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11. THE DEAD AND THE LIVING: WAR VETERANS AND MEMORIAL CULTURE IN INTERWAR POLISH GALICIA

Christoph Mick

On 4 April 1925, a strange ceremony took place in the Great Hall of the Polish War Council in Warsaw. The eyes of generals, ministers and bishops rested on a corporal, the youngest bearer of the *Virtuti Militari*, the highest military order of the Second Polish Republic. The young corporal was standing beside an urn containing 15 folded paper slips. The corporal removed one slip and passed it on to Prime Minister Władysław Sikorski. He unfolded the paper and read aloud: *Bojowisko Lwowskie* – The Battle of Lwów. Abruptly the suspense dissolved into loud applause. The decision had been made: the Polish Unknown Soldier had died in the Polish-Ukrainian War 1918 – 1919. His remains would be transferred from Lwów (today Lviv) to the empty tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the arcades of the Saxon Palace, the seat of the War Ministry in Warsaw, only a few metres away from the place where the ceremony was being held.¹

Poland was emulating a European trend, which had started in 1920. Following the French and British examples, many countries built a central tomb in which to bury the remains of an unidentified soldier. These tombs became national shrines, with the Unknown Soldier standing at the heart of a political cult of the dead, representing all those who had died for the nation not merely in this war but also the dead of previous and future wars. The Unknown Soldier was a powerful symbol, which in Britain or France appeared to unite the majority of the nation behind it.²

In Poland, as in most other Eastern European countries, things were different. More than three million Polish soldiers had fought in the Great War – but only a few of

them in national Polish units; the overwhelming majority had been soldiers fighting in one of the three imperial armies. About 800,000 Poles had fallen in Habsburg, Russian or German uniforms. Could one of those soldiers become the Polish Unknown Soldier? The answer was clearly no. Only the names of battles or uprisings occurring after November 1918 were written on the slips of paper. The authorities wanted to ensure that their Unknown Soldier had fought and died for Poland and no unidentified soldier of the Great War could guarantee this. More importantly, was it possible to give death in the First World War a national meaning? Could it be excluded that the Unknown Soldier had been killed by a bullet from another Polish soldier wearing the uniform of another nation or empire? Such considerations were much too complex and potentially divisive for a symbol intended to unite the post-war nation.

What does this story tell us? First, it is an example of the marginalisation of the Great War in inter-war Poland. The focus of official remembrance was on the subsequent state-building wars, uprisings, and the war against Soviet Russia. The Polish national meaning of these events was undisputed. It was much easier to accept the “highest sacrifice” that had been demanded of soldiers and their families if the soldier had clearly died wearing a Polish uniform.

Secondly, it indicates that in inter-war Poland there were different types of war veterans. Their “symbolic capital”, based on their military record, could have a widely different value, depending on the units they had belonged to, on which side, and in which war they had fought, and – additionally – on the specific national context in which that “symbolic capital” had been invested. Soldiers who had fought for the Habsburg monarchy had lost their “investment.” The only way of saving their “symbolic capital” from complete devaluation was to give their war experience a national meaning. Veterans unable to do so, either because they still had residual

Habsburg loyalties or because they were unable to reinterpret their participation in the war, were ignored or fell silent. This question was especially important for the war invalids who depended on the recognition of and material compensation for their suffering. The state on the other hand had to decide whether it would care for all those whose health had suffered in the six years of hostilities. Was the new Polish state also responsible for those who had died or were injured fighting for the imperial causes?

Thirdly, any analysis of how the Great War and subsequent wars were dealt with offers insights into the social, ethnic, and political conflicts of the Second Polish Republic. In Galicia after 1918, the Polish-Ukrainian war and anti-Semitic pogroms and violence had poisoned ethnic relations. The new Polish state inherited these conflicts, which permeated the veterans' organisations and were reflected in memorial culture.

This chapter will determine the place of dead and living soldiers in inter-war Poland. A considerable part addresses questions which were relevant for the Second Polish Republic in general, but a special focus is on the former Austrian crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria, where the Polish state faced the difficult task of integrating more than three million Ukrainians and 800,000 Jews. To understand the challenges facing the Polish government in 1918, we need to take a closer look at this former Austrian crownland and how it was affected by the Great War and the subsequent state-building wars.

Galicia during the war

The Habsburg crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria was an artificial creation, uniting two heterogeneous provinces of the old Kingdom of Poland: Red Ruthenia with its urban centre Lemberg (Lwów/Lviv), and Little Poland with the old Polish capital Cracow. Overall, those identifying as Poles were slightly in the majority (about 46

percent according to the 1910 census); but in Eastern Galicia they were in a minority, about 25 percent as opposed to 62 percent who were Ruthenian (as the Ukrainian-speaking population were usually termed) and 12 percent who were Jewish.³ Most Poles could not imagine the crownland or a future Polish state without Eastern Galicia, while for the Ukrainians the region was ancient Ukrainian territory; their immediate aim was its partition into Ukrainian and Polish sectors. In turn most Jews were neutral and clung to the continued existence of the Habsburg monarchy.

This was the ethno-political situation when the Great War began and Galicia became one of the major battlefields of the Eastern front. It was also one of the very few regions where the population of the Central Powers was given first hand experience of foreign occupation, for the Austro-Russian front swept across the eastern part of Galicia several times, devastating the landscape. Writing in August 1917, the German general consul in Lviv could not imagine how Austria would be able to fund the reconstruction in the wake of the Russian occupation.⁴ Yet the initial suffering in the crownland had been at Austrian hands. After their defeat in the first battles of 1914, the Austrian military authorities had looked for scapegoats among the Ruthenian peasantry and Russophile priests who were accused of supporting the Russian troops. The military authorities executed an unknown number of people and arrested more than 20,000 Ruthenians, interning them in camps in Austria. In November 1917, 5700 Ruthenians were imprisoned in appalling living conditions in the Thalerhof camp near Linz alone; many perished or became invalids.⁵ Ukrainian sources have estimated that some 25,000 Ukrainian civilians were executed or died in Austrian camps, although this may be an exaggeration.⁶ While traditional Ruthenian ~~traditional~~ loyalty to the Habsburgs was thus severely tested, Galicia's Jewish population had the Russian troops to fear. As Russian occupation became imminent, more than 100,000 Galician Jews fled west to the

Austrian heartlands. The Russian military authorities discriminated against those left behind, deporting thousands and generally failing to stop anti-Semitic violence.

