

УДК: 94(438+477)

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.30970/fhi.2024.25.4548>

CELEBRATING STATEHOOD ANNIVERSARIES AS A PART OF POLAND'S NATIONAL POLICY IN GALICIA IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

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In the period of 1919–1939, Poland paid considerable attention to the newly annexed Western Ukrainian lands, directing its efforts to the implementation of an active national policy and the integration of these territories into the Second Polish Republic. One of the central elements of this strategy was the celebrations dedicated to the anniversaries of the restoration of Polish statehood, which for the Polish authorities performed not only an integrational function, but also became a means to enhance political influence in the Western Ukrainian lands as well as to emphasize and assert Polish sovereignty in these territories.

Celebrating the anniversaries of the restoration of statehood also played an important role in national self-awareness, as the agenda dedicated to these anniversaries contributed to the strengthening of Polish patriotism and tried to reduce the influence of local identities. The Polish authorities spent significant efforts to create a positive image of the Polish state among the local population. Through mass events, including anniversaries, propaganda campaigns, religious festivities, and educational initiatives, the Polish authorities tried to reinforce the idea of unity and common interests with the local population.

The festivities also served as an important tool for strengthening the integration of the western Ukrainian lands into the structures of the Polish state. This was aimed to create an impression of united community and general integrity of the new territory with Poland, which, in turn, facilitated the control and management of the region.

Therefore, the solemn anniversaries of the restoration of Polish statehood in the Western Ukrainian lands played a multifaceted role. They served as a means of political influence and an instrument of integration, as well as an element of national identity politics. The celebrations contributed to the creation of a positive image of the Polish state among the local population, while at the same time causing resistance and tension on the part of the Ukrainian community, which continued to fight for its national rights and identity.

While the Jewish, Armenian, German and other national minorities were ignored in the rhetoric of the organizers of the celebrations, the Ukrainian national minority was portrayed as a force that tried to oppose the construction of then new Polish state. This situation, accordingly, contributed to the formation of an antagonistic national policy of Polish governments towards a significant number of citizens of the Second Polish Republic, which, in turn, contributed to the spread of narratives that actively strengthened the struggle against the authorities.

The involvement of organizations related to the “defense of Lviv” in 1918 was particularly negatively perceived by the Ukrainian minority. Ukrainians considered these organizations as enemies of their own statehood, which greatly complicated their perception of the Second Polish Republic as their own state. The negative perception of Polish organizations involved in the celebrations by the Ukrainian

minority pointed to serious national opposition that existed in interwar Poland. This caused significant difficulties in building a unified national narrative and complicated the process of forming a common state identity. The antagonistic policy of Polish governments towards national minorities not only exacerbated inter-ethnic conflicts, but also contributed to the formation of oppositional sentiments.

Keywords: Poland, Western Ukraine, statehood, Second Polish Republic, anniversaries, national policy, political influence, sovereignty, governance, identity politics, national identity, patriotism, unity, propaganda, integration, Ukrainian inhabitants, interethnic misunderstandings, Jewish population.

The events of the First World War and the system of post-war treaties gave birth to forces in multinational states that sought to achieve economic, national and political homogeneity of society with the help of very different methods. This phenomenon inevitably caused the opposite reaction – liberation movements. Usually, this political polarization was related to the national policies. Ethnic relations in Western Ukrainian lands were no exception to this.

During the interwar period, Poland, which restored its statehood after the First World War, largely focused its attention on these provinces, trying to implement its new national policy and integrate these territories into the composition of the Second Polish Republic. The the anniversaries of the restoration of Polish statehood in the Western Ukrainian lands was the element of this approach. They were used to celebrate and affirm Polish sovereignty in Western Ukrainian territories. With the help of varied measures, the Polish authorities sought to emphasize their right to control and manage these lands.

