*, ed. Israel Gutman et al. (Hanover and London, 1989), 286–87.

<sup>50</sup> Person, who appeared many times on the pages of the periodicals was Leo Belmont, see more details in Shmeruk’s article.

<sup>51</sup> Philipp Ther and John Czaplicka, “War versus Peace: Interethnic Relations in Lviv during the First Half of the Twentieth Century,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (2000): 254.



closed<sup>52</sup> is somewhat an exaggeration as the assimilationist movements were an evidence of the entanglement between Jews and Poles as well.

The Jewish youth was the most vulnerable generation to the political atmosphere of the country. A great number of students joined the Zionist or socialist movements, as the political and cultural spheres were offering more options than the parents or religious leaders.<sup>53</sup> Finally, the division between various ideological lines was displayed by the activities of the Jewish youth in communist movement and Bund, the Zionist groups like Gordonia or Betar, and Agudat Yisrael Orthodox movement.<sup>54</sup>

Originating from the pre-war period Agudat Yisrael represented the Orthodox part of the Jewish political movement. After the Zionists, they took a second place in the elections to the Sejm in 1922.<sup>55</sup> The leaders of the movements originated from the rabbis circles and together with Galician Zionists were representing the cooperation movement.<sup>56</sup> Ideologically, Agudat Yisrael was the conservative-clerical part of the Jewish movements and claimed its loyalty to the Polish State.<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, it also looked at the leftists as allies in their political views, but also argued to not claim the Jewish support for any precise political movement, rather expressing their belonging to the state in general.<sup>58</sup> This led to the inner conflict in 1922 when the minorities after the change of the electoral system had to be represented as a single bloc. The problem was caused by not only the need to unite with other Jewish groups like Bundists or Folkists, but also with the Ukrainians, whose representatives were not hiding hostility towards the state.<sup>59</sup> After the *coup d'état* 1926 Aguda Yisrael joined

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<sup>52</sup> Ther and Czaplicka, War versus Peace, 264.

<sup>53</sup> Mendelsohn, "Jewish Politics in Interwar Poland: An Overview," 18.

<sup>54</sup> Israel Gutman and Ezra Mendelsohn, eds., *The Jews of Poland between Two World Wars*, Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series 10 (Hanover, NH: Published for Brandeis University Press by University Press of New England, 1989), 99.

<sup>55</sup> Gershon C. Bacon, "Agudat Israel in Interwar Poland," in *The Jews of Poland Between Two World Wars*, ed. Israel Gutman et al. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1989), 20.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>57</sup> Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, 261.

<sup>58</sup> Bacon, "Agudat Israel in Interwar Poland," 29.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 30-32.

the camp of Pilsudskites. By the 1930s the younger generation of this movement got their degrees in Polish universities and became active politically on the local levels.<sup>60</sup>

The Jewish socialist movement was formed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and centered around the worker's movement. In Austro-Hungarian territories existed the Jewish Social-Democratic party earlier. Bund on the Russian Empire territories acted separately and joined the Galician branch of the party in 1920. Further the history of the movement is the story of breaks and short temporary unions, which resulted in the situation mentioned by Ezra Mendelsohn. Still, the programmatic differences existed: Bund was calling for the creation of the Jewish state in Palestine and cultural autonomy in Poland, the rest of the Jewish parties, apart from PS-Prawica, never belonged to any of the Internationals but can be treated as a part of the international leftist movement.<sup>61</sup> At the same time Bund was cooperating with PPS at the beginning of the 1920s, though being busier with the inner clashes between Jewish Orthodox groups and Zionists. By the middle of the twenties appeared two socialist Jewish youth movements: Jewish Socialistic Workers' Youth and from 1925 the branch of it called the Jewish Socialistic Workers' Youth "Freedom". Bund members were trying to get the support of PPS in the anti-Semitic question, but the party tended to rather not react to Jewish claims, though the youth organizations reacted differently, as mentioned earlier. Interestingly, Zionists and Bund youth organizations shared the idea of creation of the "new Jewish man".<sup>62</sup> However, similarly to the left group of the Poale Tsion, which shared its ideas in the youth movements like Stern or Yugnt, clear break with Zionism happened after the Great War and was based on the perceptions of the USSR.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, it was a motif that Ukrainian and Polish right used in their ideology, not mentioning the connection to the idea of the new

<sup>60</sup> Bacon, "Agudat Israel in Interwar Poland," 27.

<sup>61</sup> Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, 261.

<sup>62</sup> Mendelsohn, "Jewish Politics in Interwar Poland: An Overview," 15.

<sup>63</sup> G Ėstraikh et al., *Yiddish and the Left: Papers on the Third Mendel Friedman International Conference on Yiddish* (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 2001), 76–77.

Soviet man. Abraham Brumberg also mentions the specifics in the developments of the PPS and Bund youth movements, while their parenting parties were undergoing the ideological evolution. “Characteristically, too, the Bund’s youth groups, *Tsukunft* and *Ogniwo*, remained loyal constituent members of the parental organization throughout all of the latter’s ideological vicissitudes, while PPS-affiliated youth organizations, more radical than the PPS proper, retained their organizational and ideological autonomy”.<sup>64</sup>

The relation of the Communist Polish Party to the Jews can be viewed through some statistics from the party “cells” which shows that around 20 percent of the membership was Jewish.<sup>65</sup> However, the historiography debates on this matter are rather the question of the interpretation as the clear numbers cannot be studied properly because of the lack of the statistical data. Moreover, even the data would not help much in defining one’s national belonging. The Jewish population’s tendency for more left and “liberal” movements can be explained by the history of discrimination and the specifics of the mixed Polish-Jewish existence, which included at least three languages and an ambiguous line between the space of cultures in the country.

Zionism came clearly into the arena of Polish politics when the Endeks leader Roman Dmowski reacted to it in 1903 and claimed the idea of Jews going to Palestine rather a fantasy, recommending Jews to stay in the territories, where they were already settled.<sup>66</sup> Contrary to socialists and supporters of Piłsudski, Zionists denied the idea of the possibility of creation of the multiethnic state and were aiming at gaining a Jewish territory for the new state.

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<sup>64</sup> Abraham Brumberg, “The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in the Late 1930s,” in *The Jews of Poland Between Two World Wars* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1989), 79.

<sup>65</sup> Moshe Mishkinsky, “The Communist Party of Poland and the Jews,” in *The Jews of Poland Between Two World Wars* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1989), 62.

<sup>66</sup> Brian Porter-Szucs, *Poland in the Modern World: Beyond Martyrdom*, New History of Modern Europe (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 55.

By 1926-1927 Zionist ideas in Poland were in decline. It is noted by Zionists from other lands who visited Poland<sup>67</sup> and is also visible through the deterioration in relations of Galician and Polish Zionists.<sup>68</sup> Lviv was under the influence of Et Liwnot Zionists, while Warsaw Zionist ideas were mainly shared through the Al ha-Mishmar. The detailed description of the Zionist movement in Poland would require too much space, but the main lines can be described as general or liberal, radical, and socialistic. The way these ideas spread among other political groups is what makes it so hard to track the entanglement.

Agudat Yisrael perceived Zionism as a blasphemy<sup>69</sup>, continuing the debate like the Poles with a Catholic, and Ukrainians with a Greek Catholic churches about the role of God in nationalism. However, a similar argument was presented by Anna Landau-Czajka and Leszek Hońdo, that Zionism also did contribute to the Jewish assimilation as before 1914 there were cases of Jews sharing Polish and Jewish patriotism.<sup>70</sup> However, this tendency goes down with the start of the interwar period, staying more in Agudat Yisrael.

After May of 1926 these tendencies were combined in the ideology of the Academic Union of the United Youth. This Jewish Organization represented the positions of Agudat Yisrael and combining the ideas of the assimilation with the equal representation of Jews and Poles. In their leaflet from 1931 the union was calling Jewish Students from Warsaw, Lviv, Cracow, Vilnius and Gdansk to break their connections with either Polish or Jewish chauvinism and to support the state. "Development of the Polish Jews will go on the line of the political, economic, and cultural connection of Jews with the Polish state and nation"<sup>71</sup> These lines were supported by the reminders about the democratic values and criticism of the Polish nationalism and Jewish Zionism. Interestingly, I would argue that exactly the presence

<sup>67</sup> Mendelsohn, "Jewish Politics in Interwar Poland: An Overview," 10.

<sup>68</sup> Mendelsohn, *Zionism in Poland*, 301.

<sup>69</sup> Porter-Szucs, *Poland in the Modern World*, 134.

<sup>70</sup> Anna Landau-Czajka, *Syn Będzie Lech... Asymilacja Żydów W Polsce Międzywojennej* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2006), 401–2.

<sup>71</sup> ZAMZ, *Koleżanki I Koledzy!*, DU V P.9 [533], January 1931.

of the Jewish Zionist rhetoric next to declining some of its offers shows the entanglement of the both political programs of Agudat Yisrael and Zionist ideology the influence of which is also dictated by the challenge from other nationalistic ideologies like those of Poles and Ukrainians.

#### 1.4. Ukrainians and Polish Politics.

The aftermath of WWI divided Ukrainians between Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Soviet Ukraine. Émigré Ukrainians were mainly the former soldiers of UHA and AUNR, many of them students who left their studies.<sup>72</sup> Having their main centers in Vienna, Prague, Warsaw and Lviv they formed Ukrainian Free University in Vienna, Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podebrady and, consequently, the Ukrainian Secret University in Lviv. Ukrainian institutions in Czechoslovakia were funded not only by diaspora but also by the government, which paid them and students while implementing their foreign policy which had an anti-Polish vector as well.<sup>73</sup> The Polish government in 1919 passed the law which limited the access of veterans to the universities only for those, who did not serve in the Polish armed forces. After Galicia's integration to Poland Ukrainian political life got very active, at the time they had over a dozen parties.<sup>74</sup>

Similarly to the Poles, Ukrainians admitted the existence of the veteran problem, however, in a different key. Among students this question was raised by Taras Sotnychenko, a member of Central Union of Ukrainian Students<sup>75</sup>. While writing about the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, he could not have refrained from mentioning the losses: "For few years blood of the best sons of our nation was shed"<sup>76</sup> I would argue that the appearance of this

<sup>72</sup> Motyl, *The Turn to the Right*, 87.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), 435.

<sup>75</sup> The Union was established in 1922 and existed till 1988. For the first decade of its existence it was based in Prague, later moving to Vienna. After the WWI it developed an umbrella system, that covered Ukrainian diaspora centers.

<sup>76</sup> Taras Sotnychenko, "Шевченко і молодь" (Shevchenko and Youth)/ *Studentskyi Holos*, no. 3, p. 4, 1928.

discourse is not accidental, but is connected to the establishment of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of War Graves and the article written about it by Ivan Nimchuk, the editor of the newspaper *Dilo*, about the necessity to commemorate the Ukrainian memory sites.<sup>77</sup>

It is not possible to ignore the Jewish question in the Ukrainian thought before the WWI and during the 1920s. Serhii Plokhi argues that one of the biggest Ukrainian warlords could not have been responsible for the pogroms in 1917-1918 by Ukrainians as his views and past experiences simply stood against that. “In Petliura’s mind attacking Jews was equivalent to betraying Ukraine”<sup>78</sup>. Dmytro Dontsov views were that if the ethnic minorities do not act to harm the Ukrainian state or nation, they are allies. However, by the end of the 1920s the new generation gradually ignored these views.