Innumerable reports of atrocities, often committed by Cossack troops, demonstrate the suffering of Galician Jewry.⁷

Like the Jewish population, the Ukrainophile part of the Ruthenian population still had good reasons to support Austria. The Russian government flatly denied the existence of a separate Ukrainian nation, the military governor closing all national Ukrainian institutions or handing them over to local Russophile Ruthenians. For the Russian authorities and Russian nationalists alike, Ruthenians/Ukrainians were nothing more than a branch of the Russian nation, and it was expected that with time they would return to the faith of their ancestors, and embrace the Russian-Orthodox church.⁸ In turn, the Russian occupiers told Poles that Eastern Galicia would not form part of a reconstituted Kingdom of Poland but become an ordinary province of the Russian empire. Thus, not surprisingly, most of the Galician population was overjoyed when the Habsburg army returned in mid-1915. Vienna appointed a German-Austrian general to the position of *Statthalter* (governor) and placed Galicia under military rule.⁹ However, this was followed by a wave of prosecutions aimed at collaborators. Relationships between Jews, Ukrainians and Poles deteriorated as they denounced each other, each accusing the other of collaboration or of profiting from the war.¹⁰

In the months after the return of Austrian rule a wave of trials against collaborators and plunderers swept through the countryside. The German consul reported that by the end of 1915 32,498 people had been investigated.¹¹ This weakened Polish and Ukrainian loyalty to the Habsburgs, deepening anti-Semitism as food and material supplies worsened. Indeed, after the Russian February Revolution loyalty to Austria weakened further, partly because of the deteriorating material conditions, partly

because of the new political options open to Poles and Ukrainians alike.¹² The Austrian government made a series of errors of judgment: alienating Poles by (secretly) promising Ukrainians to divide Galicia into Ukrainian and Polish sections and to give the Cholm region to a new Ukrainian People's Republic, but then alienating the Ukrainian elites by revoking those promises. By the summer of 1918 even Polish civil servants had stopped being loyal to Austria. While Polish politicians now tried to create an independent state, the majority of Ukrainian politicians still entertained hopes of an Austro-Ukrainian solution. In October 1918 only the loyalty of the Jewish population was unquestionable.

Finally Austria-Hungary imploded. While a few key nationalities such as the Poles and Czechs moved to create their own states, the western Allies were not interested in keeping the empire alive. It was clear that Western Galicia would become part of a new Polish state, but Eastern Galicia remained contested. The Ukrainian National Council in Lviv proclaimed a Western Ukrainian state without formally severing the connection to the Habsburg monarchy, and on 1 November 1918 Ukrainian troops (recruited from former Habsburg Ukrainian soldiers) took control of Lviv and Eastern Galicia. Secret Polish military organisations there resisted and were supported by the Polish population of Lviv. The Jewish *kehilla* (community) however declared its neutrality and a quickly assembled Jewish militia defended the Jewish sector against plunderers. This fighting in Lviv between Ukrainians and Poles lasted for three weeks whereupon, after fresh Polish troops arrived, the Ukrainian army withdrew. On the same day, some Polish soldiers, accompanied by local civilians, started a pogrom against the Jewish population: they accused the Jewish militia of having sided with the Ukrainians, but for the marauders it was merely a pretext for murder, blackmail and robbery.¹³ It took the Polish military authorities three days to re-establish order. Seventy-three Jews

were killed and hundreds of shops and houses were plundered. Dozens of houses were burnt down as Jews were forced to surrender their valuables.¹⁴

After the Polish victory, Lviv was besieged by Ukrainian troops who controlled most of Eastern Galicia. What began as a civil war between former subjects of the Habsburg monarchy evolved into a war between the newly proclaimed Second Polish Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. The fighting ended in the summer of 1919 with a Polish victory, but it was not the last war in the region. In spring 1920 Eastern Galicia became a battlefield of the Polish-Soviet war, a conflict which only ended on 18 March 1921 with the peace treaty of Riga.¹⁵

After the collapse of all three partitioning powers it was Poland which finally filled the power vacuum. The strength of the quickly improvised Polish army, the support of the Western Allies, and the fear of Bolshevik Russia allowed the new state to incorporate territory with a minority Polish population. This Second Polish Republic was predominantly Polish-speaking (69 percent in 1931), but in the eastern borderlands the majority was Belorussian or Ukrainian. The latter was the most numerous minority (14-16 percent of the population), followed by the Jews (9-10 percent), Belorussians (3-6 percent) and Germans (2-4 percent).¹⁶ There was broad consensus across Polish society that Ruthenians were too "immature" to have their own nation state and would be better off under Polish tutelage. After the fall of the independent Ukrainian People's Republic in Eastern Ukraine, so the argument ran, any independent Ukrainian state in Western Ukraine would inevitably be swallowed up by Bolshevik Russia. Thus according to the Polish *raison d'état*, these lands had to be protected – if necessary against the will of the population.¹⁷

Nor did Ukrainian suffering stop with the end of hostilities. In the early 1920s discrimination against the Ukrainian population was widespread. In 1920 several

thousand still languished in Polish prisons and thousands of soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army were held in internment camps. The tactics of Ukrainian politicians and of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile in Vienna made it easy to justify such discrimination as they refused to accept Polish rule in Eastern Galicia (which still had to be confirmed by the Allies), referring to it as a Polish occupation of Ukrainian lands. While most Ukrainian state employees from the Habsburg era refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the Polish state and were dismissed, Ukrainian politicians called for a boycott of the 1921 census and the 1922 parliamentary elections. Veterans of the Ukrainian Galician Army played a prominent role in terrorist attacks carried out by the Ukrainian Military Organisation (*Ukrains'ka Vijs'kova Orhanizatsiia*, UVO), and after 1929 many junior officers of this army went on to join the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Orhanizatsiia Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv*, OUN), conducting a merciless campaign against the Polish presence in the region.¹⁸

Yet already in 1923 it was clear that all Ukrainian attempts to weaken the Polish grip on Eastern Galicia had failed. Since the Allies needed Poland as a bulwark against German revisionism and revolutionary Russia, the Council of Ambassadors in Paris confirmed that Eastern Galicia was indeed part of the Polish state, which in turn had to promise to give the province autonomy and minority rights. These promises were never kept. The crownland was divided into four voivodeships, with Eastern Galicia officially becoming Małopolska Wschodnia (Eastern Little Poland).

