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EDUCATION IN EASTERN GALICIA AND NATION STATES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. SELECTED PROBLEMS

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The article reviews peculiar features of educational language policy towards Ukrainians in the first half of the twentieth century. The research has been based on methodology of cultural anthropology and intercultural communication. The author describes the problem as exemplified by two ethnic groups, Ukrainian and Polish, which allows for revealing the content of the category «state assimilative strategy». One of the approaches to analysis is textual characteristics of school textbooks with the aim of elucidating local/national identity. The processes of polonization, depolonization and sovietization have been discussed.

Key words: language policy, identity, assimilation, national language, national values.

The objective of the current research constitutes a part of the author's monographic project¹, which examines Polish-Ukrainian relations in light of the Polish language policies towards the Ukrainian minority in Poland after the country gained its independence in 1918 and until its fall in 1939. In this article, we will introduce the results of research on education in Eastern Galicia in the first half of the twentieth century and its connection to the phenomenon of the birth and growth of nation states in this part of Europe. The major subject of research are schoolbooks for primary education, which were published by the states as consecutive political powers in the region. There are only several publications focusing on schoolbooks, primarily in the context of the history of education or the education of the ethnic groups, including the syllabi of instruction. Among the newest publications which examine this set of problems in context of the Ukrainian language in Eastern Galicia, we can mention several monographs and articles by M. Moser, as well as publications about Polish schoolbooks by J. Ronikier and A. Landau-Czaja. Just a few authors examine the intercultural aspect of the comparison of the Ukrainian and Polish schoolbooks, a relatively new discipline. Among these are the publications of A. Stepiak, who analyzed Polish schoolbooks and described the «image of a stranger». The Ukrainian publications on that issue were written by Z. Baran and O. Hawryljuk [1].

This paper is intended as a contribution to the comparative discussion of contents of Ukrainian and Polish schoolbooks in relation to the process of the development of nation states, which was occurring at this time. The schoolbooks promoted state loyalty and played a decisive role in the creation of a certain image of the world. The analysis is based on the methodology of cultural anthropology and cross-cultural studies.

¹ The monograph is being incorporated into the project of Prof. M. Moser, «Thousand Years of Ukrainian Language in Eastern Galicia» (University of Vienna, FWF).

The area of Eastern Galicia (a commonly used term in the subject literature with awareness of its non-historical nature) became at the time of the Habsburg Empire not only the national «Piedmont» for Ukrainians and Poles, but certainly also, from the beginning of the twentieth century, an important element of increasingly postulated autonomy based on the ethnic criteria. This tendency grew even stronger during the World War I as the two nations were striving for more political independence. The modern Ukrainian and Polish nations came into existence in late 19th – early 20th century, in the epoch of «modernity» – the culmination of that process occurred in the early 1920's. In that period, we observe the transition from the concept of a nation in its political sense to a nation in its ethnic sense, transformation of traditional regional ethnic groups into ideological communities based on national categories, hence «imagined communities», as B. Anderson refers to this process. That «ethnification» (the absolute status of a nation, a typical attribute of the «natiocracy») became at the beginning of the 20th century a pan-European political trend which involved both Western and Eastern Europe [2–4].

Eastern Galicia was before 1939 a multiethnic territory, and at the same time, a transitional border region (the Eastern European phenomenon of an area where diverse civilizational- cultural, linguistic-dialectal, religious-denominational, socio-economic and politico-ideological factors intertwine with each other based on the principle of «higher attractiveness»). In Eastern Galicia, as a transitional border region, there were two ethnic groups, Ukrainians and Poles, who were dominating on different levels: quantitative on the one hand, and cultural and political on the other. In the 20th century, the region became a site of «clashes», not only the clashes of two state projects, but also of two concurrent culture systems based on the national language and the system of values. These values were associated with a given language and constructed a national identity (a national identity is understood here as a collective structure, generated by a higher-level community as a result of interaction of specific vs. general components and influence of cultural and political aspects of the groups' identity). In this context, this paper focuses on intercultural aspects of this conflict which can be best observed in the field of elementary education [5: 30; 6: 21–22; 7: 75–77].