The grievances of the Ukrainian population in the West, including Prague, Paris, Warsaw or Galicia were the results of the failed expectations of the post-WWI period, when Entente Poland and the Soviet regime were considered as anti-Ukrainian powers. Ukrainians took part in the Great War as members of different groups and blocs.<sup>79</sup> Additionally, the creation and failure of the Ukrainian National Republic, with the existence of the Directory and the Hetmanate, was followed by the Bolshevik capturing of its territories and the Polish-Ukrainian war.<sup>80</sup> After the war, the main political activity of the Ukrainian émigré was kept in Prague until 1920. After the unions of the veterans there decided that there was no need for their organizations to exist in the current way, the call for moving back to Galicia was accepted.

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<sup>77</sup> Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City*, Central European Studies (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2016), 238.

<sup>78</sup> Serhii Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 238.

<sup>79</sup> Myroslav Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology, and Literature, 1929-1956* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2015), 18–19.

<sup>80</sup> The issue of the fight for Lviv and territories around it is complicated in the historiography. I will use the term “war” for describing it as there is clearly two sides and involvement of military groups as well as partisan activity. Considering the status of both Poland and UNR in 1918 it can be interpreted in many other ways like civil war, temporary occupation or a revolt. To simplify the use of it, I stay with the term war without sticking to any side of the historiographical interpretations.

The call itself appears to be an answer to another challenge in Eastern Galicia. After the Polish-Ukrainian war the Ukrainian studies in the Lviv Jan Kazimierz University were stopped. All the Ukrainian departments were closed. At the same time, Polish government also cleaned their offices from Ukrainian clerks in education and army, and the use of the word Ukrainian was changed to Rusyn.<sup>81</sup> The situation with the cultural and educational affairs was similar in Romania, though, as mentioned, was far better in Czechoslovakia because of its political orientation and Masaryk's policies.

Philip Ther notes the reasons behind this situation. First of all, the Ukrainian national project was clearly positioned against the Polish one. In addition to that, the equalization of rights for Ukrainians, who indeed positioned themselves as Ruthenians in Austria, meant giving up the power of the landholders in Eastern Galicia before the war.<sup>82</sup> Still, the process of negotiations before the Great war ended up with the promise to open the Ukrainian university and the educational affairs were developing rapidly. Obviously, WWI and the Polish-Ukrainian war changed the situation.

The negotiations over the Ukrainian university were dropped. As mentioned earlier, Polish socialist youth were supporting the idea of letting veterans of Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA), and Ukrainian Sich Rifleman (USS) to study. Still, the government accepted the opposing decision seeing danger in veterans of the conflicts with the anti-Polish mood. The reaction from the Ukrainian society was radicalization that even led to the attempt of Piłsudski's assassination in 1921. Same year, after a secret meeting in Lviv, Ukrainians decided to establish a secret university.<sup>83</sup>

Similarly to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one of the main roles in the Ukrainian society of Galicia was played by the Greek-Catholic Church. The Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's family was

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<sup>81</sup> Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 18.

<sup>82</sup> Ther and Czaplicka, "War versus Peace," 254.

<sup>83</sup> The case of the University is studied in the third chapter.

Roman Catholic. He changed his views and was more loyal to the Habsburgs, than to any of the Polish camps.<sup>84</sup> At the same time it was a pro-Ukrainian position, which is shown in the attempts of the Greek-Catholic Church to oppose the Polonization. the church started losing its positions as one of the key political players by the end of the 1920s. However, the reason for that was not the fall of religiosity, but the conflict with another political power that emerged in 1928 – OUN. A lot of clergy and intelligentsia were centered around UNDO (Ukrainian National-Democratic Organization). Their aim was the independence of Ukraine and an agrarian reform, everything based on the more liberal values, than their right opponents. Its predecessor was the Labour party and the National-Democratic Camp from the pre-war and WWI times.

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists took its roots from two dominating powers, which existed long before the WWI. One of them was the National Democratic Alliance. Its main activists in the interwar period were the representatives of the old generation who engaged with politics in Austria-Hungary. The other was the Ukrainian Military Organization led by Yevhen Konovalts, which was based on the Ukrainian former military units during the Great War and acted rather as a clandestine movement. In 1929 members of both parties created the OUN.

Its main goal was the establishment of the Ukrainian state. The Soviet Ukraine was perceived as a puppet state of the Russian Bolsheviks. Apart from that, in this organization a specific form of integral nationalism was developing till the end of the 1930s, when, finally, in 1940 the official manifesto was published. Dmytro Dontsov, the author of the Ukrainian integral nationalism ideology, never became a member of the organization and rather preferred to stay away from it.

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<sup>84</sup> Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe*, 238.



Dontsov is the most famous representative of Ukrainian radical nationalism. He started his political career as a member of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers Party but soon left it and joined Ukrainian national movement only with the start of the Great War in 1914. After the war he came back to Kyiv and worked for the Hetmanate government of Pavlo Skoropadsky. When the project of the independent Ukrainian National Republic, then Ukrainian Country and The UNR again failed, Donstov moved to Lviv, which was a Polish city.

Alexander Motyl in his book “Turn to The Right” develops the idea that the politics of Ukrainian pre-war elites led to the radicalization of politics and describes it based on the relations between Yevhen Petrushevyh, the Dictator in Commision of the Western Ukrainian Republic, and the opposition on the left led by Symon Petliura. As a political émigré, the latter kept big influence in the politics of the Ukrainian voters in Galicia at the beginning of the 1920s. At the same time, Petrushevyh was keeping contacts with both labor parties and the right parties, trying to establish an anti-Petliura coalition.<sup>85</sup> However, the support of the former dictator was lost in Galicia, which meanwhile was renamed officially into *Małopolska Wschodnia* (Eastern Little Poland), and the right, headed by Konovalets, led the new youth movement called Young Galicia.

“What is immediately striking about Young Galicia’s ideas is that they reflect a very pronounced political realism.”<sup>86</sup> Indeed, both claims about the preparation for a long inability to establish a Ukrainian state and a general disappointment of the Ukrainian youth in Lviv with the previous politicians mixed with the Polish politics technically left no other choice for the Young Galicia other than to radicalize. The situation changed after the establishment of the TseSUS, an international student Union, but the tendencies of going to the right were kept. While the discussions inside the TseSUS are a subject of the next chapter, for the questions

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<sup>85</sup> Motyl, *The Turn to the Right*, 37.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

raised in this chapter it is interesting that the new organization included both the right and the left and the competition there was kept till the end of the 1920s.<sup>87</sup>

Ukrainian nationalism as an organized political movement developed exactly in the form of the “integral nationalism” created by Dontsov. Despite that the OUN, an official supporter of Dontsov, it never used this term, the researchers chose it as a working term, taken from the French tradition. His main work was “Nationalism”, published in 1926, and here I will show some of his points about nationalism and the nation. Integral, or as Dontsov called it *chynny* meaning active, nationalism was totalitarian in its nature. All the nations were less valuable than the Ukrainian, tolerance and humanism according to the author were signs of weakness. Every nation needs a pathos to exist and this leads to another important aspect, which is violence. Amoralism of this fight was the main condition for success and it is highlighted in all the texts of Dontsov. OUN used this aspect for the justification of the terrorist attacks on the Polish administrators and politicians. Moreover, pathos and amoralism had to be amplified by the fanaticism. According to Dontsov, the Ukrainian nation still had to be built and needed a “new spirit” to become successful. The old spirit was too provincial for him and needed to be replaced by the will to increase economic and political power. He appealed to emotions rather than to reason, but the same could be said of fascism, especially at the early stage of its development.<sup>88</sup> Dontsov admired the success of Italian fascism and even compared it to bolshevism, saying, that their main success is caused by anti-democratic and populist measures.<sup>89</sup>

The Ukrainians’ Socialist movement was never solid. Due to the illegal status of communism and attitudes of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia (although closer to

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<sup>87</sup> Motyl, *The Turn to the Right*, 40.

<sup>88</sup> Oleksandr Zaitsev, “Fascism or Ustashism? Ukrainian Integral Nationalism in Comparative Perspective, 1920s–1930s,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, accessed October 8, 2015, doi:10.1016/j.postcomstud.2015.06.009.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

WWII, pro-Soviet tendencies were rising) towards the socialist movement, it could not function as easily as other parties. One of the oldest pre-war parties was the Radical party. Contrary to the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, which emerged from a small group named Communist Party of Eastern Galicia, it opposed the Soviet Union as well as Poland. In the 1928 election the Radicals got about 280000 votes and gained around 20000 members.<sup>90</sup> Mainly, these were the peasants, agrarians and a small number of intelligentsia. The party faced a lot of criticism from the radical right, as its official status and a will to take part in the political life of the “occupant” was an act against the Ukrainian national idea. These ideas disappeared from the party by 1925 and the debates with UNDO started simultaneously with the process of integrating the Ukrainian Party of Social-Revolutionists, which was originally established in the Russian Empire territories before the war.

The University life of Ukrainians had very similar patterns to the general political movements. The boycott of Polish schools and the official ban of veterans resulted in a comparatively small number of Ukrainians getting higher education. 1067 was the peak number of Ukrainian students at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv at the beginning of 1930s, as stated by Jan Draus<sup>91</sup>. I would doubt the statistics taken from the university reports. First of all, they do not represent nationality, but religion. Secondly, Catholics could have been ethnical Poles, Jews or Ukrainians. In addition to that, the mentioned ban and the boycott could make people change the data when filling in the forms. Thus, the numbers can be much bigger. Apart from that, Russians and Ukrainians did also visit the Orthodox Church. The last case will be studied more closely in the third chapter. To sum up, the statistics of the universities, as well as most polls, elections and studies do not reflect the complicated and not yet clearly polarized society in the 1920s. The situation changes rapidly closer to the mid-1930s.

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<sup>90</sup> Subtelny, *Ukraine*, 435–36.

<sup>91</sup> Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza We Lwowie 1918-1946*, 67.

### 1.5. Conclusion

The result of the Second Polish Republic establishment is the development of the wide network of old and new political powers, representing various ethnic groups, ideologies and camps. At the same time the involvement of the young generation into politics resulted in the establishment in the academia of structure very similar to that of the country. While youth organizations of Bund tended to keep the ideological line of the party<sup>92</sup>, PPS, Endecja, and Ukrainian nationalists faced the break with the ideology built by older generations sooner or later. The Great War, conflicts between Poles and Ukrainians touched upon every group. Moreover, their entrance to the universities provided them with new sources for the developments of the views they had. First of all, the straight contact with opposing groups in the classes. The categories of “our” and “alien” were established within the first moments of contact. Additionally, fresh memories of conflicts, political turmoil in the country, and new legal system only strengthened these feelings. It resulted in the adaptation of the ideologies from right, left and center to the realities of the academic life. Ideas of academic freedom, and student self-governance merged with the national movements ideas and their political programs. The usages of them that are visible in the everyday life are looked at more precisely in the third chapter of this thesis and on the pages of propaganda leaflets and journals analyzed in the second chapter.

All political movements described in this chapter had quite similar roots. What made them different was their ethnic and national character. This is even true for the socialists, as can be seen from the Bund-PPS relations and the debates on anti-Semitism. The problematics of the post-WWI system where some ethnic groups were left without the representation or could not accept the frame of the existing state (Ukrainians in Poland and Soviet Ukraine, or

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<sup>92</sup> It is important to mention that the internal disputes of Bund were very serious. The 1918-1919 discussion with PPS displayed the presence of so-called *tsveyers* on the left and the other group on the right. The establishment of the Polish Communist Party (KPP) only deepened the break and resulted into the conflict with PPS, as Bolshevism and communism were not in favor, especially after the Polish-Bolshevik war. See more: Daniel Blatman, *Minority, Policy, Bundism and Jewish Women in Interwar Poland*, 58-62.