Dead soldiers: war cemeteries and the political cult of the dead

Apart from the ethnic conflicts confronting the new Polish state, the mass deaths created logistical, material and ideological problems. The state was forced to deal with the physical remains of the dead soldiers, exhuming bodies from provisional graves,

collecting body parts from the battlefields, identifying them where possible and building war cemeteries to rebury them. But the state also had to explain to the returning soldiers and the bereaved why their comrades, husbands, fathers or sons had died. Failure to give a deeper meaning to the suffering and mass death in the wars threatened the legitimacy and stability of the political order.¹⁹

Amidst the practical problems connected to the war was the fact that Galicia had been a major battlefield. Many towns and villages had been destroyed, the landscape was scarred and full of war debris. The subsequent wars of the Polish Republic produced more battlefields to be cleared and more casualties to be buried. The Polish authorities not only had to manage the remains of Polish soldiers but, according to international agreements laid down in the peace treaties, provide burial grounds for hundreds of thousands of fallen soldiers of the imperial armies, the Red Army, and the armies of the two Ukrainian states. In Galicia ~~however~~ the Polish state could build on work started by the wartime Austrian authorities. After the Central Powers had reconquered Galicia in 1915 they had tried to clear the battlefields as quickly as possible to prepare them for spring sowing. During the battles the soldiers of both sides had often been provisionally buried where they fell. In November 1915 the Austro-Hungarian War Ministry set up a Department for War Graves (*Kriegsgräberabteilung*), responsible for battlefields behind the front lines. This decision was not made merely for pragmatic reasons but was guided by a “natural feeling of reverence” and the wish to build “graves of honour” (*Ehrengräber*) for the heroes who had fallen “for the glory and honour” of Austria-Hungary.²⁰

In West Galicia in spring 1915 the k. u. k. *Militärkommando* Cracow had duly established its own War Graves Department under Major Rudolf Broch and started to clear the 10,000 sq km where a vast number of widely dispersed graves were left

behind. The exhumation teams in ten “cemetery regions” faced many obstacles. Graves were not registered or contained more corpses than expected. The teams also found Russian mass graves which had not been marked at all. Initially, the commission planned to concentrate the fallen soldiers in 150 grave sites, but they soon found that even 350 sites would not suffice.²¹ About 3000 people, including Italian and Russian prisoners of war, worked for the Department and finally more than 400 cemeteries and grave sites were planned. Most of them (95 per cent) could be completed before the end of the war. Some 60,829 dead soldiers (42,749 of them previously exhumed from existing burial sites) of the three imperial armies were buried in 378 military cemeteries, as well as civilians killed during battle. Fifteen burial sites were located at Jewish cemeteries.²² One of the reasons the Austrian military authorities published a book on these military cemeteries was to comfort the bereaved. They should see “with proud satisfaction” the efforts that had been made to preserve “the memory of the dead on the West Galician battlefields for all time to come.” This was additionally intended to help reconcile families to the fact that they could not recover the bodies of their loved ones for their local cemetery where, the authors argued, after a few decades the graves would be neglected or even removed.²³

The cemeteries were meant to express the gratitude of the fatherland for the “sacrificial death” (*Opfertod*) of its soldiers. The cemeteries should clearly demonstrate to the whole world that all nations within the Habsburg monarchy lamented the “many thousands of warriors” as “beloved and revered brothers”:

These cemeteries will also be sites of purification and elevation for us and our descendants for a long time to come. They will emanate a force that will give heart to those who are wavering, guide back those who have erred, and in the hour

of new trials reignite the holy flame of love for our fatherland and of enthusiasm for our superb cultural treasures, fanning it into a burning flame.

To achieve such aims, gravesites had to be given an appropriate form. It was decided to keep most cemeteries simple, to present an image of “severe, simple, und calmly massive monumentality.” The location of existing sites and agricultural demands also had to be considered. The gravesites had to “fit organically into the respective landscape”, expressing “the deepest connection to nature.” The architects therefore often designed the cemeteries as forest cemeteries (*Waldfriedhöfe*), with plain crosses and simple walls or fences; their integration into nature helped save money but was also meant to impress visitors.²⁴

The work of the Austrian War Graves Department in Cracow, however, was not universally praised. Polish artists and architects criticised the design of the cemeteries and the lack of consultation. The design, they argued, was not compatible with Polish cultural traditions and on Polish soil it was Poles who should be responsible. The design was also considered too monumental, too “teutonic.” The organisation of Polish architects duly held their own design competition but the Austrian military authorities chose to ignore the results. If the Polish criticism was based on aesthetic and nationalistic arguments, it should not be forgotten that involvement in building these cemeteries also offered material advantages. Polish architects participating in the work of the Department were later often accused of having worked for an “alien” project.²⁵

After the Great War the Austrian authorities were no longer responsible for dealing with Galician cemeteries. The task was first taken on by the Polish army command, particularly by the Department for Military Building (*Zarząd Budownictwa Wojskowego*) in Cracow while the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Ministerstwo Spraw Wojskowych*) was responsible for the military cemeteries. Other organisations dealing

with military cemeteries were the Society for the Protection of the Graves of the Heroes (*Towarzystwo Opieki nad Grobami Bohaterów*) and the Polish Society of the Mourning Cross (*Towarzystwo Polski Żalobny Krzyż*). Poland formally complied with its obligations to preserve the Great War cemeteries, but many were soon neglected and fell into disrepair. This applied especially to imperial Russian military cemeteries in Galicia, in which neither Poland nor the Soviet Union were interested. In 1937 the Lviv local authority decided to consolidate the military cemeteries on its territory, exhume the remains of Russian soldiers from the Hill of Glory (*Kholm Slavy*) and transfer them to the eastern part of the Austrian military cemetery. As in most Galician cemeteries, more than 10,000 soldiers of the imperial armies were now buried in close proximity.²⁶