In Galicia, alienation from the Polish authorities due to the high national consciousness of the population was very strong. The majority of the local population as well as Ukrainian political parties and organizations did not recognize Poland's right to control the Western Ukrainian lands. Therefore, the early 1920s in these territories, recently annexed by the Second Polish Republic, were marked by a plethora of political and even armed confrontations¹. As a result, Poland's authorities began to resort to various measures that emphasized the importance of its existence in the Western Ukrainian territories. However, their rhetoric was far from being the one that could contribute to international consensus here.

Celebrating the anniversaries of the restoration of statehood became also an important element of identity politics. This helped the Polish government form and affirm the Polish national identity among Polish population of the western Ukrainian lands. The authorities used these measures to strengthen Polish and try to reduce the influence of local identities.

The ideas and statements of Polish statehood exclusiveness turned out to be key in the integration of western Ukrainian lands. The Polish authorities spent considerable efforts trying to create a positive image of the Polish state in the eyes of locals. Through mass festive events, the Polish authorities sought to establish the idea of unity and shared interests with minorities. The celebrations served as a tool for deepening the integration of Western Ukrainian lands into the structures of the Polish state. This made it possible to create the impression of commonality and integrity of the new territory with Poland, which facilitated the control and management of the region.

¹ П. Мічук, *Нарис історії ОУН*, Мюнхен–Лондон–Нью-Йорк, 1968, 23.

However, Ukrainians living in the territories of the Second Polish Republic celebrated their own statehood event – the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic in November 1928, which caused clashes with the police of the Polish state in Lviv². This celebration was of great importance for Ukrainians in the context of national identity and the struggle for national rights. It is worth considering the factors that explain the importance of this celebration for Ukrainians, as well as analyzing the Polish reaction to the events of that time.

The proclamation of Western Ukrainian People's Republic in 1918 was an act of national self-determination of the Ukrainian people in the western lands earlier controlled by Austrian-Hungarian Empire. For Ukrainians, it was an attempt to ensure their national independence and recognition of their rights to have their own state. The celebration of the 10th anniversary of the declaration of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic had a symbolic meaning – it reminded of a historical developments that demonstrated the fact that Ukrainians turned to the idea of their own statehood, emphasizing their readiness to fight for their rights and identity.

For the Ukrainian people, the importance of this celebration also lay in the fact that it supported and affirmed their national liberty and contributed to the unification of the Ukrainian people both in the western lands and mainland Ukraine. Given the pressure from the Polish authorities and the policy of assimilation, the celebration of historical events that emphasized Ukrainian national self-awareness was important for the preservation and strengthening of Ukrainian identity.

The Polish authorities showed an unfavorable reaction to the celebration of the 10th anniversary of Western Ukrainian People's Republic due to the perception of this event as a threat to Polish statehood and stability in the western Ukrainian lands. Local population's support for Ukrainian national symbols and events that took place in the context of the struggle for national rights was perceived by the Polish authorities as a manifestation of enmity and an attempt to undermine the state order.

The clashes that took place during the celebration deepened the tension between Ukrainians and the Polish authorities³. The police responded to these clashes with the use of force and repressive measures, which was reflected in the arrests of Ukrainian activists and restrictions on Ukrainian cultural and political initiatives.

The celebration of the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic was important for Ukrainians, as it marked a historical event that had symbolic significance for Ukrainian national self-awareness and the struggle for national rights. The Polish authorities perceived this celebration as a threat to their state order and stability in the western Ukrainian lands, which caused a harsh reaction from their side. These events illustrate the tension between the Ukrainian and Polish national communities in the interwar period on the territory of modern Ukraine.

² В. Чоповський, *Українська інтелігенція в національно-визвольному русі на Західній Україні (1918–1939)*. Львів, 1993, 72–73.

³ Львівське повітове управління державної поліції, ДАЛО, ф. 108, оп. 1, спр. 288, арк. 9.