Zionists) could not have been solved as the conservative circles were not flexible enough. Additionally, the growing number of radical groups were trying to provide solutions to these issues. However, as in an illegal status, their representatives in the academia, which was legally a different system, were attempting to crystalize and implement their views using the university as a space for development. Obviously, the process itself was not understood by the younger generation as presented, but their actions and writings demonstrate the aim for this. The break between the youth and the elder generations became more visible as the political situation of the Second Polish Republic changes rapidly after 1926.

## 2. Discourses in Propaganda: political influences, self-representation

Previous chapter described the political background of the Second Polish Republic and main powers present in the universities at the time. Secondary sources present the variety of definitions and visions of the programs. These discourses were translated into the sphere of the academic life. However, they had to function in a different space, which modified the scope of the propaganda and accents. While some concepts stayed at their place, others had to be introduced or rethought to be compatible with the student life.

This chapter aims at the presentation of propaganda and the use of the previously described political programs based on the academic life of the universities both in Warsaw and Lviv. I also attempt to demonstrate the usage of language in different cases such as elections, ethnic relations, inner political arguments or all together.

The primary sources for this chapter are mainly the printed materials of various student organizations. The aim of the chapter is not to describe every possible political or ethnic affiliation of the students, but rather to display the functioning of various categories which were creating the in-group feeling. At the same time, the question of the ambiguity of their positions is raised. Even if an organization comprises members of various groups, there might be categories which are triggered for the non-political issues. Consequently, the discourse of the left, centrist or the right steps back. Leaflets (*Ulotki*) and journals were the traditional instrument for the student organizations to mobilize supporters. I will focus on the materials from Ukrainian and Polish right journals, left and centrist views will be presented through the leaflets. In addition to that, the *Kalendarium Lwowa 1918-1939* by Agnieszka Biedrzycka provides a great amount of information on corporations and organizations of all ethnic groups of students. Problems raised and discussed there are the object of the analysis in this chapter.

### 2.1. Anthropology and Politics, usages and entering the political life in the universities

The politics was not the only way for various ideologies and viewpoints to enter student life. At the same time, the faculty of the universities were under the influence of the Second Polish Republic developments as well as the wider European trends.

In many ways Polish anthropology takes its roots from Bronislaw Malinowski and Cracow school of Anthropology. After leaving Poland in 1910 he became really close to British social anthropology and gave a start to the rapid development of Polish anthropology after the Great War. Andrzej K. Paluch describes this development as a “science in exile”, as neither Malinowski, nor the larger audience abroad knew much about it. Moreover, right before the Second World War while working on the topic of the nation, he refused to merge the tribe-nation and the tribe-state<sup>93</sup>, ideas of which were so important for the roots of Polish nationalism. Even though Malinowski had a critical attitude towards racism, as it can be seen from his review on a book *Race and History* by E. Pittrard, he treated different races differently and even kept his views in the 1940s: he thought that all races have similar potential but those colonized had to be kept under control of the government without any discussions.<sup>94</sup>

At the same time both in Warsaw and Lviv branches of racial anthropology were developing. It was not strictly connected to the issues of Jews, but to inner Polish questions such as eugenics in medicine, nation, regional identity and many others. However, it definitely influenced anti-Semitic forces in the universities across the country even from the early 1920s.

The usage of racial language was often present in official National Democratic ideology in Poland, as well as in the student society. It implied the existence of the “dangerous Jewish soul”, “spirituality” and soul, bearers of which definitely had

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<sup>93</sup> R. F. Ellen and Ernest Gellner, eds., *Malinowski between Two Worlds: The Polish Roots of an Anthropological Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 149.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

physical bodies walking on the streets.<sup>95</sup> *Endecja* regularly conducted violent acts in the 1920s and even more often in the 1930s in an attempt not only to prove the superiority of Poles but also to achieve its goal of cleaning the country from “evil”. This is probably the main division line between German and Polish anti-Semitism: the latter did not include the extermination of Jews, but rather their migration from the country. “In interwar Poland the ethno-nationalist political camp claimed ‘objective grounds’ for the project of Jewish mass emigration from Poland”.<sup>96</sup> Such minorities as Ukrainians or Belarusians were treated as potential Poles, who would become a complete version after being assimilated. Jews did not have this “opportunity” as their race had a “spirit of decay”.<sup>97</sup> It was built on the stereotype of Jewish domination in social and economic life of the country. Moreover, the main ideologist of the Polish integral nationalism Roman Dmowski believed in a conspiracy of the Jewish world politics. From the works of the main Polish nationalist ideologist it is obvious that understanding of the race was mixed in a cultural-biological sense and was tightly connected to the concept of the nation.

The most noticeable member of the racial anthropology field and a follower of the National-Democratic camp was professor of the Jan Kazimierz University Jan Czekanowski. Born in 1885 and educated in Zurich, he became a head of the Anthropology Department at the Jan Kazimierz University, Lviv in 1913, and stayed in his position until 1934 when he became a rector of the University. One of the main results of Czekanowski’s academic work was the establishment of the Lviv anthropological school of scientists, known for using mathematics and statistics in the studies of the racial structures. He

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<sup>95</sup> Dorota Glowacka, “Poland’s Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present (Review),” *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 171.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>97</sup> Oleksandr Zaitsev, *Український Інтегральний Націоналізм (1920-1930-Ті) Роки: Нариси Інтелектуальної Історії (Ukrainian Integral Nationalism (1920s-1930s): sketches of intellectual history)* (Kyiv, 2013), 133.



developed the famous Diagram of Czekanowski, which helped to organize a table displaying various clusters of statistic data.

He was one of the leading right-wing activists among racial anthropologists who opposed the vision of the Pilsudski camp on Poland. *Czekanowszczyzy*, a movement of the professor's followers, emerged in 1930. Czekanowski believed that racial anthropology had to be an applied science. Members of his school did speculate on the question of the Jewish race and used it many ways in their research. For example, they made studies which tried to calculate the capabilities of school students based on the racial differentiation, or even provide answers to some socio-economic issues through the racial reasoning. However, after Czekanowski became a rector of the university he moved closer in the political position to the regime of Sanacja.

In 1930 Czekanowski Publishes a book called *Outline for Anthropology of Poland (Zarys antropologiczny Polski)* in which he showed main racial types of people dwelling in Poland. These are: Nordic, Sub-Nordic, Dinaric, North-Western, Laponoidal, Pre-Slavic, Alpian, Armenoidal, Litoral and Iberian-Insular.

A person who always took the most radical positions in Polish anthropology was Karol Stojanowski. He belonged to the Lviv anthropological School of Czekanowski but was way more radical in his political views. After May 1926, he broke his connection to Pilsudskites, joined the National-Radical Camp and completely followed Roman Dmowski's ideology. After defending his doctorate, Stojanowski moved to Poznan to continue his work there both in political and academic life. Consequently, he joined the Camp of Greater Poland as a logical continuation of his tight connection to the radical right-wing student organization All Polish Youth. He was a follower of the idea that Jews were to be eliminated from the Polish life at all and had to leave the country. A common Endecja belief about the desire to destroy Christian

society and rule the world was presented as a hereditary feature.<sup>98</sup> However, his way more specific racially based idea was connected to the nation-state existence and the rebel spirit of the “Dinaric type” people. Stojanowski believed that this type had a rebel spirit and people representing it were a ferment against their own nation state.<sup>99</sup> In 1927 he published a book called *Racial Basis of Eugenics (Rasowe podstawy eugeniki)* and in 1934 *Racism against Slaviness*.

As I have already mentioned, the radical camp started using the anti-semitic discourse straight after the 1922 elections. However, they went further by the end of the 1920s. The idea of the “ghetto ławkowe” or the bench ghetto was lobbied by the All-Polish Youth.

The Young Poland Union created in 1937 was a youth organization of the far-right Camp of National Unity. The crisis in Poland by the end of the 1930s led to the raise in support for the radical groups like the All-Polish Youth and the political turmoil created new branches for the right. The Young Poland Union was calling for the National Breakthrough (Przełom Narodowy):

*“Colleagues! Only a strong earthquake can free Poland from the marasmus and breakdown. Only the National Breakthrough will free all the put to sleep psychological powers of the Nation. Only the National Breakthrough can fight Jews, Communism, Masonry – erase exploitation and poverty... Academicians! Poland calls you how it once called the Academic Legion to fight for Lviv, - how it called to fight in 1920!”<sup>100</sup>*

<sup>98</sup> Porter-Szucs, *Poland in the Modern World*, 54.

<sup>99</sup> 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>.

<sup>100</sup> Związek Młodej Polski, *Koledzy Polacy!*, DU V P.9 [549], Gabinet Życia Społecznego BUW, 1937.

Among the professors the trends were shared during the lectures and especially through the obligatory mentorship over the student organizations. A curator or a mentor did have a choice to decide whether the organization is fulfilling the requirements of the university. After all, the tensions between professors also influenced the students and sometimes faculty used their help to solve the “debate”. Together with the political parties’ influences, the ideas of the faculty found their place on the pages of the student journals and propaganda leaflets.

## **2.2. Student Corporations and their identity**

Student corporations existed in the Polish universities since the beginning of the 19th century. The tradition itself was borrowed from German academia. The oldest corporations were influential in the interwar period as they had financial support from previous members. All the legal regulations were gathered and approved with the creation of Z.P.K.A. (Union of Polish Academic Corporations) in 1921 during a corporative meeting in Warsaw. It was based on the regulation from the 13th of July, 1920, which outlined the autonomous statuses of the universities. It also gave wide range of rights to the student corporations, although demanding the apolitical character of activities. After 1921 students started using their rights actively and more unions, fraternities and corporations emerged. A specific term “*ideologia korporacyjna*” was used in the official documents and media. All the corporations were rather very exclusive and a candidate had to pass a trial period before becoming a complete member of the corporation. In addition to that, after the end of the Great War the Union of Polish Academic Corporations (Z.P.K.A.) gathered all corporations and organized their activity. Moreover, their statutes and official documents became standardized and even the insignias with official colors were officially approved. For example, in 1924 6 new corporations appeared. *Znicz* chose its official colours as dark green, gold, and crimson and their official motto was :”Razem młodzi przyjaciele!”, *Gasconia* chose pink, gold, and black with a motto in French: “Malheur à qui me touche!”,

*Aquitania* with bronze, green, and gold with motto in Latin: “Per aspera ad astra”, *Scythia* from the Lviv Polytechnic chose black, gold, and blue with a motto:”Jeden za wszystkich, wszyscy za jednego!”<sup>101</sup> Two other corporations - the assimilationist’s corporation of Jewish Poles *Fraternitas* and Academic Zionist Corporation *Hebronia* - were established nearly at the same time.

Corporation was a place of communication, social and political activity and even supported those members in need financially. Strict sets of rules, specific language and written signs differentiated students from corporations from the others. Although each corporation had its own colors and bearings, they were using them as a sign of belonging to the corporational movement as a whole, not only to a particular union.

At the same time, Ukrainians and Jews were creating their own corporations. They were treated the same way as Polish corporations by the authorities and had very similar structures and rules, although they did not belong to ZPKA For example, in 1927 in Warsaw, the Ministry of Education and Religion of the Second Polish Republic organized a first exhibition of the corporation activities and there were present not only Polish corporations, but those of the minorities as well. As a result, a specific process of identification started in the universities of the biggest cities, where ZPKA was active. It was based on the student life needs, rights for protection and academic development. National factor was rather a mobilizer and an addition to bring some importance to these movements. However, the last changed after the Polish nationalists took over the ZPKA

I have already noted the differentiation signs of the members of student corporations. Culture of corporations had its specific types of songs, traditions and organizational features which were aimed at making a member of any of them noticeable. These signs were often criticized by other student organizations, especially after MW got control over the ZPKA

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<sup>101</sup> Biedrzycka Agnieszka, *Kalendarium Lwowa 1918-1939* (Cracow: Universitas, 2012), 233.