Yet if preserving imperial military cemeteries was seen as an inconvenient obligation, the gravesites of Polish soldiers, particularly those who had fallen fighting in the legions or the Polish army, had a deeper emotional significance. Already in July 1919 a Society for the Protection of the Graves of Polish Heroes (*Straż Mogił Polskich Bohaterów*) was established in Lviv. One of its first projects was to build a cemetery for Poles who had fallen defending the city against Ukrainian troops in November 1918. A field of graves near the Lyczaków (Lychakiv) Cemetery came to be known as the “Cemetery for the Defenders of Lwów”. In the subsequent months and years, the remains of Polish fighters killed in battle were transferred to this final resting place. Indeed, the Cemetery of the Defenders was such a popular burial place that by February 1922 the municipal council had to refuse any further requests for burials.²⁷ Thereafter, only commanders or highly decorated soldiers were permitted burial there, making it an extremely prestigious site. In Polish memoirs of the period, much is made of pilgrimages undertaken there on All Souls and All Saints Day.²⁸

For Polish Lwów, the cemetery of their dead comrades became a key symbol: Polish sacrifice, so the argument went, had made this soil eternally Polish.²⁹ Cemeteries for fallen soldiers of the Polish legions had already been built during the war in Łowczówek, Cracow, Jastków, Nowy Sącz and other places, but monuments and chapels were only added after the war, making them real national sites of memory. This was not the case with the other Great War cemeteries. Although more Polish soldiers were buried in such cemeteries and they were places where the bereaved could mourn, they did not become national sites of memory. As large numbers of Galician soldiers had fought on the Russian front, most cemeteries for the dead of the Great War were in Galicia or in the Lublin region and could easily be visited by the bereaved. It was different with cemeteries located on the former Italian front or in central Ukraine. The remains of Ukrainian, Jewish and Polish soldiers from Galicia could be found in German and Austrian war cemeteries all over Europe, but we do not know how far families travelled outside Poland to visit these graves.

Polish memorial culture culminated in the cult of the Unknown Soldier where religious metaphors were very prominent, the Unknown Soldier implicitly compared to Christ. In giving his life the Unknown Soldier had redeemed the nation and his sacrifice was celebrated as “life-giving.” One author had the Unknown Soldier saying: “My silent death was the birth of a new life for my nation.”³⁰ Another newspaper perceived in the cult of the Unknown Soldier an expression of gratitude for his sacrifice but also proof of the “spiritual rebirth” of the nation.³¹ Yet some critical voices were also raised after the war against a continued focus on the dead and a cult of the past. The National Democratic daily *Słowo Polskie* criticised the Polish “cult of mourning” in the last pre-war decades: “Our poetry gave us tears for breakfast, desperation and revenge for lunch,

and grey ghosts for dinner.” The article, however, celebrated the rejuvenating power of the war and the new freedom.³²

Motives of Christian sacrifice and rebirth also permeated Ukrainian commemorations. The Ukrainian elites emulated the Polish cult of martyrs, offering a powerful example of how to strengthen a nation through commemoration. The intention was to plant the national idea in people’s hearts but, according to the Ukrainian newspaper *Dilo*, freely honoring those who had fallen for the national cause was impossible until Ukrainians had their own state. Nor could soldiers who had fallen in Habsburg uniform be honoured, except for the *Sich* riflemen who were seen as the nucleus of the Ukrainian Galician Army, the army of the short-lived Western Ukrainian People’s Republic.³³

In 1921, having founded a Regional Commission for the Preservation of War Graves in Lviv, some Ukrainian intellectuals published a booklet with writings by the poet Vasyl’ Shchurat about the “fallen heroes.” Ukrainians, it suggested, had died in their thousands in places which had through this sacrifice become “the eternal property [of Ukraine] for which they paid with their heart’s blood:”

We will create thousands of legends of heroism, we will create thousands of miraculous places of heroism, to which people will flock every year in their thousands ... for the purification of their soul, for the reinvigoration of their hearts ... We will bring the children to them – for prayer. We will develop a cult of the fallen for those who have remained!

No stranger would be in any doubt as to whom the land belonged. Educating the young Ukrainian generation, mobilizing them for future battles, and showing the outside world that this was genuine Ukrainian territory – all were essential elements of the campaign to construct military cemeteries and monuments.³⁴

Six years later, a Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of War Graves was officially registered. At the founding meeting, the chairman Ivan Nimchuk again emphasized the need to cover the country with Ukrainian emblems of remembrance. The Ukrainians' claim to the land was supported by their military sacrifice. The existence of Ukrainian graves in Eastern Galicia had therefore more national meaning than Ukrainian graves in Western Galicia or Italy.³⁵ The Ukrainian military cemeteries were part of the nation-building efforts and presented the Ukrainians as a cultured nation.³⁶ Nimchuk complained that in recent years thousands of Ukrainian graves, "our most precious treasure, our biggest moral capital" from the wars of liberation, were threatened with annihilation. He recommended emulating the Polish example and intensifying the "cult of our tradition" through honoring of fallen soldiers as a "cult of meritorious ancestors, a cult of heroes." Plaques in "honour of the fighters for Ukrainian freedom" should be mounted everywhere and crosses erected.³⁷ The Ukrainian War Graves Society followed this program. Burial sites of *Sich* riflemen and soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician army were transformed into sites of memory. These were more modest than their Polish counterparts, not least because the Polish authorities imposed restrictive conditions on the erection of monuments in Ukrainian cemeteries.³⁸