At the same time, the Polish authorities decided to hold a celebration of the 10th anniversary of the restoration of Polish statehood, considering this celebration as part of the ideological consolidation of its statehood, including in the western Ukrainian lands. This celebration was a strategic move by the Polish government, aimed at strengthening its statehood and ideologically asserting Polish nationalism in Western Ukrainian lands. It was considered not only an act of commemoration of a historical event, but also a tool to raise the spirit of the Polish population and support the unity of the country in the conditions of regional misunderstandings.

The rupture was also caused by the loud celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Union of Defenders of Lviv, an organization consisting of veterans of the Polish Army and rebel units that participated in the overthrow of the Ukrainian government in Lviv. Only on November 21, 1928 (the day of the retreat of Ukrainian forces from the center of Lviv in 1918), five solemn events were held in different parts of the city, including the laying of a stone for the future monument to the participants of those events on Zelena Street⁴. All this, of course, was an additional factor of irritation of the Ukrainian residents of the city and demonstrated the fact that the national policy in the Western Ukrainian lands was not formed on the basis of the principles of leveling international misunderstandings in the city.

It is clear that the Polish authorities viewed the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the restoration of statehood as an opportunity to strengthen national self-awareness and patriotism. This event served for the Polish population as a symbolic reminder of the victory in the struggle for independence and state sovereignty, as well as the importance of national unity in the face of external threats.

Also, the celebration of this anniversary was considered a means of supporting the idea of permanence of Polish statehood in the western Ukrainian lands, where there were tensions and conflicts with the local Ukrainian population. By commemorating this event, the Polish authorities tried to convince Ukrainians of the stability and necessity of Polish statehood, as well as to strengthen faith in the legitimacy of its existence on these lands.

Ukrainians did not accept this celebration for several key reasons. First, for Ukrainians, the Polish celebration of the restoration of statehood was perceived as a hint of Polish dominance and the desire to assimilate the local Ukrainian population. This caused a feeling of mistrust and alienation from the Ukrainian public.

Second, Ukrainians saw the celebration of the restoration of Polish statehood as an attempt to politically strengthen Polish power in western Ukrainian lands and support the ideology of Polish nationalism, which often conflicted with Ukrainian identity and interests.

The celebration of the fifteenth anniversary was particularly broad and included many elements of traditional Polish national politics. For example, the commemoration

⁴ Програми святкування 15-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова; списки осіб та організацій, які отримали запрошення, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 36, арк. 66.

of the “defense of Lviv” was also added to the official celebration – a term that many Ukrainians rejected, believing that it was the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic who defended itself against the invasion of Polish troops, and not the other way around. So, in 1933, the holiday was called “Commemoration of the 15th anniversary of the independence of the Polish state and the “Defense of Lviv”⁵ and additional funding was planned specifically for events related to the “defense of Lviv”. The planning of this event took place at the national level and high-ranking representatives of the government and public authorities were involved in it. The celebration itself was under the patronage of the President of Poland Ignatius Moscicki and Marshal of the Sejm Józef Piłsudski, and the organizing committee was headed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Janusz Jędrzejewicz⁶. The Lviv organizing committee also included the first persons of the voivodship, law enforcement agencies and public organizations, among whom were Vaclav Droyanovskyi, the President of the city of Lviv and Wojciech Goluchovskyi, the Chairman of the Federation of South-Eastern Voivodeships⁷.

Vaclav Droyanovsky’s speech, delivered at the Solemn Meeting on November 11, 1933, is particularly significant for understanding the ideological foundations of the national policy of the Polish state in Western Ukrainian lands. The mayor of Lviv noted the importance of celebrating the 15th anniversary of the restoration of independence and the “defense of Lviv”. He pointed out that on November 11, Poland celebrates its national holiday – Independence Day, and Lviv, in addition to the national holiday, also celebrated its local anniversary – the anniversary of the “blood and glory of the three weeks of November, 1918”⁸. Emphasizing the importance of these events, the mayor of Lviv pointed out that both holidays are closely related.