The situation of the transitional border area with its historical roots led to confrontation of both cultures (their «incompability» or «clash»), and conversely to their «mutual penetration» in the spirit of «neighborhood» and, that is, to watering down of clear differences between them. In the case of Eastern Galicia, the basis of «culture clash» started in the end of the 16th century with the issue of religious denomination, i.e. coexistence of Catholicism and Russian Orthodox Church. As a result of their interference and acculturation of the Orthodox Church to Catholicism in this region, the Greek Orthodox Church evolved out as the main factor of ethnic identity of local population and its dissimilation from the Polish and Russian cultures. The centuries-old interethnic confrontation in the Galician conditions «went through conflict based on the principle of «superior-subordinate», where national identity is transformed through the form and range of enforced experiences and enforce stereotypes, aggressive under conditions of superiority and defensive under conditions of subordination» [8: 103]. The «clash of national identities» in Eastern Galicia resulted in social conflicts, in Weber's meaning of this term. The social relations of two ethnic groups were both complementary and exclusive at the same time, due to the fact that in the 19th century social advancement was mostly dependent on the access to the

Polish culture. Therefore, the social conflict was influenced by the culture and language as well [9; 10].

The development of modern Ukrainian and Polish nations and the strong national identity, which included all social layers was accompanied by a tendency to political domination in multiethnic territories and a tendency to change the immanent multicultural and multilingual system within the area of domination by a mono-cultural and monolingual authority, also referred as «state-culture», and «state-language». These tendencies were followed by attempts to enforce the loyalty of ethnic minorities towards the state, which was generated by a politically superior nation («state-nation», according to M. Hroch, which is characterized by cultural tradition, intellectuals and political elites, and most importantly, by political independence). The Second Polish Republic, the West Ukrainian People's Republic, and its legal heir, the Ukrainian People's Republic, and afterwards Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which claimed its status as an international entity that covers Ukrainian ethnic territory, failed to follow their commitments and to the rights of the minorities, despite their declarations and international obligations. Already after 1918, the rights of minorities were during the following twenty years a hostage to the international and regional politics and a key part of the Polish-Soviet «secret war» for Ukraine [5: 30; 11: 12; 7: 75–77; 12: 9; 13; 14: 257–258].

The two state-projects, Polish and Ukrainian, were vying for control of Eastern Galicia as a border territory – and this resulted in 1918 in a long-lasting «hot war» – «cold war» conflict² that continued for twenty years. International mediation efforts to resolve the Galicia conflict had failed, the fair division of the territory was at that time impossible because Eastern Galicia was for both nations an indispensable part of their postulated state continuum, in some measure, a symbol of «Polishness» and «Ukrainianess» at the same time. These structures we understand as «clusters of ideas» whose main point is defined by «values, myths and stereotypes, which are inherent in human consciousness and consolidated and objectified by literature, arts, ideologies, legends, history in scientific form» [15: 5].

By 1923, the disputed territory of Eastern Galicia was assigned to Poland (initially as a twenty- five year mandate of the League of Nations). The condition, however, was the wide autonomy of the region. Both Ukrainian states had already lost all their territories as a consequence of the Treaty of Riga (1921), which is called in the Ukrainian historiography a «partition» or a «military occupation»³ of the ethnic Ukrainian areas. The whole state territory of the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the western part of the Ukrainian

² One of the most characteristic phenomena of the «birth of the nations» at the beginning of the 20th century was the development of a category of the center (symbolic or real one), reconstruction of collective identity combined with the project of «great tradition» («great cultural model») and reinterpretation of the relation of the centre with the outlying areas and with their local («small cultural model») traditions. Furthermore, there existed a tendency to subordinate all of them to the center and its cultural model. The process of confrontation of the center and the outlying area was one of the aspects of building national identity in both parts of the nation state. In the case of Eastern Galicia following 1918, we are concerned with the outlying areas, which aspired to merge with their respective state-national centers (Polish or Ukrainian) [6: 21, 31–32].