The point of the critics was that the members of corporations care more about the form, but not the meaning.<sup>102</sup> “Obviously, it is hard to evaluate clearly what influence did MW had on the ZPKA, and vice versa.”<sup>103</sup> I would argue against this statement. From the middle of the 1920s radical right students did not hide their belonging to corporations and were openly publishing about them in their journals. Moreover, the criticisms from other political groups inside the universities towards the corporations were also a result of the gradual rise of control by MW over the ZPKA. After all, the symbolism meant a lot. About 1 p.m. April 29, 1924 in Lviv Polish corporations organized a fight with the Jewish corporation “Hasmonea” because, according to Poles, it was not possible for Jews to wear the colourful hats.<sup>104</sup> The dwellers of the city perceived the “chauvinistic fights” with humour and compared them to the Schwabian occupation. “On the side of Polish chauvinists, you could see sons of Polish black market workers, and on the Jewish sons of bank worker’s, stone workers and also sons of Jewish black market sellers. You could not see any son of the working class or working intelligentsia.”<sup>105</sup> Fight ended without any victims after the police came to the place.

In 1927 an editorial board of *Awangarda*, that included professors and students from Poznan added a bloc of articles to each of the two-week journal numbers called “Polish Corporant”. It covered the existence of almost all Polish corporations. Sometimes, corporations of other ethnicities were criticized, especially those of Jews.

Apart from the visual signs, specific features of the corporations included songs, which were sang on different occasions such as official meetings, concerts or gatherings in

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<sup>102</sup> Tomaszewski, *Polskie Korporacje Akademickie W Latach 1918-1939 : Struktury, Myśl Polityczna, Działalność*, 360.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Agnieszka, *Kalendarium Lwowa 1918-1939*, 242.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

bars. Opening ceremonies and holiday celebrations were started by the official anthems.<sup>106</sup> Corporation *Cresovia Leopoliensis*<sup>107</sup> was founded in September 1926 and joined the Union of The Polish Academic Corporations in 1927. Their official anthem incorporated important components of the identity this organization was trying to engrain. It starts with the statement of belonging to Lviv and wishing the blossoming to its future:

*Pijmy za naszą Cresowię  
Niech długo żyje nam!  
Niech się rozwija we Lwowie,  
Kwitnąca i bez plam!*<sup>108</sup>

The next part of the anthem mentions the important issue of brotherhood, which meant ideological and almost blood unity, which had to be developed through the corporational activities:

*Tu splot się prawie jednoczy  
Tu z duchem brata się duch,  
Tu każdemu ochoczy,  
Tu każdemu druh.*<sup>109</sup>

It finishes with the statement that the Polish youth has to protect the Eastern *kresy* of Poland as true Polish citizens. This might seem as a somehow political statement. True, such terms as *narod* and *lud* had place in the corporational ideology. However, in the texts the idea of the corporations' unity and the codex of honour was much more important and the statutes of these organizations usually strictly limited the political belongings of its members.

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<sup>106</sup> Unfortunately, not so many of them are saved till nowadays. However, after the WWII one of the archivists of the Warsaw University started collecting memories and saved documents of the corporations from the private collections.

<sup>107</sup> There was also *Cresovia Vilnensis*.

<sup>108</sup> Warsaw University Archive, Ankieta Kupczynskiego, Rkps, masz., I. K. 11.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

We see that a number of different categories, like colours, songs, national affiliation, statutes and mottos are used to create a specific identity. It is triggered every time a student meets his colleagues from the university no matter which corporation they belong to or even if they don't belong to any. These categories, when they match or differ, help to create a group feeling of belonging to the student community and a feeling of belonging to the corporation.

The existence of corporations in any city was a doubtful privilege. On the one hand, they created demand for local businesses. Coffee-houses, printing shops, tailors and others profited from them. On the other, when members of the corporations were fighting in the streets, same local businesses had to deal with the damage. On May 30, 1927 MW attacked Jewish students in Lviv.<sup>110</sup> Restaurant of Mrs Teliczkowa and the building of "Cwila" editorial board were left without windows. Two Czechoslovak tourists were beaten next to the statue of Adam Mickiewicz. Every student journal office was guarded by the police, apart from the Endeks' mainstream journal "*Słowo Polskie*". Additionally, police met the leaders of the corporations. The report from the meeting says:

"Polish academic corporations, created by the example of German 'Burschenschaft', which during the time of captivity did not find the base among the Polish youth, started to share impudently in the reborn Poland and fell into the unhealthy political whirlpool, bringing only damage to the state and poor academic youth. The motto put on front: 'Hit the Jew!'"<sup>111</sup>

What is clearly visible from the stories about corporations is that they themselves were a discursive space. However, as soon as it was penetrated by the radical right, the corporation became a tool, bright and shining, literally. The source of shining could have been the bright hat or a badge. In 1927 a number of student corporations joined the Camp of Great Poland and it was welcomed publicly by the already mentioned *Awangarda*. To be

<sup>110</sup> Agnieszka, *Kalendarium Lwowa 1918-1939*, 363.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

fair, radical acts were conducted not only by the Poles, Jewish and Ukrainian organizations acted quite harshly as well.

### 2.3. “Koleżanki i Koledzy!” – discourses of the propaganda in leaflets and journals.

The printed materials for students acted as a discursive stage. This means that engaging into the conversation from the pages of journals or leaflets allowed students to find their own position on debatable questions and form it to make it resonate with their views.<sup>112</sup> At the same time, the parenting discourses of the political parties and the state were involved into this process. I argue that the academia became a prototype for the formulation of the new generation that adjusted the existing identity framework to their own experience.

In 1921 the question of the new elections to the student organization *Bratnia Pomoc*<sup>113</sup> reflected the political situation in the country very well. The access to money of the so-called *bratniak* was important as it could potentially fund activities of the whole network of organizations as well as individuals. The beginning of the 1920s was marked with the rise of the Polish radical-right. In academia, such organizations as the National Union of the Academic Youth (*Narodowe Zjednoczenie Młodzieży Akademickiej*), Revival (*Odrodzenie*) and others belonging to the *endecja* camp were supported the national character of the *bratniak*. Interestingly, the leaflet from 1921 is arguing for the candidates “not under this or another political camp but people with the sense of responsibility for their tasks and duties”<sup>114</sup>. According to the leaflet, the character of the organization had to be only Polish as it was the logical result of the *Bratnia Pomoc* activities and the “sensitive patriotism”<sup>115</sup> of the academician had to tell the right choice to the reader.

<sup>112</sup> Dunn and Neumann, *Undertakin Discourse Analysis for Social Research*, 112.

<sup>113</sup> Student credit-union.

<sup>114</sup> *Odrodzenie, Koleżanki i Koledzy*, DU V P.9 [511], Gabinet Dokumentów Życia Społecznego, no date.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*



The closer to the 1926, the more radical were the discourses of the leaflets that were distributed before the elections. The undated leaflets coming from around 1926-1928<sup>116</sup> from the All-Polish Youth and the Bloc of Polish Democratic Youth (*Błok Polskiej Młodzieży Demokratycznej*) present the debate around basic rules of the *Bratniak* elections. The radicals criticize socialists for supporting Jews, “whose good stays over the good of Bratnia Pomoc”<sup>117</sup>. Student democrats claimed that the head of the list Władysław Kempfi was doubtfully selected the head of the union. In addition to that, they sarcastically added that being “well-known to the academic society for their economic program”, *endecja* youth “paid more attention to the colourful hats” than to the financial issues of the students.<sup>118</sup> Bloc of Polish Democratic Youth also noted the “hooliganist methods” of the new *Bratniak* members.

*Bratnia Pomoc* was important not only as a place for political manifestations but as a source of funding. In November 1924 the All-Polish Union of the Bratnia Pomoc for the Academic Youth announced a strike. The leaflet is not filled with the discourse of any political group or ethnic belonging. The emphasis was on the gathering of all students. The issue was the refusal of minister of the Religious and Educational affairs Bolesław Miklaszewski to change the pricing policy for higher education.

“On the gathering we need to stress that we understand the hard financial situation of the State and do not demand the free education in the academia, but at the same time we have to clearly state that normal fees for education cannot be inaccessible to the majority of our colleagues [Kolegów I Koleżanek – auth.]”<sup>119</sup>

Throughout the interwar period issues that touched upon the student rights or academic freedom were triggering the political discourse. Obviously, when the problem

<sup>116</sup> The date is based on the list of candidates to the Bratnia Pomoc Union, who were students of Warsaw University at that time. Among them is Jan Mosdorf, who became associated with the *endecja* only in late 1925 - early 1926.

<sup>117</sup> Błok Polskiej Młodzieży Demokratycznej, Koleżanki i Koledzy, DU XVII P.28 [3343], Gabinet Dokumentów Życia Społecznego, 1927.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ogólnopolski Związek Pomocy Młodzieży Akademickiej, Koleżanki I Koledzy, DU V P.9 [540], 1924.

was in the ethnic or national discourse, the questions of political partisanship were raised. However, fees or conflicts with the police were of a different character. As a result, the student identity based on such categories as the university belonging, research affiliation and access to the services in academia was triggered. At the same time, some groups were using them as a cover to solve the issues of political or, sometimes, even of criminal character.<sup>120</sup>

The Union of the Independent Socialist Youth “Życie” from the Warsaw Polytechnic wrote in December 1924 about how “important is their role as an organ of the fight of the academic proletariat for its rights.”<sup>121</sup> They also stressed the passion of the All-Polish Youth and corporations for the colorful signs of their belongings and “hatred towards the workers movement”.<sup>122</sup> Opposing the usage of national ideology “Życie” argued for the break with the ethnic limitations for the membership as “Bratniaks were the institutions of the economic character which by their nature did not require specific religious or others classifications for the acceptance”.<sup>123</sup> They also stress that the steps taken by the MW and Polish corporations aimed to fire up the racial hatred. “We call you to fight against the airless corporations’ atmosphere in Bratniak!”<sup>124</sup>

At the same time the relations with the government were defining the way the discourse of the students could have been framed. Polish nationalists and socialists, Ukrainian nationalists and Jewish Zionists were not in favor of the state as well as the state was not an example for them. Consequently, the way of the self-representation

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<sup>120</sup> Reference to the third chapter when the Jan Kazimierz University was on strike because of the Młodzież Wszechpolska, who were trying to restrict the police from the investigation of a Jewish student assassination.

<sup>121</sup> *Życie, Koleżanki i Koledzy*, DU V P.9 [546], Gabinet Dokumentów Życia Społecznego BUW, 1924.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Tomaszewski, *Polskie Korporacje Akademickie W Latach 1918-1939 : Struktury, Myśl Polityczna, Działalność*, 205.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

was changed. At the same time, if the older generation did not satisfy the needs for action of the youth, it, similarly to the state, faced criticism.

## 2.4. Post-1926 Developments

In May 1926 the Second Polish Republic was shaken by the Marshal's<sup>125</sup> military forces. They easily captured all the main buildings in Warsaw, both thanks to the support of Piłsudski in the military and the fact that the forces standing for the right were not able to get there.<sup>126</sup> The president left his post “voluntarily” and the Sejm together with Senate chose the Marshal as the new head of the state. Surprisingly for the army and the civilian supporters, he declined the offer and the chemistry professor from the Warsaw Polytechnic with the PPS past Ignacy Mościcki got elected by the National Assembly for the president's seat.