In addition, Vaclav Droyanovsky’s speech emphasized the importance of the “defense of Lviv”, which he describes as not only the triumph of Polish weapons, but also the victory of man over his own weaknesses and fears. He expressed his confidence that this event symbolizes the victory of a heroic soul over the trials and tribulations accompanying military operations. The mayor of Lviv also noted that, in his opinion, the defense of Lviv began with the spiritual forces of the people, which raised Poland to independence⁹.

Droyanovsky assured that both of these historical facts are interconnected, and noted that they, forming an inseparable whole, constituted one and the same historical process. He saw in this symbolic connection the proof that the “defense of Lviv” was

⁵ Програми святкування 15-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова; списки осіб та організацій, які отримали запрошення, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 36, арк. 66.

⁶ Списки керівного складу Комітету святкування 15-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 1.

⁷ Ibid, арк. 3.

⁸ Програми святкування 15-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова; списки осіб та організацій, які отримали запрошення, ДАЛО, ф. 266, опис 1, справа 36, арк. 82.

⁹ Ibid.

an integral part of the history of Poland and an important stage in the formation of national self-awareness¹⁰.

In his speech, the President of Lviv never once mentioned that the “defense of Lviv” was an attempt to overthrow the power of Ukrainians who were fighting for the independence of their state, he did not even mention who this “defense” was from. There are two reasons for this. The first: he wanted to avoid the possibility of causing the Lviv Ukrainians a feeling of alienation and did not want to irritate the Lviv Poles once again by mentioning the Ukrainian state. As a result, the speech turned out to be quite pathetic, but devoid of specifics.

This speech once again shows that the main narrative of the Polish government’s national policy was based on ideologues that did not promote cooperation and understanding between the peoples living in the western Ukrainian lands. And this was especially noticeable during the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the independence of the Second Polish Republic.

Another aspect that can be noted is the lack of mentioning the possibility of further cooperation between Ukrainians and Poles based on shared historical events, even such as the confrontation in Lviv. Instead, the speaker focused exclusively on national symbols and internal history of Poland.

Adding the commemoration of “defense” to the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the restoration of Polish statehood was an important step for the Polish authorities, as it allowed to strengthen national self-awareness and patriotic feelings in a political and ideological context and aimed to emphasize the historical merit of Polish troops in the battles for the city. It acted as a way of supporting the idea of national patriotism and heroizing the events related to the liberation and defense of Polish lands. Also, the inclusion of this element in the celebration aimed to raise the morale of the Polish population, celebrating the exploits of Polish soldiers and emphasizing the unity of the nation.

On the other hand, adding the commemoration of the “defense of Lviv” to the celebration could serve as an attempt to emphasize the dominance of the Polish state in the western Ukrainian lands, despite the differences in the perception of the events by the Ukrainian public. This demonstrated attempts to control the historical memory of the population in these territories.

Another landmark for the understanding of the national policy of the Second Polish Republic in Western Ukrainian lands was the celebration of the 20th anniversary of Independence, which, although it was similar to the previous anniversary, had several qualitative differences. This applies to both actions and rhetoric. If we take into account the aggravation of international relations, which was already seriously felt in the western lands of the Republic, then the need for statist propaganda and emphasizing the importance of nurturing Poland’s independence gained special importance.

¹⁰ Програми святкування 15-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова; списки осіб та організацій, які отримали запрошення, ДАЛО, ф 266, опис 1, справа 36, арк. 82.

As before, celebrations included official ceremonies, parades, public performances, and religious services. The rhetoric of the speakers also largely echoed that of previous years, emphasizing the importance of unity, national pride, and the achievements of 20 years of independence. The 1930s in general and 1938 in particular were marked by the worsening of Polish-German relations. This was reflected in the rhetoric of the anniversary events, where speakers increasingly emphasized the dominant role of Poland. Compared to previous anniversaries, where the emphasis was on democratic values and the desire for peace, the 20th anniversary emphasized military power and readiness to defend independence more.