³ The terms related to a concrete cultural- historical-national axiological system, such as «partition», «occupation», «unification with the motherland» are used in context as evaluative terms in double quotation marks.

People's Republic were officially assigned to Poland, whereas the main part of the Ukrainian ethnic area was included in the Ukrainian SSR. The West Ukrainian state-project failed, when the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic ceased to exist as a subject of international law and politics, their governments and civil institutions went into exile and lost the international support.

As a result, over 4 million ethnic Ukrainians, mostly in Galicia, became Polish citizens. The Ukrainian inhabitants of Eastern Galicia represented at that time a strongly consolidated civil society with its own state traditions. The existence of this ethnic group within the Polish territory is characterized by a spectrum of different attitudes toward the Polish administration, ranging from armed resistance, rejection of the Polish state and participation in civil disobedience campaigns, to «organic» work towards the development of the Ukrainian society, and last but not least, participation in the Polish civil administration. For that reason, the historic events of the early 1920s were a subject of different perception and interpretation in both national groups. What for the Poles, mostly for the local population, was the «final union» of south eastern borderlands (in Polish «Kresy») «with the fatherland», was for the Galician Ukrainians the «occupation» of Ukrainian ethnic areas. Those were two diverging ethnic-national perspectives based on historical and political foundations, which could not reconcile either at that time or afterwards. This deep axiological and multidimensional difference between the Polish and the Ukrainian view on Eastern Galicia represents a scientific barrier, which is often difficult to overcome. As we can observe in both Ukrainian and Polish historiography, the barrier persists to this day and appears to be a very interesting perspective for research on this issue. Every party to the conflict tends to write its own version of history as well. That historical and national perspective is regarded by each nation as the «the only truth», and has become in the universal perspective an element of polyphonic discourse, where every national version of history becomes a part of multidimensional truth. The polyphony, multiplicity of options, tends to be the nature of the borderland, which we perceive here as a cultural category based on «constant relating to each other of different points of view» and multiplicity of memory [16: 17; 17: 15].

Assimilation through education

«Kto ty jesteś? Polak mały. Jaki znak twój? Orzeł Biały» [18] [1901]⁴

«Naród polski, który pragnie utrzymania swej niepodległości i siły państwowej, musi dbać o to, by szkoła publiczna zawsze i wszędzie służyła przede wszystkim wychowaniu obywateli dla Państwa Polskiego» [19: 31] [1929]

«[...] ustawa [szkolna] tak jest napisana, jak gdyby w Polsce żyli sami Polacy [...] Chodzi o to, aby zniszczyć wszelką mniejszościową szkołę niezależną, także prywatną, aby przepędzić z ukraińskiej szkoły [...] ukraińskiego ducha narodowego, wytepić [...] wszelki kult odrębności narodowej» [20] [1932]

One of the elements of the «state assimilation strategy» (voluntary or involuntary)⁵ towards a multiethnic population through education, and the preferred method of all the successive states that Eastern Galicia was part of, were schoolbooks for elementary schools. The analysis of Galician Polish and Ukrainian schoolbooks from the interwar period,

⁴ All quotations from primary sources are stated in the original language version.

⁵ Under «strategy of state assimilation», we understand state-enforced and promoted mechanisms whose purposes is to generate and enforce loyalty towards a state and towards and through its institutions (schools, military and administration) and support participation in the dominating language-cultural model (in extreme cases based on principle of exclusivity).

published by Polish state publishing companies and by different Ukrainian cultural and social organizations that worked mainly in the private sector, and their comparison with the schoolbooks published before 1918 by the monarchies, and after 1939 by the totalitarian states, creates an interesting cognitive perspective. It prompts us to draw conclusions about generating, maintaining or enforcing of the assimilation of national minorities («generating state- patriotic attitudes», «nation-state-socialization» and «nationalization»), i. e. in the educational sector, where we can observe the «Ukrainization» of 1918–1919 and the following «Polonization») [21: 3862].