The new regime was quickly established even though the Piłsudskites promised not to change the system. The intention of the new government was to solve the country's problems of the early 1920s, thus getting the name Sanacja. All the oppositional forces like Communists, Endecja or Ukrainian (The Ukrainian case is more complicated as at first the attitude towards them was better, compared to the time before 1926) nationalists had to turn to underground, facing threats and legal persecution.<sup>127</sup>

The closer to 1930, the more radical were the activities of the new government. Regardless of the ideology, political powers faced the threat and answered to it with a hostile rhetoric. Moreover, the argumentation and the core of the ideas in the student journals was transmitted to the youth. The process worked both ways. It can be treated as an attempt of the higher political levels to get support from the next generation to

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<sup>125</sup> A popular name for Piłsudski.

<sup>126</sup> Porter-Szucs, *Poland in the Modern World*, 96.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 98.

secure itself, as well as the young people trying to answer the questions and find the way out of their own crisis, which could not be solved by the “parents”.

The group that kept its hostility as a key point of the discourse on both political and everyday level was Ukrainian. The dissatisfaction with the failure of the Ukrainian state project (the Soviet Ukraine was regarded as a pseudo-state) only deepened in the late 1920s. Ukrainian *Hromada* of students was established in Warsaw around 1925 almost synchronically with the creation of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO). Their journal *Students'kyi Holos* was published in Warsaw but stayed in touch with the circles in Prague and Vienna as it was also representing TseSUS. Its pages were filled with articles, poems, and letters from the young representatives of the nationalist camp. The rhetoric of the Dontsov's ideology and his followers is present on every page of all issues.

Article by Petro Kryvonosiuk, a veteran of UHA and USS “Ukrainian Students and poisons” (*Українське студентство і отруї*) is in fact about the damage for the human body from smoking and alcohol. However, the author starts from the challenge of the post-war period that the Ukrainian youth faced. The main argument against the pernicious habits and the use of drugs is the threat to leave the life without a sign of the nation in history:

*“Ukrainian students always were the bearers of the best and healthiest ideas. They never grudged labour and life for their people . Cannot it also sacrifice its passions to the people's future?”*<sup>128</sup>

Pages of the journal also show the dissatisfaction with the previous generation of nationalists, which was not organized well and did not have enough influence because of that. Consequently, it was treated as fake nationalism because the nation and

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<sup>128</sup> P. Kryvonosiuk, “Українське студентство і отруї” (Ukrainian students and poisoners)/ *Students'kyi Holos*, 1928, 16-17.

the fight for the state did not profit out of it. Under the initials M.L. the article starting with the quote from Guiseppe Mazzini mentioned that “whose sons are not afraid to die, will see its land free”.<sup>129</sup> Author attacks both the Polish state and the Soviet Ukraine in addition to the weak political powers. Another issue is the presence of Ukrainian Social-Revolutionaries that cooperate with the League of Nations of the East. Traditions, history, idea of a national state and work for the nation are the main arguments that united Ukrainian students. However, there are two important points to mention. Firstly, the Ukrainian society, apart from the assimilated and pro-government groups, was dominated by the anti-state moods. Secondly, the journal never engages into the discussion with the government directly. It uses the traditional mottos of the Ukrainian nationalists about the state, but never criticizes neither Piłsudski, nor Sanacja. The reasons behind it are obvious, as otherwise the majority of the pages would have been kept blank with empty squares in it. This happened to many newspapers in Poland at that time, if they were censored.

Two articles named “Before the next TseSUS gathering” and the “Rebuilding of our student life” from the *Students'kyi holos* show how exactly problematic was the question of defining itself among “theirs”, meaning one or another ethnic group or even the political camp, for the youth. “In front of students who were active before or are active now in the life of our students’ society stand the same scenes that often happened and do happen...”<sup>130</sup>; Yevhen Chekhovych, an active member of the Warsaw student community and an OUN activist, writes about the enemy elements in the Ukrainian nation. He combines the Hrushevsky’s historic narrative and the concept of enemy from Dontsov. In Dontsov’s view, the elements that do not fit the nation state and the nation

<sup>129</sup> M.L., “Братанням чи силою?” (By brotherhood or power?), / *Students'kyi Holos*, 1928, no. 5, 9.

<sup>130</sup> Yevhen Chekhovych, “Перебудова нашого студентського життя” (Rebuilding our student life)/ *Students'kyi Holos*, no. 6, 1928, 6.

are not the ethnically different elements but those of them, who act against the system.<sup>131</sup> Thus, if any representative of a non-Ukrainian ethnic group was representing the political or military group threatening the state or its idea, he would have been killed or forced to leave. As a result, the explanation of why communists, socialists or even the parties tried to work together with Sanacja becomes very simple. However, Chekhovych is rather actualizing it for the 1928. After arguing for the unity of thoughts between the members he uses the comparison to the human organism and cells to explain the Dontsov's reasoning.

A very similar tradition can be seen from the perspective of the pro-radical right student journal *Awangarda*, which was published in 7 more cities apart from Warsaw and Lviv. It appeared as a replacement for the closed *Akademik*, which, as stated by the authors of *Awangarda*, had to close because of the bad economic situation in the country.<sup>132</sup> I would also argue that it was not only that, but also the change of the political climate in the country and the famous pro-right journal had to be more careful with what to publish. At the same time, the readers were more careful starting from 1926. However, the *Awangarda* also faced financial issues and had to change to the monthly publishing instead of printing issues every two weeks.

Zdzisław Stahl, who finished his doctorate in 1925 in the February 1927 issue of the journal argued for the changes and developments of the Polish national idea.<sup>133</sup> He saw Polish nationalism as an all-time developing movement and argued that “*the national idea is not a finished [martva] formula*”. The change of the political course, as Stahl argued, also changed the national ideology. Thus, he marked the beginning of the break between the young and old generation of nationalists in the Endeks' camp.

<sup>131</sup> Zaitsev, *Український Інтегральний Націоналізм (1920-1930-ті) Роки*, 189–202.

<sup>132</sup> „*Na nowych podstawach*” (On a new basis), *Awangarda*, 1 February, 1927.

<sup>133</sup> Zdzisław Stahl, „*Nowa Idea Narodowa*” (The new national idea), *Awangarda*, February 1927.

The journal also called for the support of the MW and discussed issues of fascism, socialism together with publishing patriotic poems and texts of Roman Dmowski. This argument, highlighting the image, was alluding to the right organization to join if you liked the ideas of the *Awangarda*. Interestingly, straight after discussing the corporations' activities mentioned earlier, the editors decided to publish the "*Giovinezza, giovinezza*" or "*Canto dei Fascisti*", the song of fascists in Italian with the Polish translation of it. Thus, it summarizes the article discussed earlier about the ways of how corporations should contribute to the intellectual and ideological developments of the youth. The song is followed by the discussion of the MW activities in the universities and its role in the OWP. It also included the previously mentioned discussion on the elections to Bratniak, where the pro-Sanacja students were elected to rule the organization. The discussions about Jews, Communists and the left in general continued.

Similarly to Ukrainian nationalists, Endeks paid a lot of attention to the role of the youth in the new system of politics. They do know about Sorel, Mazzini, Mussolini, Masi, Cambon, Maurras and intellectuals from other mainstream movements of the time. Moreover, they follow closely the developments abroad, analyze them and make conclusions for themselves, based on the information they gather. Surprisingly, Polish nationalists discuss German developments at the same time with American as they were "a race of unique". The American system seems to be more of an example for young Endeks because the culture there is more caring about the youth and its achievements: "*The Americanization of the life is often discussed here in Poland. And correctly so. We must organize the state in the Americanized tempo... but firstly provide the American system of raising and training of youth...*"<sup>134</sup>. They also argue for the importance of

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<sup>134</sup> „Znaczenie młodzieży w życiu politycznym” (Youth's roles in the political life), *Awangarda*, February 1927.

nationalistic Americanization noting that the Polish Senator Woźnicki<sup>135</sup> mentioned that socialists do not enjoy such a big amount of youth as the nationalist camp does, proving that by the university statistics. However, the last one is never mentioned in details.

Americanization and democratic discourse that appears from time to time are used for certain needs. Even though Endeks in the academia do not know well about the democratic needs, the democracy during the Sanacja period, especially in its beginning, becomes incredibly important. The repressive actions of the state and a clear break with the Piłsudski from the beginning of the Second Polish Republic's existence made the discourse of democratic processes a useful tool. Moreover, the USA served as an example of certain positive economic achievements before 1928. The accent on the new generation, together with the rethinking of Fascist and American experiences, is already an interesting twist in the story of defenders of everything that is national, no matter, Ukrainian or Polish. These ideas are wrapped into the framework of the student life and the development of the future generations. Those who reject these ideas, not really belonging on the national, but rather political, get themselves out of the group. The reasoning of not accepting one part of the ethnic group as a nation or as a core part of the nation contradicts itself. However, it is also a sign of an active search for the solution to the current problems.

#### **2.5. Kuznica – chaos of definitions: democrats, radicals, statist.**

*“Changing the form, changing the names. We were 'Brzask', 'Nurt', 'Praca'. Today – 'Kuznica'”*

Previously, I mainly presented/reviewed the political groups that were in opposition to the government. Since 1926 another great camp started gaining supporters among the students. One of the most peculiar student cases to study is the group of pro-

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<sup>135</sup> „Znaczenie młodzieży w życiu politycznym.”



Piłsudski youth centered around organizations like *Legion Młodych* and the student journal *Kuźnica*. Firstly, what strikes one's mind is the latter's annual change of the name. In 1928 *Kuźnica* was called the organ of the democratic youth. In 1929 they claim themselves radicals. The next year – the organ of the pro-state youth (*młodzież państwowa*). What does not change is the admiration of Marshall and his followers. However, it faces some indirect criticism as well.

Firstly, I would like to deal with the change of the name as it appears to be important not only for the students of the interwar Warsaw and Lviv, but to a researcher as well, demonstrating the obvious change in the discourse. The change happens not only in the minds of the pro-Piłsudski youth, but also of the radical right and left. The probable explanation was that the term “democracy” stopped being associated with the state and Piłsudski. “How hilarious and childish look today the words of all doctrine lovers (*doktrynery*) about the brutal ‘break of democracy’”<sup>136</sup>: the article called “Dictatorship of the Ideal or The Triumph of Ochlocracy” defended the government actions and criticized false-democratic and radical right camps. The post-1926 regime could not have been associated with it anymore. Thus, radical right and left (apart from communists) started extensively using the term in their propaganda. The general idea of the youth was to be radical in their actions and the journal editorial board could have approved a decision for the change of the name. Accepting radicalism as the main definition of the student media associated with both the Piłsudskites and the state itself was no less problematic. ONR and MW were both using “radicalism” to define the character of their actions. Similarly did the Ukrainian nationalists. Actions of the state against those camps were repressive and led only to the bigger association of “radicalism” with the opposition. Consequently, *Kuznica's* editors and members of the

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<sup>136</sup> „Dyktatura ideały czyli triumf ochlokracji”(Dictatorship of the Ideal or The Triumph of Ochlocracy) *Kuznica organ młodzieży demokratycznej*, no. 1, 1928, 1.

*Legjon Młodych* realized that and the term *statist(państwowy)* became of a great use, as state was not anymore in favor of their political and academical rivals. A similar case can be found in Vilnius, when in 1926 students requested the creation of the corporation “Piłsudia”, but were refused to do so. They could do that only in 1931 when the Marshal gave them his approval.<sup>137</sup>

*Kuźnica* and the Piłsudskites from it did not favor the corporations. In 1928 many student organizations signed a petition to stop the activities of the corporations on the territory of the Jagellonian University in Cracow after a fight between Jewish and Polish students on the market. The case was quite similar to the previously mentioned cases that took place in Lviv. *Kuźnica* characterized the fighting corporations as sprouts of the post-war running wild of traditions, and the decline of the cultural form. They also directly attacked Jan Mosdorf and other MW members. The petition was signed by the Academic Union of Pacifists, Polish Academic National Youth, The Union of the Independent Socialist Youth “Życie”, Litart and the Polish scouts from “Watra” and promoted by *Kuźnica*.