Polish observers in turn were concerned that in areas with a strong Ukrainian majority, military cemeteries of the Great War were being neglected or even profaned. The Polish historian Józef Białynia-Chołoddecki complained that tombstones were used as building material, wooden tablets as fuel; cattle grazed in the cemeteries and boys played football there. Białynia-Chołoddecki did not believe that a low level of Ukrainian culture was responsible for this sacrilege but assumed that this behaviour was aimed against the Polish state. Such a neglect of military cemeteries would give the German government the opportunity to accuse Poland of not complying with its international

obligations. And while the Great War cemeteries were falling into disrepair, Ukrainians were honouring their own graves from the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918-19. Such national military cemeteries were staking a claim on Eastern Galicia. Białynia-Chołodecki therefore believed it essential to preserve the cemeteries of Polish soldiers and heroes in the eastern borderlands.³⁹

The early Polish governments, which included National Democrats, not only tried to de-Ukrainise the public space but to de-nationalise the Ukrainian population. Here they continued to differentiate between Ruthenians and Ukrainians. Ukrainians – as these Polish nationalists saw it – lived in Little Russia (Russian Ukraine) and differed from the East Galician Ruthenians. According to this interpretation, a handful of Ukrainian agitators – supported by the Austrian and German governments – had talked the Ruthenians into perceiving themselves as Ukrainians and were ultimately responsible for the trouble. *The Invalid (Inwalid)*, the journal published by the Union of War Invalids of the Polish Republic (*Związek Inwalidów Wojennych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*), noted in 1919, full of condescending good will towards the Ruthenian “brother nation”:

It is not right to apply the name “Ukrainians” to all Red Ruthenians who, while under the thumb of the hajdamak [Ukrainian-speaking insurgents who opposed their Polish overlords in the 18th century], fought against the Poles. We know that the hajdamaks even forced Poles to join their troops. We know that the majority of Red Ruthenians opposed being called “Ukrainians”. Poland therefore should regard as a Ukrainian only someone who refers to himself as such; all others should be treated like the Poles who were forced into the service of the hajdamak gangs. If we treat Red Ruthenians equal to Poles, then we will bind them even more strongly to Poland.⁴⁰

In Eastern Galicia however such a position was not compatible with reality and underestimated the strength of the Ukrainian idea among the Greek-Catholic peasantry. The Polish government needed other measures to fight the Ukrainian idea and strengthen the “Polish element” in the region.

As a result of educational reforms passed in 1924, many monolingual Ukrainian schools in towns became bilingual (Polish/Ukrainian) and the government actively supported Polish settlement in the Eastern voivodeships. The Polish parliament (*Sejm*) passed a law creating a credit facility amounting to 50 billion zloty to support the settlement of veterans of the Polish Army. Until 1938 between 100,000 (Polish computations) and 200,000 (Ukrainian calculations) settlers arrived in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia. These new settlers profited from the land reform and preference was given to them when positions in the local administration became available. They were intended as a bulwark against the Ukrainians to ensure that the region would stay Polish and were naturally viewed with derision by the local Ukrainian inhabitants.⁴¹

While the Polish authorities prohibited public demonstrations by Ukrainian organisations, particularly if such demonstrations commemorated the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic and the Polish-Ukrainian War, they did not dare forbid church services or religious processions. The founding of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic was therefore commemorated in special Greek-Catholic services. There veterans of the Ukrainian Galician army were given places of honour and fallen Ukrainians were remembered. A procession was regularly held after divine service on All Souls’ Day, with participants solemnly marching to the cemeteries where the fallen had been buried. These celebrations sometimes ended in violent clashes. Thus in autumn 1928 in Lviv, Ukrainian nationalists attacked symbols of the Polish victory, damaging one monument and defacing another while placing the Ukrainian flag at

strategic vantage points across the city. The police intervened and dispersed the Ukrainian demonstration held that evening, while Polish nationalist students attacked various Ukrainian official buildings in an attempted re-enactment of November 1918.⁴² On 29 May 1939, 3000 Ukrainians marched from eight Uniate (Greek-Catholic) churches in Lviv to the graves of Ukrainian riflemen in Lychakiv Cemetery. A commemorative service was celebrated by a Uniate prelate and 20 priests, one of whom declared: “The graves of the fallen Ukrainian heroes are proof of the continued fight of Ukrainians for their independence.”⁴³

As for the third major ethnic and religious group in Galicia, the Jews, there was no positive meaning they could draw from their wartime suffering. There was no political cult of fallen Galician Jewish soldiers comparable to the Polish and Ukrainian acts of remembrance. During the war this had been different. The Austrian authorities had attempted to honour fallen Jewish soldiers and glorify their sacrifice for the Habsburg fatherland. In November 1916 the Jewish cemetery in Lviv had been given a new area in which fallen Jewish soldiers were buried. An obelisk was erected and on the opening day representatives of the Habsburg, the city council, the German consulate and the Jewish community honoured the “heroic fallen soldiers.”⁴⁴

Yet after November 1918, only a connection to the Polish nation could give meaning to the Jewish war dead. This was attempted by some members of the Jewish progressive community, some Jewish Poles and organisations such as the Union of Jewish Participants in the Fight for Polish Independence (*Związek Żydów-Uczestników Walk o Niepodległości Polski*). The *Związek* was formed in 1929 in order to unite all Jews who had participated in the struggle for Polish independence, and in 1932 it founded a branch for the three south-eastern voivodeships in Lviv. Yet the marginalisation of Great War veterans was also visible here: there was no Jewish

organisation which represented soldiers of the Habsburg or other imperial armies. The *Związek*'s main aims were to instil a sense of civic responsibility in the Jewish population, to look after the graves of Jewish fighters, to help Jewish-Polish rapprochement, and to propagate the Jewish contribution to Polish independence.⁴⁵ In 1937 the *Związek* had more than 2,500 members in the four Galician voivodeships,⁴⁶ but it was caught up in the increasing anti-Semitism of inter-war Poland when some Polish veteran organisations wanted to exclude it from the umbrella organisation of Polish veteran associations.⁴⁷

In Lviv, Jewish public mourning for pogrom victims was marginalised anyway by the dominant Polish cult of the dead. It remained confined to synagogues and the Jewish cemetery where the pogrom victims could be commemorated. In December 1919 and 1920 thousands of representatives from almost all Jewish organisations participated in commemorative events there. Whether this tradition continued thereafter is not clear, but Polish celebrations and Polish newspapers generally ignored the pogrom.⁴⁸

In the end Poles, Ukrainians and most Jews formed separate, vertically integrated communities, with their own forms of remembrance and commemoration. The dead of the First World War were marginalised and did not play any role in public remembrance. They had died for the wrong cause and their deaths could not be integrated into the two main national narratives. The war experiences of the Galician population had therefore not united but further divided Poles, Ukrainians and Jews. In the next section we will see what consequences the division in Galician society had for ethnic relations and how veterans of the imperial armies reacted to the marginalisation of their war experience.