The schoolbooks for basic education constitute a valuable resource for research on minority issues for two reasons. First, modern state instrumentalized the educational system to fit its particular goals; namely, it worded a message which legitimized the inclusion of a given territory to a given state. Second, it intensified a language-cultural and politico-territorial consolidation of a multiethnic state. The strategy of «state assimilation» and generating loyal attitudes towards the state through education were applied by all empires in this part of Europe in the 19th century, mostly followed by oppression of any attempts at regaining independent ethnic communities. The only exception was the Habsburg Empire after 1860. These approved strategies were assumed by the territorial successors, the nation states of the 20th century. In the case of the Second Polish Republic, a compulsory education included the first contact between the students and the state administration, and after 1918 for the non-Polish children, there was the first contact with the Polish language and culture as well. An examination of the schoolbook contents exposed specific «archetypes conveyed to children» in a given historical moment, by the given state. And on the other hand, the «principles of social existence and coexistence» were also considered under these conditions [22: 36–53; 23: 184–187; 24: 364–365; 7: 153–154].

Galician schoolbooks in the late 19th – early 20th century

The Galician educational system at the time of the Habsburg Empire was based on two ideological pillars: upbringing and education in religious and loyal spirit. The state patriotism and loyalty attitude of the younger generation were an essential part of all Galician schoolbooks of the 19th and 20th century. The strategy was always the same, only the system of symbols, national colors, heroes or (state) centers as a reference point proportionally to the other topics (such as family, school, environment, morality, traditions, holidays, and others) was different. The Galician schoolbooks for elementary education in Ruthenian/Ukrainian language featured from the second half of the 19th century and into the 1940's a relatively predicable content and form. With the changing state affiliation of Easter Galicia, the contents of the schoolbooks were in each case replaced by different ones to conform with the new state identity and patriotism, or at least the state loyalty: namely, Austrian, West Ukrainian, Polish, Soviet Ukrainian, Nazi German, and after 1944, Soviet [24: 365].

The Galician schoolbooks for elementary education (in Ukrainian *bukvars*) for the Ruthenian/Ukrainian language from 1837 to 1943, contained short texts with educational values (moral, religious, patriotic), and elements of encyclopedic knowledge (natural sciences, geography, history), dominated by secular materials. The target of the primers here was a «peasant-child», who, according to former pedagogical principles, possessed a minimal knowledge («knowledge of matters») and was subject to appropriate upbringing (moral knowledge, illustrated by examples taken from the everyday life).

However, the primers in the minority (non-state) language took on an additional dimension – they imparted not only knowledge of the child's immediate vicinity (natural,

language-cultural, state-institutional) but also demonstrated the role of the given ethnic group, which the child belonged to, in the dominating society and state, as well as emphasized the inclusion of that ethnic group into the state (e. g. by the way of territorial and symbolic meaning). The culture of dominating state-nation was delivered through education based on cultural layers of symbols, heroes and rituals, and culturally integrated set of practices that reflected its values [25: 24–27; 24: 8, 16–19; 26: 283–284; 27: 20].

The peasant motives that dominated in all primers published in Eastern Galicia after 1918/1919 by the Polish state publishers could already be found in Polish books for elementary («peasant») schools since the beginning of the century. Therefore, there appeared a set of state- dynasty loyalty (Austrian Habsburgs) in multiplied dimensions⁶: the heroes (Rudolf of Habsburg, ancestor of the dynasty, who represented religious and chevalier values, and Franz Josef, the Emperor), in the symbolism (heraldic devises e.g. black two-headed eagle on a gold field), state territory, its centers (Vienna, Budapest) and the «great tradition»⁷ that connected the Polish history with the Habsburg dynasty (Elisabeth of Habsburg, the Queen of Poland). Polish kings and history were exclusively related to the Habsburgs (dynastic relations with the Jagiellons dynasty). The local Polish/Galician level was centered in Cracow, «the capital of Polish nation for the longest time» (religious centre with the Wawel Cathedral). The heroes aspect included such legendary personalities as Krakus or Wanda, and historical characters, such as Saint Stanislaus («The Patron of Poland»), Queen Jadwiga of Poland, Jan III Sobieski, Tadeusz Kościuszko, Józef Poniatowski or Adam Mickiewicz. In the symbolic layer, there were graves of heroes and ancestors, the Sigismund Bell or the battle flags of the Teutonic Knights won in The Battle of Grunwald 28: 5–62].