The aggravation of international relations in the West and the growth of external threats stimulated the strengthening of statist propaganda. Jubilee events were actively used to spread pro-Polish ideas and build loyalty to the Polish state. The celebration of the 20th anniversary of Independence had a significant impact on the political life of the Second Polish Republic and it demonstrated the strengthening of Polish nationalism.

The celebration was organized three times wider than all the previous ones and not only in the western Ukrainian lands, but also in the entire state¹¹. In particular, in Lviv, it was divided into three parts, each of which had its own characteristics, and at least two had a serious potential to negatively affect the course of interethnic relations. This refers to the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Union of Defenders of Lviv and the twentieth anniversary of the “defense of Lviv” itself, which were held at the same time as the celebration of the independence of the Second Polish Republic.

As before, the composition of the honorary organizing committee emphasized the importance of the attitude of the Polish establishment to the celebrations. The chairman of the committee was the Head of the Government Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski; it also included Tadeusz Kasprzycki, Minister of Defense, Alfred Bilyk, Lviv Voivodship, Eggeniusz Kwiatkowski, Deputy Chairman of the government, Edward Sucharda, Rector of Lviv Politechnika and many other notable persons from the central government and Lviv region¹². It is interesting that representatives of other regions were also involved, for example Michał Grażyński, the governor of Śląsk and Edmund Bulanda, the rector of the Jagiellonian University¹³. In addition, many different organizations were involved in the celebration, starting from youth scout groups like Harcerzhy and ending with all political parties¹⁴. It is clear that such a representation united different layers of society around a common national idea. The participation of well-known political figures, authorities and representatives of public organizations

¹¹ Romuald, Rydz. Obchody Niepodległości w 20-lecie, *Biblioteka Narodowa*, отримано доступ 15 серпня 2024, <https://bn.org.pl/projekty/aleje-niepodleglosci/obchody-niepodleglosci-w-20-leciu>

¹² Програма відзначення 20-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова, списки членів Цивільного комітету та секцій, ДАЛЮ, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 82, арк. 6.

¹³ Ibid, арк. 6 –7.

¹⁴ Ibid, арк. 23.

showed a general interest in the perpetuation of historical events. This again contributed to strengthening the national self-awareness of Poles and maintaining the spirit of unity, despite the complete ideological exclusion of Ukrainians from this event.

In Lviv the main celebrations began on November 2, 1938, with the Divine Service at the Cemetery of Orląt as the beginning of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the “defense of Lviv”, which was attended by high-ranking representatives of the City Hall together with the President of the City of Lviv, Stanislaw Ostrowski. The celebration lasted until December 11 and ended with a solemn procession of representatives of the police, prosecutor’s office, bailiffs and lawyers¹⁵. They were also joined by teachers’ and other professional societies. The participation of primary security structures representatives indicated that the rhetoric used by local authorities was acceptable for state security systems and law enforcement systems.

As before, the celebrations included prayer services, concerts, solemn marches, meetings of labor groups, sports competitions, public recitations, rallies, unveiling of tables, monuments and even plays put on by students and teachers¹⁶. It is clear that the educational value of the entire event received maximum attention from the authorities. Despite the rhetoric, which did not contribute neither to a comprehensive and open national policy in Western Ukrainian lands, nor to inter-ethnic mutual understanding there, the attitude of the authorities of the Second Polish Republic to the aggrandizement of its statehood was as active, deep and all-encompassing as possible.

Continuing an already established tradition, the organizing committee completely ignored national minorities in its plans for the celebration. Moreover, the rhetoric of isolating Ukrainians from the celebration has acquired a somewhat antagonistic character. In particular, in speeches, invitations, articles and posters, the terms “Ukrainian state”, “Ukrainians”, “Ukraine” and “Ukrainian army” were replaced by various undefined phrases such as “forces of darkness” or “those who seized Lviv and Eastern Minor Poland under the cover of nights”¹⁷. The replacement of terms related to Ukrainians and their state with invented or negatively colored phrases indicates attempts to empty the Ukrainian national movement from the information field of the Polish state, which was characteristic of that period of history in these territories. This not only did not contribute to international understanding, but also caused Ukrainians to reject both the celebration itself and the government as a whole.