The living: war veterans and war invalids

After the Great War the new political leaders struggled to find words exalted enough to express their nation's gratitude for the "ultimate sacrifice." Yet many veterans were unable to cope and found it very difficult to re-integrate into society. While they based their claims for more influence and privileges on the contribution they had made on behalf of the nation, the new regime's cult of the "glorious dead" produced ed a ing a growing sense of entitlement. For war invalids this "symbolic capital" was even more important; the loss of their health or even of body parts was presented as a sacrifice for the nation. For Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish soldiers from the former imperial armies there was to be inevitable disappointment. What they had fought for had completely disappeared, the empires no longer existed, and the new nation states or national movements were not interested in their sacrifice.

Indeed, satisfying veterans was easier if the nation had won the war, more difficult if the war had been lost, and very complicated if the veterans had fought on both sides, in imperial armies, in state-building or revolutionary wars. The Polish war veterans were also deeply disunited. Too bitter were the animosities between political and former military leaders of the different camps, especially between supporters of Józef Piłsudski and of Roman Dmowski's National Democrats. For the most part the veterans organised themselves according to the units they had served in or according to their political orientation, but this only covered those who had fought in Polish national units or participated in one of the uprisings in Silesia or Greater Poland. In contrast, only a minority of the soldiers who had fought in one of the imperial armies were organised. Most soldiers from the Great War ignored the veterans' movement which was dominated by former legionaries and combatants of the Polish national army. Polish memorial culture in turn was dominated by the rebirth of the Polish state. It was extremely difficult for suffering to be recognised which did not comfortably fit into that

national narrative. This may explain the reluctance of veterans of the Habsburg and other imperial armies to join the veterans' movement. Approximately 3,390,000 Polish soldiers had fought in the Great War and around 800,000 of them had fallen. Some 2,580,000 soldiers returned home. According to official data 23.6 percent (only 15.6 percent according to Marek Jabłonowski) became members of veterans' organisations. Most of them had either served in one of the wartime Polish national units, participated in one of the subsequent uprisings, or had later joined the Polish national army.⁴⁹

There was a close connection between public glorification or forgetting of fallen soldiers and the social prestige of the survivors. Veterans of the imperial armies played no role in commemorative events in contrast to the war veterans, invalids, widows and orphans of Polish national units. This was again the case when the body of the Unknown Soldier was brought to Warsaw. Invalids from Polish national units or the Polish army were accorded places of honour in the processions, marching directly behind the sarcophagus. During the commemorative events, organisations of the Polish legions and the "defenders of Lwów" were omnipresent, while Great War veterans formed part of the audience but were not officially included in the ceremonies.⁵⁰

Piłsudski understood that the support of organised veterans was crucial for his success. After the coup d'état of May 1926 the new government hoped to profit from his popularity among war veterans and unite them behind the *Sanacja* regime. In 1927 the Federation of Polish Unions of the Defenders of the Fatherland (*Federacja Polskich Związków Obrónców Ojczyzny, FPZOO*) was founded. It competed with the Legion of the Polish Republic (*Legion Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, LRP*), which was close to the National Democrats and united those veteran groups opposed to the May coup. Attempts in 1928 to merge the *Legion* and the *Federacja* failed, and during the following three years the two organisations fought each other for pre-eminence. In 1931

the *Federacja*, receiving financial and political support from the government, was finally successful and the *Legion* lost most of its influence.⁵¹

The marginalisation of Great War soldiers within the veterans' movement did not however affect the war invalids. Already in spring 1919, when it became clear that their common interests made a strong unified organisation mandatory, the *Związek Inwalidów Wojennych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Union of the War Invalids of the Polish Republic: *ZIW*) was founded, uniting all war invalids including those of the former imperial armies. The *ZIW* was founded on the principle of national, religious, and political neutrality. For the next decade it remained the biggest and most influential veterans' organisation in Poland, with 33,581 members in the four Galician voivodeships alone in 1937.⁵²

Yet the material conditions of the war invalids were unenviable. There were insufficient houses and sanatoriums and most invalids had to wait a long time for prosthetic limbs as only a few factories manufactured them and their quality was usually poor. Without specific legal regulations they were dependent on the goodwill of the authorities. An important aim therefore was to secure the passing of a law which would define their status and their rights; this was one of the demands voiced in invalid demonstrations held in June 1920 in Warsaw, Łódź, Lviv and other cities. The invalids asked for aid, for special shops, more houses for invalids, and better prostheses.⁵³ After these demonstrations they did receive some money, depending on their disability.⁵⁴

In 1921 the Law on Invalids, Orphans and Widows was passed. As the *ZIW* had advocated, it did not differentiate between invalids who had suffered in the service of imperial armies or of the specifically Polish national units. A war invalid was defined as a person whose health had been damaged due to military service in the Polish army after November 1918, in Polish military units, or in the armies of the partitioning powers

between August 1914 and 1 November 1918, as long as they were now Polish citizens.⁵⁵ Those invalids who had fought for Polish independence before and after 1914 and the invalids of the army of the (Eastern) Ukrainian People's Republic which had sided with Poland in the Polish-Bolshevik War were also entitled to benefits – as long as they now lived in Poland.⁵⁶ Conflicts between different ministries and several changes of government however delayed the implementation of the law. New protests and demonstrations of war invalids followed.⁵⁷ The conflict between *ZIW* and the government culminated in the confiscation of several editions of the organisation's newspaper *Głos Inwalidów*. Finally, in January 1923 the Minister of Finance Bolesław Markowski signed a decree making it possible to enact the law, but the conflict continued.⁵⁸ The *ZIW* felt that state support was insufficient. The *ZIW*-owned coffee factory in Grodno, for example, went bankrupt after the army refused to order its coffee from this factory.⁵⁹ However, the war invalids now at least had access to free prostheses and free healthcare, as long as their health problems were related to a war injury.