Shortly after Poland became a sovereign state (in 1918–1919) Galician school programs and books were amended, but only to a small degree compared with the existing ones. The Council of Education of the times of the Austrian autonomy was abolished in 1921 and replaced by the Polish one. In the 1920–1930, the Galician schoolbooks in the Polish and Ukrainian languages were published under the supervision of the Lemberg school district curator by Polish state publishing houses (the Ossolineum's educational publishing house, the State Educational Publishing House, among others) and a few private institutions (such as «Książnica Polska», later known as «Książnica-Atlas»). The schoolbooks in the Ukrainian language, published by the established Ukrainian scientific and educational institutions (the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ridna Shkola), as well as by the private ones (foundations and small publishers), were used in the Ukrainian schools. Therefore, the Polish school administration attempted to ban them from the schools, and in extreme cases the schools that had been using the books not approved by the appropriate state institution were closed. The goal of education for non-Polish children in the «spirit of the state» (*demos*) was to ensure state patriotism and loyalty towards its institutions. The state used of the methods of modern «social engineering» aimed at total territorial and cultural homogenization of the modern state through establishment of the priority of central (national) identity over regional ethnic and local identity [3].

⁶ «Panujący dziś w monarchii austriacko-węgierskiej, do której i kraj nasz należy, cesarz Franciszek Józef I, pochodzi z rodu Habsburskiego» [28].

⁷ The historical reality, true or perceived to be true and «our own», that become an inseparable part of the new or renewed cultural canon of a given nation [29: 393–426; 30: 144–145; 31].

The ways the Polish state used to acculturate its minorities, mostly the Slavic ones, through education can be best exemplified based on the primers for Ukrainian children in Eastern Galicia. After 1918, we can observe the transition from Austrian dynasty state patriotism with the Emperor as the main figure and strong local identity factors (sub-centre «Галиція»⁸/«Галичина») to the Polish state patriotism as the new authority. The new model abandoned federalism in favor of centralism and unification («до той державы и ми належыме») and further neutralized to some extent the elements of local patriotism of outlying areas in support of the old/new state centre («Варшава»)⁹. For instance, in the primers published prior to 1918 there was a persistent image of the Sovereign («най-яснійший пан»). After 1918, in the subsequent editions, the Sovereign was replaced by Polish statesmen, J. Piłsudski («Пан Маршалок причынился до того, же Польша стала независимом державом») and I. Mościcki («Пан Президент ест головою державы Польщы»).

Furthermore, in the editions after 1918 the concept of local identity «Галичина [...] наш край» was abandoned. Instead of the text about a trip to the nearest city («до поблизького міста»), to Lviv, there appeared the texts about a new state centre, Warsaw. The concluding text of the pre-1918 editions, the national anthem of the Habsburg's Empire («Боже, буди покровитель Цісарю») was replaced by the song, that played in the 19th century the role of an unofficial anthem of Polish people, «Boże coś Polskę» («Боже! Ти Польщу [...]»). The primers of the 1930's, particularly the 1938 edition (here also on the illustrative layer), featured a set of new national and state-building factors: the name of the state in the Polish language (Poland – «наш край»), the state's centre (Warsaw – «найбільше місто в Польщі»), Lviv (as the center of the outlying area), state territory («unassailable» state frontiers guarded by the military)¹⁰, the heroes (Polish statesmen and soldiers as personal examples)¹¹, symbols (the state emblem with the White Eagle («знак нашої державы»)¹², portraits of Polish statesmen, inscriptions in the Polish language in the public sphere), national holidays, both official and semi-official (Independence Day or «The Saint's day of the Marshall»), and collective rituals associated with these holidays. At the same time, the native culture of the pupils was reduced to local patriotism (regionalism) and «folklore» (numerous rustic requisites and scenes from the peasants' life) as the culture that could only exist in the state community, «lover-level» local identity. In contrast to the texts of primers of the 19th century, there are no universal Ukrainian national attributes (e. g. explicit theme of the national language), but only the religious ones («наша церква»). In addition, local, regional and ethnographic factors based on attributes of manners and customs («наше рідне село», «О Лемковино, Ты краю святий [...] Ти доме наш») were also