On the other hand, the solemn events were extremely actively received by the Polish community of the Second Republic. The Polish part of the province’s society

¹⁵ Програма відзначення 20-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова, списки членів Цивільного комітету та секцій, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 82, арк. 57.

¹⁶ Листування Громадянського комітету з відзначення 20-річчя оборони Львова з організаціями та особами про організацію виставок, з додатком зразків оголошень, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 77, арк. 21.

¹⁷ Плакати, оголошення про святкування 20-річчя оборони Львова у листопаді 1918 р., ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 10, арк. 5.

took a leading role in organizing and holding these holidays. The ideological narratives that were presented during the anniversary events found an active response among the broad masses of the Polish population. Various social strata participated in the preparation and celebration of the events. In addition to famous people, such as businessmen, priests, politicians and soldiers, representatives of a wide range of political, economic and social organizations joined the organization and holding of the celebrations. Both large state structures and small communities stood out among the sponsors¹⁸. For example, the committee responsible for preparing for the 20th anniversary of the independence of the Second Polish Republic included not only large state institutions, but also organizations engaged in the promotion of tourism, scientific research, and cultural events.

Among the organizations that were invited to the celebration or participated in the preparation of events, there were no representatives of minorities, that inhabited these territories including Ukrainians, Jews, Armenians and Germans. The absence of national minorities representation did not contribute to their integration into the society of the Second Polish Republic and made it difficult to perceive the Polish state as their own. This further led to the fact that the national minorities did not feel motivated to defend the state against threats from the two neighbouring empires.

While the Jewish, Armenian, German and other nations were ignored in the rhetoric of the celebration organizers, Ukrainians were portrayed as a force that had tried to hinder the construction of the Polish state. This, in turn, made the national policy of Polish governments antagonistic to a significant number of citizens of the Second Polish Republic and contributed to the spread of narratives that actively intensified the struggle against the authorities. Involvement of organizations that were associated with the “defense of Lviv” in 1918 and the Union of “Defenders of Lviv” itself¹⁹ was particularly negatively perceived by the Ukrainian minority, which considered these groups as enemies of their own statehood. Thus, the generalized perception of these organizations, particularly in the city of Lviv and in the western Ukrainian lands, caused difficulties for Ukrainians to perceive Poland as their own state, which, in turn, led to an increase in national differences.

In general, the question of financing the independence celebrations was solved through a variety of approaches. There were three main types of financing – state funds, funds of various organizations, from public organizations to large business structures, and fundraising²⁰. The widest possible circles of the public and the church were involved in the latter. The importance of each of these articles of funding can

¹⁸ Фінансові звіти Цивільного комітету зі святкування 20-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 80, арк 2.

¹⁹ Протоколи засідань продуктової секції Цивільного комітету зі святкування 20-річчя Союзу оборонців Львова в листопаді 1918 р.; списки запрошених на засідання, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 73, арк 7.

²⁰ Фінансові звіти Цивільного комітету зі святкування 20-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова, ДАЛО, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 80, арк 2–10.

be justified both from the point of view of ensuring the celebration itself, and from the point of view of the impact on Polish society as a whole.

State funds played a key role in ensuring stable financing of festive events. This allowed the organizers to plan and carry out large-scale events aimed at commemorating historical events and national identity. Thanks to the state funding, the government was able to control the use of funds and ensure their efficient distribution, which ensured that the celebrations were held at a high level.

Funding from various organizations, including public associations and business structures, was important not only from a financial point of view, but also in terms of social integration and support for the ideas of independence among different sections of the population. Contributions from businesses and community organizations showed broad support for the national celebrations and helped build a sense of unity and common purpose among citizens.