No less important is the way young followers of Piłsudski viewed their history. The article called “Family Tree of Piłsudskites” was published in two parts. First, in the 4<sup>th</sup> number of *Kuźnica* for the November 1-15 1929, when the journal was called an organ of radicalism. Even though the article is mainly focused on criticizing the Endeks and socialists, there is a story to tell. Firstly, National Democrats were presented as a force which failed to achieve the goal of the national fight for freedom. Socialists, according to the authors, did so as well, as instead of protecting the rights of Polish workers and peasants, they launched the idea of cosmopolitanism. Three main directions of work for the Piłsudskites had to be the army, the state and the treasury. If

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<sup>137</sup> Piłsudia, Archiwum Korporacyjne, accessed online on the June 1, 2017: <http://www.archiwumkorporacyjne.pl/index.php/muzeum-korporacyjne/wilno/k-pilsudia/>.

one trusts the authors, that is what *PPS Frakcja Rewolucyjna*, progressive youth from “Zarzewie” and “Filarecja”, were working for.

The question of political mapping addressed by Piłsudskites is obvious: they care about the state and the Marshal, and claim to be democratic. However, it is interesting how others are displayed on their pages. They claim that the academic youth “did not create its own ideological base..., but only were a reflection of the funhouse mirror”.<sup>138</sup> Interestingly, the radical democrats were the only ones who were ‘original’ and created their own scheme of political activity, according to the author, who stayed anonymous. This argument has two parts: the claim about the mirror, and the reason why it is flawed. The former statement corresponds to the reality of the political representativeness in the academia. However, it distorts the facts that students were forming and changing their political views in academia, and, especially in case with the radical right Poles or Jews: they were far more active in applying their ideologies to the everyday life cases. The latter should be seen through the further developments of their source: nor the socialists, neither the radicals were presented as a unique force, unlike the radical democrats.

## 2.6. Conclusion

This chapter presents the next step of layering and entering of the politics into the academic life. Leaflets and journals are creating the discursive practices that are borrowed from the political parties and ideological traditions. It does not matter whether the language is Polish or Ukrainian, but the wording and composition of the messages does. Ferdinand de Saussure wrote that the words are defined by not what they say, but by what is outside of it.<sup>139</sup> The same situation is shown by the primary sources from the student life. The discursive community that students form has

<sup>138</sup> Walka o morale społeczeństwa akademickiego (Fight for the morale of the academic society), Kuźnica, February 1930, Warsaw.

<sup>139</sup> Dunn and Neumann, *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research*, 24.

different levels. First of all, it is the academia society in general. Secondly, it is a separate group that represents a corporation, political movement or both of them.

Interwar student culture was based on the experiences of the past. The imperial rule over the territories of Poland, wars, political and economic crises set the frame for the students. The concepts of the fight (*walka*, *бopомьба*) and heroism (*zwycięstwo*) are present in every single piece of propaganda. They mainly served as a mobilization tool. The point to discuss is whether this usage of certain wordings was conscious or not. The answer to this question might be brought by another concept – “enemy”.

The more nationalistic the discourse of the group is, the more often the calls to the national consciousness appear. Ukrainian nationalists have a lot in common with the Polish nationalists and vice versa. Their political propaganda and mobilization are focused around the nation and the fight with its enemies as it is important to eliminate the alien elements for the desirable society. At the same time, socialists and Piłsudskites avoid the question of the usage of the term. What is more important for the followers of Marshall is the concept of fatherland and the political line of the military leader of the state. Socialists, though supporting Piłsudski, rather speculate on the classic Marxist terms like class, workers and peasants. Unfortunately, I do not have any printed sources from the communists' groups of students, but the *Kalendarium* of Lviv demonstrates them being active in different forms like hanging out banners or organizing clandestine meetings.

Discourses are the giving words the authority to present the identity and define the subjects authority to speak.<sup>140</sup> The main authority in the post Great War Society is the state. The state has the power to legitimize political programs, use violence and define the system in which its citizens develop. Various visions of the state (or

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<sup>140</sup> Dunn and Neumann, *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research*, 47.

preference for its absence in case of radical groups of national minorities) brought by the students to the academia compete and form organizational structures and patterns in the universities. At the same time, involvement into the political parties and groups brings in the strategies used by the parties. Various visions on the state influence the language of students.

Some parts of the entanglement are already shown in the first chapter. These are the fusions of political parties, assimilation of Jews and other ethnic minorities, and similarities of the political ideologies. Another important dimension to look at is the generation gap. Every political group, even the Piłsudskites, were mentioning the problems of misunderstanding between the “parents” and “children”. Additionally, all the political issues are seen through the prism of academia. This process initiated the need for the change of the previously established political lines. As a result, both radicalization and new organizational activity emerged.

### **3. Embodying the Words: Student Everyday Life**

In their everyday life students faced each other all the time and had to communicate in one or another way. Obviously, the ways of delivering the messages were different: from killing each other to working together on the publishing of poetry anthology. My argument is based that these actions demonstrate the borders of the identities which were being established during the 1920s-1930s. Such places as universities create a specific space for various communities to achieve their goals according to the worldview they follow. As a result, those groups, whose interests contradicted each other or, vice versa, did not, resulted in the signs which can help a historian to trace the borders of their identities.

This chapter's focus is the everyday student life cases which demonstrate the layering of the identities in the student life. Consequently, my aim is to find out the categories and situations in which the ideologies and national belonging activated the clear identifying by the members of the group. These groups could've been Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian or Russian. Additionally, they could have been positioned below other group belongings. Working on the deconstruction of the typical image of a national democrat, socialist, communist or a social democrat together with their perception of the ethnic, national and racial belonging in the documents of student organizations, individuals or ethnic groups representatives allows to see the fluidity of one's identity and its dependence on the situation. While the previous chapter was more based on the sources printed in Warsaw, this chapter will consider the documents from Lviv.

#### **3.1. Ukrainian Students in Lviv**

In the first chapter I paid attention to the relations between the Ukrainian minority and their parties with the Polish state. After the end of the war over Lviv and territories around it in 1918-1919 the ban for studying in Polish universities for the soldiers of non-

Polish military units was legalized. At the same time, Ukrainians started coming back to the Galicia and were seeking for jobs or education.

The creation in 1921 of the Ukrainian Secret University (USU) was an initiative of former students and professors who were not able to continue their pre-war activities in the newly established state. This is the same ban that *Życie* was protesting. As a result, Ukrainian community created a separate secret institution, which provided lectures and documents about education in Ukrainian. It accepted applications from people with various backgrounds not paying attention to the past years.

The unique situation when the administration of the Secret University risked to provoke a huge conflict was the agreement to admit students of the Russian origin from the “Galician-Russian Student Organization”, who sent a request to create a department with the Russian language studies. Russians asked for the right to determine themselves as “*Русские*” and to take lectures taught in Russian.<sup>141</sup> The response from the administration of the Secret University was that student are allowed to write to them in Russian, but the answers would be only in Ukrainian. Apart from that, they noted, that the Senate was going to establish a department of the Russian literature even without the query from the “Galician-Russian Student Organization.”<sup>142</sup> Consequently, Russians joined the studies in the university.

This agreement was risky from the administrator’s point of view. Lots of student accepted to the University took part in the war against both Russian Empire and the Red Army and were stating their belonging to the military units in their applications.<sup>143</sup> The only fact of admitting student who were usually anti-Ukrainian and never took the idea of the independent Ukraine seriously could have provoked a conflict inside the secret organization,

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<sup>141</sup> State Archive of the Lviv Oblast, foundation 26, description 14, case 147.

<sup>142</sup> State Archive of the Lviv Oblast, foundation 26, description 14, case 868.

<sup>143</sup> However, at the same time there were cases when they wrote : “*DIDN'T SERVE!!!*”.

thus making it visible to the state as the conflicts between student in the interwar period usually resulted in heavy injuries, ruined buildings<sup>144</sup> or deaths. However, the reason why it was completely accepted was simple – money. The university had to pay salaries to professors and run the secretary office. More students meant more income and solved at least some of the problems that university was facing. The sources of financing like diaspora or concerts, food collections were a minor income and could not provide an educational system competitive to the state-run universities. At first, professors were interested in working there: at least some source of income. After few years, there were new possibilities for the jobs as the economic situation in the country stabilized, though was not perfect yet. Among the working faculty was Myron Korduba, Ukrainian historian, who was among the student of Mykhailo Hrushevsky and before the war, after finishing his PhD in Vienna, worked and lived in Chernivtsi. Five years after the USU stopped functioning in 1924, he became a professor of history at Warsaw University. At the same time Russians, who wrote a request were not able to access other universities in Lviv or Poland as they were monarchists and were not treated well by the Polish state.

Interestingly, after the dissolution of the university the ties were not kept. In 1930s with general rise of the xenophobic attitudes in the society police reports have records of the conflict between Ukrainian student and the Russian student organization “*Druh*”. The police investigation was open because the office of this organization was literally destroyed by the Ukrainian nationalistic youth. The reason for such behaviour was that Ukrainians, who visited the same church as Russians from “*Druh*”, were singing by the end of the mass the prayer “God, the great and the only, save Ukraine for us”. As stated by members of the Russian organization, students “fundamentally did not agree with politics in the God’s temple and hurt in their national feelings”<sup>145</sup> started leaving the building. At first,

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<sup>144</sup> Another case of the conflict between the Ukrainian and Russian student will be described further.

<sup>145</sup> Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in the city of Lviv, foundation 754, case 10, 1.



Ukrainians didn't mind that, but after a provocative article about that in the *Druh* newspaper, Ukrainian student blocked the entrance to make everyone listen to the prayer till the end. In answer "Russian student youth, considering individual liberty as one of the most valuable achievements of the cultural humanity and outraged to the depth of the soul by the violence over this liberty in the God's temple had, in a deep sorrow, to fight with through the chain of 'Heroes Ukrainians'".<sup>146</sup> The painful reaction of Russians to such actions by Ukrainians was the non-acceptance of Ukrainians as a nation or nostalgia for the lost positions of Russians. However, the already mentioned article, and, originally, a speech in Riga by the head of "Druh" explains the situation much better: "Polish state continues the Austrian politics towards Russians and Russian-Galician students have to fight with the unfair attitude of the ruling nation"<sup>147</sup>. Obviously, this is not the exact explanation for the conflict, but the general level of deprivation and sensitivity towards the national superiority of one or another group makes the situation more complicated and conflict is close to mess up even the church mass.

Ukrainian students were also fighting with their previous generations over the exclusively Ukrainian cases. In 1933 when the main OUN leaders were already arrested for terrorism and policy of pacification started a conflict appeared over the Andrei Sheptytsky's initiative to celebrate the connection of the Ukrainian youth to the Jesus Christ. It was planned to organize a march of young Ukrainians across the streets of Lviv.

The chain of events started three years before the festival itself and ended up in 1934. In September 1930, a part of Greek-Catholic priests headed by bishop Khomyshyn founded a Ukrainian Catholic National Party. The Metropolitan bishop Sheptytsky did not react positively to it, but also did not object its existence. The point of his reaction was the will to create an organization that connected all Ukrainian Greek-Catholics not depending

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in the city of Lviv, foundation 754, case 90, 1.

on the political affiliation.<sup>148</sup> Thus, he created the Ukrainian Catholic Union, which had to influence Ukrainian and Polish politics. Meanwhile, Khomyshyn's party was oriented towards the cooperation with the Polish authorities. Consequently, the Greek-Catholic Church faced criticism from the OUN nationalists, especially the younger generation. Sheptytsky in 1932, though not being interested in the conflict between the parties, stepped in. He warned the nationalists' youth for being too radical and coming more and more closer to fascism.<sup>149</sup> The Metropolitan bishop clearly saw the conflict between the generations and interpreted it through the term of Christian obedience. The warning was to not step away from the previous generations' work and was based on the position that the freedom of thought cannot be taken for the sake of national or any other freedom, otherwise it is self-denying.