⁸ The name, which resulted from the reception of German choronym «Galizien» and Polish «Galicja» in the Ruthenian/Ukrainian language.

⁹ A strategy of «evaluation» of cities in the poetics of «center» and «outlying area», «civilization» and «backwardness» is here highly visible. The given cities were characterized in geographical-historical and political and propaganda related terms and featured by attributes of «culture» and «civilization», as railway or industry, and symbolic attributes of the state, as a capital city [26: 288].

¹⁰ «Далеко от нас кончатся поля Польщы. Там ест также така меджа, або границя. Границ Польщы стережут воякы» [34: 107].

¹¹ «Veneration» of leaders and heroes in the spirit of pedagogic concepts of «Sanation» were transmitted in the 1930's through the school system and youth organizations [25: 294–295].

¹² «Увиділ он также в школі знак нашої державы. Тым знаком ест Білий Орел. В часі торжеств и парад діти несут коругов з Білым Орлом, стают смирно и співають народну пісню» [34: 99].

to be found. The symbolic figures of the Ukrainian national movement (the cultural layer of heroes), such as M. Shashkevych («уродився недалеко Золочева») or Taras Shevchenko («був сином селянина»), appeared here only within the framework of the state ideology as role models, but not as founders of modern Ukrainian language. No Ruthenian or Ukrainian ethonyms were to be found in the public sphere, even in the names on the school buildings («Публична Школа Народна»). Place of education («дім для науки») became a highly visible sign of Polish domination in the public and cultural spheres and the sign of increasing state propaganda [32; 33; 34; 35; 5: 96–98, 162–164; 3: 37–40; 24: 361–417; 36: 9–15; 27: 20–21; 37: 76, 140, 145–146, 167–169, 177].

Galician schoolbooks in the Second World War

Meanwhile in Eastern Poland, which after the Soviet invasion in September 1939 was «united» with the Soviet Ukraine, the new state authority brought about «Sovietization» of all sectors of the social life. This process was fully applicable to the educational sector as well, where under the supervision of «Народний Комісаріат Освіти», the Communist «workers and peasants» ideology, characterized first and foremost by its anti-Polish propaganda, was conveyed to the students. In the transition period until the end of 1939, the old Polish schoolbooks and programs were still applied, although they were partially modified. Some school subjects (History and Geography of Poland) were removed from the curriculum. Instead of the old «state» school subjects new disciplines were introduced. They included the Ukrainian and Russian languages and the subjects about the Soviet Union (History, Geography) as mandatory disciplines. Already from the beginning of 1940, the Soviet authorities embarked on the policy of systematic «Depolonization» of the region, which was conducted under the pretext of «Ukrainization» (of education and administration) but was in fact directed at the total unification of that area with the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities forced the local population to accept the Soviet citizenship and arrested, expelled and deported «politically unreliable persons» or the so-called «enemies of the people» of Polish, Ukrainian or Jewish nationality [38: 35–41; 39: 179–187; 40: 69–68].

As a result of Sovietization, the Ukrainian schoolbooks and handbooks for teachers were replaced by publications of «Радянська школа» (the publishing house operated under «Народний Комісаріат Освіти»), while the Polish schoolbooks were published by the branch of Kiev State Publishing House for National Minorities of the USSR [41: 133; 38: 43, 105–107; 40: 169–191].