Fundraising, which involved wide circles of the public and the church, played a special role in creating civic activity and responsibility. This approach allowed every citizen to feel his involvement in national celebrations, strengthening patriotic feelings and social cohesion. The participation of the church in these processes was particularly significant, as it was an important social institution with a great influence on the formation of political, moral and ethical values.

Regarding the limitation of access to funding for organizations and churches of other national groups, this approach was explained by the desire of the organizers to adhere to the focus of resources on supporting events that reflect Polish culture and history. The participation of other national groups could disperse efforts and financial resources, as well as cause a clash of interests and interpretations of the meaning of independence. Therefore, it was decided to focus on organizations that directly represented the interests of Polish society and its national and cultural heritage.

The artistic circles that participated in the celebrations deserve special attention, as they followed the same rhetoric that was presented by the organizations and bodies that created the national policy. The Lviv theaters, which staged plays on the theme of various events related to the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918–1919, worked very actively. For example, on November 19, 1938, the Great City Theater showed the play “Rosemary Branch” dedicated to the mentioned events²¹. Among those present were not only representatives of organizational committees of various levels, but also scout youth and military personnel. The last two categories participated in all the events of the festive months, including artistic, political and religious ones²². For the Polish authorities, the involvement of artistic circles in the celebration of the anniversaries of independence was extremely important for several reasons. Firstly, art served as an effective means of spreading ideological guidelines and strengthening

²¹ Програма відзначення 20-річчя незалежності Польщі та оборони Львова; списки членів Цивільного комітету та секцій, ДАЛЮ, ф. 266, оп. 1, спр. 82, арк. 42.

²² Ibid, арк. 23.

national identity. Theatrical performances, art exhibitions and musical concerts could convey patriotic messages and form a sense of national unity among citizens. Secondly, the participation of artists in the celebrations emphasized the cultural identity of the nation, demonstrating the richness and diversity of Polish culture.

Representatives of all walks of life were present at the artistic events, which gave special importance and value to the inclusive nature of the national celebrations. This contributed to the creation of a sense of community and unity among various social groups, from elites to ordinary citizens. An important component of this approach was the involvement of youth and veterans, as these groups played a key role in strengthening national security and shaping the country's future.

At the same time, artistic circles of national minorities were not involved in these celebrations. This can be explained by the desire of the Polish state to create a monolithic national narrative that excluded any alternative cultural identities. The participation of national minorities was seen as the means to cause controversy and undermine the dominant Polish national discourse, which was undesirable for a government that sought to consolidate the nation around a single national idea.

Historical events, such as the struggle for Lviv in 1918, had different perceptions among different national groups. Ukrainians still see these events as part of their national liberation struggle, while Polish authorities and historians may see them as an important part of Poland's history. However, even in such a situation, this event can become the basis for active cooperation between modern Ukraine and Poland, which has been repeatedly proven by numerous scientific conferences and large-scale projects such as the Cemetery of Polish Soldiers in Lviv.

The celebration of the Polish statehood restoration anniversaries in Western Ukrainian lands was an act aimed at consolidating statehood and increasing patriotic sentiment in Polish society. However, this initiative was not accepted by the Ukrainian population due to its perception as a tool of political pressure and support of Polish dominance in the western Ukrainian lands. Thus, these events reflected deep national and political differences in the region and the difficult nature of relations between the Polish and Ukrainian populations.

Adding the commemoration of the "defense of Lviv" to the celebrations was an important step for the Polish authorities aimed at supporting national self-awareness and patriotic feelings among the political population. It also served as an attempt to emphasize the dominance of the Polish state and to control the historical identity in the western Ukrainian lands.

In general, the celebration of the Polish statehood restoration anniversaries in the western Ukrainian lands played an important role in the national politics of Poland in the interwar period. These measures were not only a symbolic act, but also a strategic tool for asserting Polish sovereignty, forming an identity and integrating the Western Ukrainian territories into the newly created Polish state.