1933 was proclaimed by Pope Pius XI as the 1900 anniversary of Jesus Christ's death. Sheptytsky decided to organize a festival that also prolonged his political line of uniting Ukrainians under the church. Lviv and the countryside were to celebrate under the blue-yellow flags without any other political symbols. Ukrainian students reacted to the idea with heavy criticism. After a gathering in March of 1933 250 Ukrainian students gathered and claimed opposition to the idea. The conflict was clearly drawn as the fight between the Catholic dogma and the ideas of integral nationalism, which as written by the newspaper "Meta(Mera)" was related to the religion dependent to its obedience to the national idea. Students claimed that the organization of the festival was opportunistic and the cooperation between the Polish state and the Ukrainian church was not acceptable. Still, 160

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<sup>148</sup> Oleksandr Zaitsev, Vasyl Stefaniv, and Oleh Behen, *Націоналізм і Релігія: Греко-Католицька Церква Та Український Націоналістичний Рух У Галичині (1920-1930-Ті Роки)* (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University, 2011), 266.

<sup>149</sup> Liliana Hentosh, *Митрополит Шептицький, 1923-1939 : Випробування Ідеалів* (Lviv: VNTL-Klasyka, 2015), 160.

students (55 male, 105 female) joined the celebration among other 40 to 100 thousands of people.<sup>150</sup>

The discussion of the OUN's reaction to the Sheptytsky's initiative was complicated as the rumors about terror acts during the festival. Five main members of the Lviv branch were in the prison: Vassyian, Boidunyk, Babiy, Lenkavsky, and Knysh. They were consulting the youth on how to claim the reaction and might have influenced the ideas to stop the planning of sabotage actions.<sup>151</sup> Their position was to either support the march or to just ignore it. After all, the OUN youth was agitating openly against the celebration, but did nothing violent against it. However, who really tried to interfere into the process were few communists, who tried to share their propaganda there.<sup>152</sup>

The end of the celebration did not stop the conflict. The culmination of it happened in 1934. It started with a open debate of Sheptytsky and Konovalts. It displays the difference in the basic understanding of both political and social issues. Sheptytsky was arguing for the moral and ethics of a Greek-Catholic Ukrainians, while OUN leaders were perceiving the generational break as a plan of pro-government Ukrainian forces. Nationalists' leader believed that the youth could not have turned against the old generation of nationalists as they stood on the same positions. The debate itself demonstrated a common problem for the youth of the Polish universities. They had a number of categories which were the basics of their identity: national and ethnic belonging, citizenship, and religion. Others, were positioned over those. Political affiliation meant more to the radical one's. However, even though the majority of Ukrainian right were radical right, 160 students did not follow the OUN line and took the words of Sheptytsky seriously.

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<sup>150</sup> Zaitsev, Stefaniv, and Behen, *Націоналізм і Релігія: Греко-Католицька Церква Та Український Націоналістичний Рух У Галичині (1920-1930-Ті Роки)*, 258.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 284.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

Ukrainian students did not have much conflicts with Polish radicals. However, it is because of the illegal character of the OUN and its focus on the terrorism out of academia. Ukrainian youth in the universities was rather interested in solving their inner issues. A tandem appeared in the beginning of 1930s, when two former students of the Jan Kazimierz University were working together on publishing the anthology of Ukrainian poetry in Polish. Their names are Tadeusz Hollenner and Bogdan Igor-Antonych. The former was an editor of the journal “Sygnały” and a Polish poet, and the latter – a Ukrainian poet, whose work is now placed into the pantheon of the Ukrainian poetry of the XX century. Their communication saved in Lviv demonstrates the will to publish the translations of Ukrainian poetry to Polish. Interestingly, two authors never wrote to each other directly, the letters were passed by the chief editor of the journal – Karol Kuryłek.<sup>153</sup> This was done many times with separate authors and their new works on the pages of “Sygnały”. Unfortunately, the outcome of their negotiations is not known. I also managed to find a document, which could be an explanation for the way of the communication. MW paid a lot of attention to Hollender and even sent him invitations to their literary evenings.<sup>154</sup> Probably, young poet did not want unnecessary rumors on working with Ukrainians, to avoid the criticism or even physical attack from the Polish radical right. Unfortunately, it did not save the journal itself from being attacked and closed in 1939 by members of MW.

### **3.2. Violence, Religion and Politics in the Universities**

Conflicts among the Polish and Jewish students are the most-well documented and known in the historiography. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, they were in the university corridors, the streets and lecture halls.

In 1932 on the territory of the park Pohulianka (Погулянка) in Lviv members of the Polish corporations “Lutyko-Venedia”, local, “Monsalwacja”, from Warsaw, organized a

<sup>153</sup> Lviv National Scientific Library named after Vasyl Stefanyk, foundation 10, case 10, 1.

<sup>154</sup> State Archive of Lviv Oblast, foundation 431, description 1, case 2, 176.

fight with the Jewish corporations “Fraternitas”. For half an hour shots were fired. However, the exact information about the weapons students used is not known. MW newspaper “Akademik Polski”, restored after its dissolution in 1926, wrote about rapier swords<sup>155</sup>, the police report mentioned only castets, apart from guns.<sup>156</sup> 36 wounded students were taken to the hospital with heavy injuries of heads, hands and eyes. It is unclear from the documents who actually started the fight but it is clear that every group was ready to it, as guns and knives, or rapiers, are not a part of everyday student clothing.

Another conflict that followed this one happened few weeks later. A member of “Lutyko-Venedia”, Jan Grodkowski, was killed in a café. Students from the corporation held traditional Saturday meetings with members of MW, Tadeusz Winetski, president of the corporation and some students from the Veterinary Academy in Lviv. The moment they left the café, Jewish students attacked them with knives and stabbed Grodkowski. Four Jewish students were arrested by the police. The case launched a huge wave of strikes all over Poland.<sup>157</sup>

One of the Warsaw based conflicts, though not limited to this city, started gaining raise in 1926. It was based on the access of Jewish students to the cadavers to study anatomy. In her study, Natalia Aleksium paid attention to the way students argued about access to the Christian corpses.<sup>158</sup> The issue was connected to the interconnectedness of the term Pole and Christian for the radical right. Pages of student journals from Lviv, Warsaw, Cracow and Vilnius raised the issue and involved authorities to solve it.

Students from Odrodzenie, Bernard Rusiecki in particular, argued that if Jews want their physicians to dissect the cadavers their community had to provide the bodies as well. It

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<sup>155</sup> Tomaszewski, *Polskie Korporacje Akademickie W Latach 1918-1939 : Struktury, Myśl Polityczna, Działalność*, 363.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 392.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 398.

<sup>158</sup> Natalia Aleksium, “Jewish Students and Christian Corpses in Interwar Poland : Playing with the Language of Blood Libel,” *Jewish History*, 2012.

was impossible for religious Jews, as by the *halakha*, the religious law, it was “required that Jewish dead be buried undisturbed and regarded dissections and autopsies as desecration”<sup>159</sup>. Considering the previously mentioned relation to the memory of veterans, the issue of contacting the dead Christians’ bodies and their blood was perceived as a threat for Poles by the imaginary Jewish religious rituals.<sup>160</sup>

The requests to the Jewish community to provide cadavers were sent by the authorities of the Warsaw University. Moreover, the radical right students presented the case as constitutionally correct, as all citizens were equal.<sup>161</sup> Warsaw University senate was ready to forbid Jewish students visit the classes, if the demand was not fulfilled. Aleksion mentions that, the “the affair was motivated as much by religious concerns as by nationalist ones.”

The continuation of the attempts to physically influence the Jewish community were continued in the 1930s. A great example of the demonstration of power is the case of *numerus clausus*. In Polish case, it was called the *ghetto lawkowe* (bench ghetto). The policy itself meant the restriction for Jewish students to study together with other ethnic groups. It was introduced and lobbied by the right-wing radicals in 1935. In the brochure of the national-democrats followers at the Jan Kazimierz University called *Polska Rzeczywistość*, published in 1937 in Lviv<sup>162</sup>, describe the implication of the bench ghetto policy as a fight. Again we see here the reference to the armed struggle against the enemies of the Polish nation. As an example of this „heroic fight” can serve the letter of the Jewish students to the administration of the Jan Kazimierz University. On their way home Jewish student was attacked by unrecognized persons and luckily escaped the attack. However, in a week Jewish student Zeller Mayer was killed. As a result, Jewish students stayed in their

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<sup>159</sup> Aleksion, „Jewish Students,” 328.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 334.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>162</sup> *Wszechpolak* (Lviv, 1937), 4.

homes to avoid the danger. After that, the teaching assistant of the Pharmacy Department refused to let them back to studies.

Another site of combining academic and political spheres appeared in the universities quite often – a strike. One of the all-student strikes was launched in 1939 by the students of MW. Every university organization had their own court and structure, which was solving the conflicts. Over them, was the court of the university, which also protected the rights of the educational institution. Thus, police and other administration units were not welcomed in the streets of the university. In August somebody murdered a Jewish student in the corridors of the Jan Kazimierz University and tried to enter the building. After few attempts, they did not manage to do so. Those who reacted first were students from MW.

At the same time, few students from the Veterinary academy were arrested. A 24 hour strike was launched. MW from Jan Kazimierz University joined them and called the Polytechnic students to join. They did so and also launched the occupational strike, which stopped the functioning of the universities. Nobody was let out of the buildings. Obviously, not all of the students supported this and some tried to escape the building through the windows or to fight the protesters.

After the green flag of MW was mounted on the Jan Kazimierz University building, members from the Democratic Camp (around 40-50 people, according to the police report) attacked the MW students starting fight and shooting. After all, the police decided to stop it. The reason for the strike is most probably the murder and its consequences. It is highly possible that the murderer was from MW and was simply protected in this way. The call for the defense of the academic freedom was an attempt to mobilize other students. This instrumental use of the student identity by MW demonstrates the layering of the political with the everyday life.

Apart from the physical violence a symbolic offense took place in the universities. Stanislaw Skrzypek, famous member of the National Camp and professor at the Jan Kazimierz University, was one of the main patrons of the All-Polish Youth in the academic life. He was trying to gain recognition with loud announcements and attacks against another prominent member of Polish academia and politics Kazimierz Bartel, who was a mathematics professor and a former Polish prime-minister. The conflict between them was developing through many years and had its peak by the end of the 1930s. Students under the command of Skrzypek brought a pig to the university, wrote Bartel's name on it and let it run through the corridors of the institution. After the WWII Skrzypek mentioned Bartel in his memoirs: "The fact, that he died during the Nazi occupation does not make him a martyr or a hero of the Polish people. These statements do not justify his sins and argue one's sanity"<sup>163</sup>

### **3.3. Ludwik Stöckel – from national indifference to the Zionist Jew**

In 1930s the YIVO collected memoirs from the Jewish youth, who lived in Poland. One of the published articles is the autobiography by Ludwik Stöckel, who was for some time a student of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. He was born in 1914 right before the outbreak of the WWI. Ludwik's memoir starts from the moment when the young boy faced Russians<sup>164</sup>, who took all the horses from his family and forced it to seek a new home, first at Buchach, then Debrecen. The first time Stöckel family appeared in Lviv was after the war.

Ludwik's father came into trouble right after coming back because of saying that "Ukrainian people were not yet mature enough to have their own state"<sup>165</sup>. However, he

<sup>163</sup> Stanisław Skrzypek, *Rosja, Jaka Widzialem: Wspomnienia Z Lat 1939-1949* (New Town, 1949), 29.