Indeed, the *ZIW* was the most comprehensive of all veterans' organisations and the only organisation where the majority of its members were former soldiers of the imperial armies. No wonder it battled during the inter-war years for equal treatment for all war invalids. The disabled fought for their interests together and came into conflict with a state which – not untypical for post-war Europe – faced budget constraints and was trying to minimize the expenditure in dealing with thousands of invalids. In 1934 the state recognised there to be 172,000 of them. More than 130,000 had suffered injuries while serving in the imperial armies. Poles were slightly overrepresented (76.5 percent), while Jews were dramatically underrepresented (2.9 percent) partly perhaps because some Jews chose to describe themselves as Polish. It is worth noting too that

the number of Ukrainians recognised as war invalids (21,197 or 12.3 percent) was slightly lower than the Ukrainian proportion of the population (15.8 per cent).⁶⁰

Unsurprisingly, conflicts arose in the *ZIW* between different types of Polish war invalids. Those from the Polish legions and the post-war Polish army felt they should be granted more privileges than veterans from the Great War. This in turn was criticised by the latter. Lazar Kornblüth from Tarnów in Galicia, a Jewish soldier who had served in the Habsburg forces, stated that he had fought for the liberation of Poland; in fact, he had sometimes even fought under the same command as the Polish legions: “We are therefore not second class war invalids.”⁶¹ But it was hard for former soldiers of the Habsburg monarchy to get public recognition and invalid disunity was clear. Early attempts by veterans of Polish units to secede from the *ZIW* failed, but in 1926 several thousand from the Polish army left the *ZIW* and set up the League of Invalids of the Polish Army named after General Sowiński (*Legia Inwalidów Wojsk Polskich imeni gen. Sowińskiego*).⁶² Initially, this brought them no advantages and in 1930 they complained that life had become very difficult for their families. Many provisions of the law passed in 1921 had not been implemented. They had not profited much from the land reform in Galicia and other regions, and Polish army invalids had no access to co-operative shops. Many lived inadequately, in cheap, dark lodgings for which they had to pay rent out of their small pensions; medication was only free if it related directly to a war injury and families gained no help.⁶³ Nevertheless, the new organisation continued to hope that, having left the *Związek* it would win recognition and additional benefits for its members. A new law to protect invalids and their families was vital for those “who had done their duty for the fatherland, risked their life and sacrificed their health.”⁶⁴ In 1931 as a result of these protests the Ministry of Army Affairs permitted former

legionnaires and those who had rendered outstanding services to the fatherland to be treated in military hospitals.⁶⁵

During the first half of the 1920s Jewish war invalids had also been members of the *ZIW*. But in 1926 they too founded a separate Union of Jewish War Invalids, Widows and Orphans (*Związek Żydowskich Inwalidów, Wdów i Sierot Wojennych*), which had a strong base in Galicia. Their argument was that Jewish invalids were not treated as equal to Poles but as second class members. In the *ZIW* they had faced anti-Semitism causing many to think it illusory to expect support from a Polish organisation.⁶⁶ In contrast to Polish invalids for example, they had no privileged access to civil service positions:

This proves that the Jewish war invalid is unfortunately a third class war invalid.

If he is born a Jew he is already an invalid; as a consequence of the disability he has received in the war he becomes an invalid for the second time. And now with the moral pain done to him because of his origins he is handicapped for the third time.⁶⁷

When the global economic crisis hit Poland ~~hard~~ and mass unemployment became a major problem, the state did intervene in favour of war invalids. From 1932, companies with a workforce of more than fifty were obliged to employ at least one invalid, while bigger companies had to take on three invalids for every 100 employees.⁶⁸ Not all invalids however continued to receive benefits. Those with jobs were seen as no longer in need of state support. In 1933, out of 168,737 registered war invalids only 132,857 received state pensions; in 1930 an invalid with a 15 percent incapacitation received 18.75 złoty per month, while the highest benefits went to those who were totally disabled – granted 208.23 złoty per month.⁶⁹ In total the government spent 40 million złoty on pensions and rents for war invalids from an overall annual

budget of two billion. This was seen as too high a burden and therefore in 1933 a new Law on Invalids was passed to cut costs. From April 1934 invalids could no longer demand a change in their invalidity classification if their health deteriorated.⁷⁰

A further step toward the discrimination of certain types of war veterans was to end the pensions of those invalids from the imperial or non-Polish armies who were less than 25 percent incapacitated. Thus, payments to those Ukrainian invalids who had fought in 1920 against the Bolsheviks alongside the Polish army but were less than 25 per cent disabled, were stopped, and the rents and pensions of all war invalids were summarily reduced by 10 percent. Some 40,000 invalids and 7000 to 8000 widows lost their state pensions. The 1933 law violated the principle of equal treatment for all war invalids, and many from the former imperial armies were now disadvantaged. The *ZIW* did not organise mass protests – the influence of the government was too strong – but almost every regional or local *ZIW* branch protested against the changes.⁷¹ The *Legia Polskich Inwalidów* followed suit and was at last (partially) successful. The President of the Polish Republic granted veterans holding the Cross of Independence monthly subsidies of 60–90 złoty. Soon impoverished veterans with other decorations also began receiving financial support, and from January 1938 were given priority when applying for state positions. This was a major step towards privileging specific groups of war veterans.⁷²

Yet the protests of the *ZIW* also had some impact. The organisation was involved in writing a new version of the Law on Invalids passed on 1 July 1937, as a result of which the discrimination between invalids from Polish forces and imperial regiments was partially revoked. Veterans who had lost their pensions in 1934 because their incapacitation was classified as less than 25 percent were given a pension when

they ~~reached the age of~~ turned 55, and once again invalids could ask to be re-classified if their health deteriorated.⁷³