ВІДЗНАЧЕННЯ РІЧНИЦЬ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ ЯК ЧАСТИНА НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ ПОЛЬЩІ В ГАЛИЧИНІ У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД

Іван ФЕДИК

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У період між 1919 та 1939 роками Польща, відновивши свою державність після Першої світової війни, приділяла значну увагу західноукраїнським землям, спрямовуючи чималі зусилля на інтеграцію цих територій до складу Другої Польської Республіки. Одним з ключових елементів цієї стратегії були урочистості, присвячені річницям відновлення польської державності. Для польських владних структур ці святкування не лише символізували важливість боротьби за свободу, але й ставали інструментом політичного впливу. Історичні річниці використовувалися, щоб підкреслити та підтвердити польський суверенітет на західноукраїнських територіях. Через низку святкових заходів польська влада прагнула акцентувати своє право на контроль та управління цими землями.

Святкування відновлення державності також відіграло важливу роль у політиці ідентичності. Це дозволяло польській владі формувати та закріплювати польську національну самоідентифікацію серед місцевого населення західноукраїнських земель. Заходи, присвячені цим річницям, використовувалися, щоб зміцнити патріотизм серед населення та спробувати зменшити вплив місцевих ідентичностей.

Пропаганда польської державності виявилася ключовим елементом у процесі інтеграції західноукраїнських земель. Влада витрачала значні зусилля, щоб створити позитивне уявлення про державу серед місцевого населення. Через масові заходи, які включали святкування воєнних перемог, пропагандистські кампанії та освітні ініціативи, уряд намагався закріпити ідею єдності та спільності інтересів з місцевим населенням.

Урочисті святкування річниць відновлення польської державності на західноукраїнських землях відігравали багатогранну роль. Вони слугували засобом політичного впливу, елементом політики національної ідентичності і важливим інструментом для подальшої інтеграції західноукраїнських земель у структури польської держави, водночас створюючи враження політичної єдності, що полегшувало контроль та управління регіоном. Святкування також сприяли створенню позитивного іміджу польської держави серед місцевого населення, водночас викликаючи опір та напруженість з боку української громади, яка продовжувала боротися за свої національні права та ідентичність.

У той час як єврейська, вірменська, німецька та інші національні меншини були проігноровані в риториці організаторів святкувань, українська національна меншина була зображена як сила, що намагалася перешкодити будівництву тогочасної польської держави. Така ситуація, відповідно, сприяла формуванню антагоністичної національної політики урядів щодо значної кількості громадян Другої Речі Посполитої, що, у свою чергу, сприяло поширенню наративів, які активно підсилювали боротьбу проти влади.

Особливо негативно українська меншина сприймала залучення до святкувань організацій, пов'язаних з "обороною Львова" 1918 року та самого Союзу "Оборонців Львова". Українці вважали ці організації ворогами власної державності, що значно ускладнювало їхнє сприйняття Другої Речі Посполитої як своєї країни. Відповідно, загальне уявлення про ці організації в місті Львові та на західноукраїнських землях поглиблювало труднощі в інтеграції українців до польської спільноти. Це спричиняло значні проблеми у поширенні єдиного національного наративу та ускладнювало процес формування спільної національної ідентичності.

Антагоністична політика та риторика організаторів святкувань не лише загострювала міжнаціональні непорозуміння, але й посилювала протестні настрої серед української меншини. Ці настрої були підкріплені сприйняттям польських святкувань як таких, що дискримінували та маргіналізували українців. Той факт, що організації, асоційовані з польською військовою перемогою над українцями були залучені до урочистостей, ще більше погіршував відносини між національними групами.

Ключові слова: Польща, Західна Україна, державність, ювілеї, національна політика, інтеграція, політичний вплив, суверенітет, національна ідентичність, патріотизм, єдність, пропаганда, українське населення, міжетнічні непорозуміння.

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