The school programs were supplemented at the time by new cultural contents associated with the new political reality. The new cultural model included «shining examples» of heroes (Lenin, Stalin), new moral patterns (peasants and worker) and ideological anti-patterns («Polish landlords», «capitalists» and «enemies of the people»), new symbols (the Soviet «yellow star on a red field», «hammer and sickle»), a new system of values (the Constitution of the Soviet Union), rituals (marches, demonstrations, people's assemblies and meetings), new state holidays (anniversaries of the October Revolution, birthdays of the Soviet statesmen, Day of the Youth, or anniversaries of the «liberation» of West Ukraine). The new state centre relocated to Moscow, and Kiev became the new sub-centre. Lviv, on the other hand, was entirely provincialized and lost its importance as the regional cultural center. The Soviet authority created, or actually recreated, a «great tradition» of 1919 and 1920 when it mentioned «liberation» of West Ukraine and referred to the annexation of this area in 1939 as «unification» with other ethnic Ukrainian areas under the unified Ukrainian SSR [42; 38: 35–36; 43: 39–58].

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Eastern Galicia, now affiliated to the General Government as its part called «Distrikt Galizien», fell under the legislation of the new occupying power, which applied repressive measures against all ethnic groups, thereby flaring up decades-long ethnic conflicts, and simultaneously carrying out the genocide against the Jews. Concurrently the Nazi invaders had liquidated the Soviet institutions and re-established in part the previous, pre-Soviet *status quo*, including the old models of education and administration. Publications in the Polish and Ukrainian languages (i. e. schoolbooks) were again permitted, and certain prewar books were reprinted, but only those written for state elementary and vocational schools, which were only educational institutions for future «cheap labor» in the Nazi substate project. The German – approved school programs reduced the subjects taught to a minimum: only «reading and writing» were preserved as obligatory school disciplines [38: 326–333; 345–349].

Between 1942 and 1943, as the military situation on the eastern front was changing, the Nazi occupation power modified and slightly liberalized its cultural and ethnic policy towards the Ukrainians. The repressive measures had partially subsided and were replaced by the new official ethnic policy that no longer concentrated on suppression of the Galician population, but promoted loyalty among Ukrainians towards the occupiers, including a few cultural and educational concessions as well. This change can be observed in the Ukrainian primers of the early 1940's. In the first reprinting of the traditional pre-war *bukvar* that took place in Krakow in 1941 (Lviv was still under the Soviet rule) and was published by «Українське Видавництво», all Polish state- patriotic elements (in the texts and illustrations) were canceled without any replacement. With some editorial tricks the previous content was covered by other contents, e. g. some illustrations got smaller and some of their elements disappeared. In one instance, an illustration from the 1939 edition, featuring a conversation between a teacher and a pupil's father at school with a map of Poland in the background, was replaced in the 1941 edition by the background of a black board in place of the map of Poland. Warsaw as a state centre until 1939 was replaced by Chełm («це старе наше місто») as a new cultural and ethnic centre and concurrent as an element of the «great tradition». The Polish schoolbooks published between 1939 and 1944 in the General Government were similarly amended, which meant that all state patriotic contents vanished from the texts and illustrations (including not only symbolic elements, but onomastic ones as well – e. g. there were no Polish city names). In the republication of the Ukrainian *bukvar* in 1943 (by «У. В.») the places of publishing were both Krakow and Lviv territorially «united» under the General Government, the first one being the capital of the quasi-state and the second one the a provincial capital of the district. In contrast to the 1941 edition, which reduced the «national identity» to «folklore», disregarded historical contents and was restricted to the everyday life peasants' reality, the 1943 edition reconstructed the Ukrainian «great tradition», this time affiliated with the German tradition and the German state as well. In the 1943 primer, instead of the previous texts about the villagers' life, we find some references to the Ukrainian literature (I. Kotlyarevsky, T. Shevchenko, I. Franko and e others), the Ukrainian «great tradition», myths, legends about creation of Kiev and Chełm, the tradition of The Kievan Rus, and more importantly, a more recent Cossacks' tradition. For the first time such terms as «fatherland» («батьківщина», «наша земля», «наша рідна Україна») became highly visible. Additionally, there were appeared nation-building elements and the national identity elements including Kievan centre (Chełm was again reduced to sub- centre), as well as national symbols on the