<sup>164</sup> It is highly doubtful that among Bolsheviks were only Russians, but the perception of the Bolsheviks during those times, as well as during the whole history of the Soviet Union was that their country was usually called Russia.

<sup>165</sup> Jeffrey Shandler, ed., *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland before the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 146.



managed to stay out of prison, not mentioning being alive as this could have been problematic for a Jew saying such phrases during the Polish-Ukrainian war. After it finished, another conflict the Polish-Bolshevik war forced the Stöckel family to move to Bolekhiv, a city next to Carpathian Mountains. In all the schools Ludwik clearly saw the line between the Jews and the others and even as the teachers were sometimes not giving this fact attention, the students were. However, no major conflicts that can be treated as ethnic or religious happened to Stöckel in his childhood.

The situation changed rapidly when the young Jewish boy had to move to Lviv to study in the university and also mentioned the will to go to Palestine.<sup>166</sup> “I felt myself a Jew more than ever before”: this is Ludwik’s reaction to the radical right Poles in academia, whom he called “green-brains”. The reason for that was the colour of the Młodzież Wszechpolska flag and signs that they were wearing together with a little badge in the form of the sword, that was symbolizing the so-called “mieczek chrobrego”. Ludwik felt both fear and disgust towards his offenders in the university corridors. He also felt superiority as in his view the hatred was definitely not a sign of wisdom.

“I was at the university on the first day of disturbances. We were not admitted into the lecture hall. It was only when the dean (Gerstmann) arrived that we were let in. In a ‘reassuring’ speech and in a private conversations he made it clear that he cared only about maintaining peace withing the universitie’s walls, while what happened in the street was of ‘no concern’ to him. Taking the hing, the Endeks started to run riot in the streets.”<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Ludwik described his choice of profession: “I wanted to study at university. I considered two disciplines: pharmacology and law. I knew that there was no need for lawyers in Palestine. Pharmacology, on the other hand, was a profession that might come in handy even there, but the fact remains that it didn’t quite appeal to me. I was drawn more to law. I liked history, which has much in common with law, after all; besides, I wanted to get better acquainted with such subjects as politics, the law of nations, the theory and philosophy of law, and so on. Therefore, despite it was an ‘unproductive’ profession, I decided to embark on the study of the law. Another factor that influenced the decision a desire to acquaint with the “student life” in a big city.”

<sup>167</sup> Shandler, *Awakening Lives*, 148.

Further scenes of people being beaten in the streets and police pelted with everything possible and present in the windows of the dormitories impressed Ludwik. Ludwik also noted that the city looked as if it was under the siege. He left the university and went to Tluste, a little town next to Lviv. The young Jewish student was influenced by the life in a big city a lot.<sup>168</sup> He became close to Gordonia, one of the Zionist Polish movements, but never officially joined it. “Since I held rather extreme views for some time, I wanted to become more familiar with the ideology and activities of the Zionist-socialist party, as well as with this movement’s work in Palestine.”<sup>169</sup> Some time later Ludwik also joined the student association of the Hitahdut Poalei Zion Party. Hard work for the good of organization resulted not only in the lack of interest in studies, but also in a conflict with his father, who said that a son of a capitalist cannot become a “garden-variety Bolshevik”.

The case of Stöckel is striking as it shows the development of the young Jewish student (he was only 20 when the memoir was written) into a political activist of Poalei Zion and the supporter of the Jewish state in Palestine. It was the university which made him feel the need for political activity. More interestingly, Ludwik never used words connected to Poland like Fatherland or any other. He even rarely mentions the country itself. Additionally, he noted the indifference of the police and the city administration in Lviv to the riots between nationalists of all kinds in the academia. Ludwik also noticed the difference between the old and the new generation: “For although the centrist Zionist parties rail about partisan fanaticism, in reality this is not the case among us. We, the young are critical in our thinking... We are strong and we possess new powerful ideas”<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> One of the ways was his sexual life: “In Lwów I allowed myself to be 'seduced' by a succession of new girlfriends and stopped thinking about Adzia completely. Because I am rather passionate, I've had a fairly intense sex life, although I don't go beyond my physiological needs. I greatly enjoy sexual intercourse; only rarely have I ever felt disgusted afterward. All that remained of what I call my 'paper' love affair with Adzia (on account of the huge amount of paper I filled with writing) was a silly memory. I considered her a friend with whom I once had a lot in common.”

<sup>169</sup> Shandler, *Awakening Lives*, 189.

<sup>170</sup> Shandler, *Awakening Lives*, 194.

This case also allows to demonstrate a number of processes. First, is the identification. His entering into the university forced him to trigger the main categories of his in and out-group feelings. This is the moment when he clearly realizes what being a Jew means. It also allows him to differentiate himself from the MW “green-brains”. Ludwik immediately understands the set of categories that differs him from them. Secondly, he also demonstrates that by his writing that the discourse of the state, nation and religion does not matter that much for him. However, it starts being more and more important when he joins Zionists.

Jewish students also went further and more to the radical left than Ludwik Stöckel. Student Zygmunt Branowitzer was expelled from the Jan Kazimierz University for helping the group of communists from the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic to smuggle propaganda materials to the territory of Poland. The materials of this case were published in *Nowiny Codziennie* in February, 1934.<sup>171</sup> In the materials over this case there are mentioned names of Mikołaj Pawlyk, Iwan Zarwa, Andrzej Stecko, Herman Krol and Roza Wajsberg.<sup>172</sup> In *Nowiny Codziennie* Branowitzer stated that he was a member of the International Organization for the Help to the Fighter of Revolution. Another fact, which made the case popular all over Poland was that his father Stanisław Lanczucki was a member of the Polish Social-Democratic Party and the Polish Communist Party while also being a delegate to the Legislative Sejm. This case is a bright example when ideological and political identities were placed over the national or ethnic belonging and led dangerous political activity. Communists were always active in the city throughout the interwar years.

### 3.4. Conclusion

Cases demonstrated in this chapter are showing ways of how various categories of identification were triggered in the everyday student life. The universities were functioning

<sup>171</sup> “Zeznania przybranego syna komunisty Lanczuckiego,” *Nowiny Codziennie*, February 4, 1934.

<sup>172</sup> Ukrainian State Archive in Lviv, foundation 10, case 10, 1.

properly throughout the interwar period and if conflict cases were happening all the time, they were not often affecting the course of studies. Obviously, the case of the “bench ghetto” did, but even here attempts to prevent it influencing the education process are witnessed. Every action in th

In the Ukrainian case, we see how the political and ideological belonging defined the positioning of the religious beliefs and dogmas. The church Russian-Ukrainian conflict demonstrates the importance of national and political for the youth. Nationalists do not become atheists, they are very religious, but the conflict of the nation and faith forces them to choose. Similarly, this conflict happened in the circles of Polish National Democrats and Jewish Zionists.

Process of identification is also well shown in Ludwik Stöckel’s memoir. During his childhood none of his national or religious categories of identification were triggered. Only when he moved to a bigger city, which also was an educational center, presence of other political powers demanded him to choose a side. We can also see how political categories replace each other during his studies. Shift from Jewish radical right more the left was triggered by the MW members and their violence on the streets around the Jan Kazimierz University.

Professional and personal preferences appear to be more important than politics for Bogdan Igor-Antonych and Tadeusz Hollender, as well as to some professors from the medical departments. Even though the former case has a sign of the leftist ideology entering the journal “Sygnały”, it is visible that the activities of the editorial board were focused on the art and literature, than ideological debates.

In relation to the second chapter, where the majority of studied materials was published and written in Warsaw, then spread to other education centres, we can see how one epistemic community can form the ontological meanings of the others. The political

discourse entered the academia with the various parties emerging in the country, then rethought by the new generation and implemented in 1930s.

## Conclusions

WWI changed the population of the Polish territories a lot. Also did so the establishment of the Second Polish Republic and other nation states around it. The changes were reflected in the political, social and cultural spheres. Students as representatives of the new generation and the new system were influenced as well. They shared the memories about the war, will for the independent state and freedom with the previous generation. However, the gap between the young and old was raising.

The rules of the political game were changed. Also changed the academia as many of the students were coming back from the war. They faced the rapid changes of discourses and ways of living. They had to establish a new system of orientation based on a newly defined and reinterpreted set of categories. Thus, their process of identification began. It included combining national, ethnic, political and social categories.

The national and ethnic parts were already present in the lives of student before the war started. Poles, Ukrainians and Jews had political parties representing the aims of their national movements. However, the desired independent state for each of them was not realised with the aftermath of the war. A number of conflicts like the Polish-Ukrainian war or the Polish-Bolshevik war crystalized the categories identifying either political or national. In addition to that, the minorities left without the state representation had to adapt to the new situation. An additional complication were the restrictions of the Polish state in the early 1920s for the veterans, artificial ethnic and political homogenization of the state apparatus. Consequently, dissatisfaction was spread over the parties and to the students, who started establishing their organizations or renewed the activities of the previously existing ones.

Radicalization was defined by the student-veterans, a number of wars and the inner political fight between the parties. Comparing to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when students were only opening the political programmes and were joining a rather undefined

national movement schemes, the interwar period had a wide variety of choices. Moreover, it was complicated by the multi-ethnic character of the state, especially dense in Galicia. These conditions were forcing students to make choices and join one or another group. We can see that both Polish socialists and Endeks were present in the universities. With time, Jewish and Ukrainian politically active students were able to establish their organizations using the political background of their older generation.

The creation of the political scheme, similar to that outside of academia did not solve the problems of students. Contrary to this, the ideas were to be adapted to the realities of the universities, where the everyday contact with the ‘other’ was demanding a reaction. Thus, the academic was entangled with political. Issues of election to *Bratniak*, functioning of corporations, and the right to access education were filtered through the previous experiences of war and the political views. Publication of journals and leaflets, when a faster reaction was needed, helped not only to mobilize students, but also to reflect on the current problems of the student society. Being perceived through a set of categories like state or a nation, political group, and, most importantly, the belonging to the new generation, students formed their own type of identity. Layering of social and political identities through the discourse of the youth, resulted into the development of more radical views.

The generation gap that appeared based on this radicalization was also a demand for action. Dissatisfaction with the current affairs in the state before the *coup d'état* were already marked in the active development and creation of new organizations. After Piłsudski's march on Warsaw, the situation changed by limiting oppositional groups' development, thus also creating a demand for the radical and fast reaction. Unsurprisingly, the Piłsudskites among students reacted with the radicalization as well. Creation and dissolution of unions, merge of corporations with the radicals, and physical attacks tend to

prove the fact of reinterpreting the realities of the national state with its pros and cons to the academic life. In addition to that, in the emergency situations, like the ban of access to the education and creation of the Ukrainian Secret University, students were ready to blur their views. Although, anyway radicalizing after 1926. However, I do not exclude the presence of students who did not react to the mobilization in this way. Scientific clubs or literary circles could have functioned differently. Case of the contact between Hollender and Igor-Antonych also shows that professional affiliation or belonging to a certain group of intelligentsia can erase the political and ethnic lines. This part of the topic has to be researched further.

Finally, the everyday life cases studied show two sides of the layering. First, supporting the hypothesis that political programs and desire to implement movement goals supported by ideology is present in the student life. It can be seen through the establishment of the Ukrainian Secret University and its functioning, also accepting Russian students. Its closure led to the rethinking of the political canvas and creation of TseSUS. At the same time, conflicts of Jewish and Polish corporations display the effect of ideological debates and radicalizing positions of nationalists from nationalist camps. The religion also plays a huge role in the life of students, although nationalists are having conflicts with church and some socialists and communists pay less attention to religion in their political and ideological framing.



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