historical level («Золоті Ворота в Києві»), heroes (hetmans, knyazs Jaroslav, Vladimir, Sviatoslav, historic characters on whom the ethnonym «Ukrainian» was projected in the 19th and 20th century), the national emblem («жовто-блакитний прапор»), and the «image of enemy», both historic (Turks and Tatars), and current one, the Bolshevik («червоноармієць»), as well as and the image of the ally, Germany, as an alternative centre (immigration). The *bukvars* again promoted the image of the «familiar» space and people («рідне сіло», «своїм»), the image of the «other» and «foreign» was substantially reduced («циган») – e. g. there was no explicit or implicit mention of the Polish «neighbor»¹³, the last «alien», who lived in Eastern Galicia after the extermination of the Jews [35; 44: 74, 79; 45: 97–112, 177–179, 197; 46].

The question of Galician education, i.e. of schoolbooks in the minority languages, was not only continuation of the situation of the 19th century, but got a totally new dimension in the interwar period. The minority problem became kind of a «hostage» of Polish minority policy, as well as an object of «secret war» for Ukraine between Poland and the Soviets. The solution of minority educational matters was dominated at that time by the supreme «welfare of the states», which were anchored in a given historical situation. In the name of the state's «welfare», the democratic states such as Poland was, promoted a total subordination of the educational sector. The Education became one of the most important factors (apart from compulsory military service) of building a consolidated state and society, as well as a major factor of citizens' loyalty, and most important, a way to fight against the centrifugal tendencies attributable to the ethnic minorities in the south-eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic.

The modern nation states in the first half of the 20th century, in the period often referred to as «natiocracy», based their minority policies, predominantly in the educational sector, on the methods they had borrowed from the great multinational empires. They instrumentalized school as a means of state propaganda and used it to enforce partial or total assimilation of ethnically «foreign» population. These old «proven» methods had been brought to their extreme forms by the totalitarian states (the Soviet Union and the Nazi Germany) which applied them as a «soft» version of the ethnic policy, in addition to the «hard» methods of terror and extermination.

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**ОСВІТА У СХІДНІЙ ГАЛИЧИНІ ТА НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ ДЕРЖАВАХ
У ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ДВАДЦЯТОГО СТОЛІТТЯ.
ВИБРАНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ**

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Розкрито особливості реалізації освітньої мовної політики щодо українців в першій половині ХХ ст. Дослідження ґрунтується на методології культурної антропології і міжкультурної взаємодії. Автор описує питання на основі матеріалу про дві етнічні групи, українців та поляків, який дозволяє розкрити зміст категорії «державна асимілятивна стратегія». Один із прийомів аналізу – текстологічна характеристика шкільних підручників з метою висвітлення місцевої/національної ідентичності. Розкрито процеси колонізації, деполонізації, радянзації.

Ключові слова: мовна політика, ідентичність, асиміляція, національна мова, національні цінності.

**ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ В ВОСТОЧНОЙ ГАЛИЧИНЕ
И НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ ГОСУДАРСТВАХ
В ПЕРВОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ ДВАДЦАТОГО ВЕКА.
ИЗБРАННЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ**

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Раскрыты особенности реализации образовательной языковой политики по отношению к украинцам в первой половине ХХ в. Исследование базируется на методологии культурной антропологии и межкультурного взаимодействия. Вопрос раскрыт на основе материала о двух этнических группах, украинцах и поляках, позволяющего наполнить содержание категории «государственная асимилиативная стратегия». Один из приемов анализа – текстологическая характеристика школьных учебников с целью освещения местной/национальной идентичности. Раскрыты процессы колонизации, деполонизации, советизации.

Ключевые слова: языковая политика, идентичность, ассимиляция, национальный язык, национальные ценности.

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