Indeed, by 1935 166,733 war invalids were still registered by the state (52,447 of whom had fought in the Habsburg forces), and in 1937 80,690 war invalids from the imperial armies were recorded as receiving pensions. The dominance of imperial veterans is demonstrated by another figure: only 6804 of those receiving pensions had been soldiers fighting in “Polish units”. An additional 61,619 widows, 26,808 orphans, and 24,358 parents received pensions; overall, 200,279 people were given special pensions.⁷⁴

It seems clear that during most of the inter-war period the Polish state formally treated all war invalids equally – with one exception. Those who had fought against Polish troops after the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy, especially soldiers of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic, were excluded from receiving benefits. This had a major impact in Eastern Galicia where about 100,000 Western Ukrainians had fought against Polish troops as soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army. In 1921 the Ukrainian Civic Committee in Lviv calculated that there were about 25,000 Ukrainian war invalids from the Great War and about 10,000 from the Polish-Ukrainian war. While the first group received state pensions, the Polish state did not recognise the latter as war invalids and their care fell upon the Ukrainian community. Most invalid veterans of the Ukrainian Galician army had no prostheses and were living in poverty. The Civic Committee complained that the state failed to meet its obligations as laid down in international law. It should not matter in which army a soldier had fought: “Their only crime was their struggle against Polish troops for the liberty and independence of their own country.”⁷⁵

Foreign help – the Ukrainian Civic Committee complained – went almost exclusively to Polish invalids. Many soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army had become invalids during their internment in Polish camps where they had lived under appalling conditions, spending the winter in unheated barracks without medical help; some had lost their legs from blood poisoning. The Civic Committee therefore founded a section for invalids and set up a home for 25 invalids. The house was provided by the Ukrainian insurance company *Dnister*, while beds and some of the medications were supplied by the American Red Cross. As long as the future of Eastern Galicia had not been decided, international organisations ought to help:⁷⁶

The Polish Occupation Authorities neglected the care of disabled soldiers even of Polish origin... The care of disabled soldiers of Ukrainian origin is out of the question, because it must be emphatically stated that the Polish authorities make a principle distinction between soldiers of Polish origin disabled during the World War and those of Ukrainian origin.⁷⁷

Polish war invalids received help from Polish and international humanitarian organisations. Most Polish war invalids lived in towns, were members of co-operative societies and had access to state-sponsored shops. Ukrainian war invalids lived mainly in villages and were thus automatically disadvantaged. Disabled Polish soldiers also had the possibility of obtaining a job in the public sector, which was denied to Ukrainians.

But the main damage done to Ukrainian disabled soldiers consists in disabled Polish soldiers receiving plots of land at very advantageous conditions while Ukrainian disabled soldiers are completely excluded from this.⁷⁸

Campaigns by the Ukrainian émigré community did little to improve the situation. The American Ukrainian newspaper *Svoboda* appealed to its readers to give money to the invalids of the Ukrainian Galician Army.⁷⁹ In April 1922 Ukrainian

veterans and politicians, including Evhen Konovalts (later leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) founded the *Sojuz Ukraïns'kykh invalidiv* (Union of Ukrainian Invalids) in Lviv. ~~This~~ The Union planned to organise workshops where invalids could be trained and which would produce prostheses. The line of argument was always the same, that Ukrainians were obliged to help their heroes:

The care for our invalids, for those who are the living proof of our aspirations for freedom, our right of an independent existence, has become a question of the honour of the nation.⁸⁰

As many Ukrainians as possible should join the new Union so that their fees could cover the costs of the projects. However, it does not appear that these efforts were successful as the complaints about material conditions continued.

Thus, supporting invalids of the Ukrainian Galician army was very difficult. A Ukrainian Society for the Help of Invalids appealed to local communities to reward their invalids' heroism and sacrifice and declared November 1st (the anniversary of the attempted Ukrainian takeover of Lviv in 1918), the day of Ukrainian Invalids: the latter, it was argued, had given their blood "for us" and we should repay them. In 1934, 2,000 invalids were registered with the Ukrainian Civic Committee, 500 of whom were severely disabled. However, voluntary contributions declined over the years, and in 1933 alone the Committee was three times obliged to lower the pensions it paid out. Ukrainian war invalids thus only received the equivalent of 10 percent of the state pension.⁸¹ By 1934 the situation was unchanged. The Committee complained that as time passed the Ukrainian community was ever less inclined to donate money. The health of the 2,000 invalids was deteriorating and they faced a daily struggle in providing for their families. The community ought to be saving its invalids from starvation and averting further fatalities arising from insufficient medical treatment. The "honour of the nation" depended upon it.⁸²

Conclusion

The late Habsburg empire with its balancing of ethnic conflicts and its considerable degree of political participation had created conditions where the Polish-Ukrainian conflict could be contained. Six years of war, however, disrupted Galician society, destroying the comradeship between Galician Jews, Poles and Ukrainians of the old Habsburg army. In the new Poland the Great War was marginalised. Loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy had become an embarrassment, since for Poles or Ukrainians it undermined the claim of their political elites that both nations had always fought for their own nation states and never accepted foreign domination. For Jews, nostalgic feelings for the vanished empire may have been strong among the general population, but their political elites – whether Zionist, Polish patriotic or Orthodox – made it clear that the political reality had to be accepted. As long as Palestine was out of reach the future of Galician Jewry lay in the Polish state, to which the Jews now owed loyalty.

Poland took over the obligation to care for the war cemeteries in Galicia and to pay pensions to invalids of the Habsburg army, but the Polish political cult of the fallen soldier emphasized that Polish rebirth was due to the sacrifice of soldiers who had died for an independent Poland. Although more Poles had died as soldiers of the former imperial armies, their commemoration was of little interest for the Polish state and was largely left to the bereaved. This was accompanied by the marginalisation of veterans who had fought in one of the imperial armies. Some Great War veterans tried to reinvent themselves as fighters for Polish independence and participated in official commemorations, but their specific war experiences held no real public interest.

The integrative power of the cult of the fallen soldier was certainly impressive. Bitter fighting between different political camps and military organisations stopped during commemorations and the imagined unity of November 1918 was usually evoked

and relived.⁸³ However, Polish memorial culture was limited, integrating only ethnic Poles. A considerable number of the Republic's minorities had not intended to become Polish citizens in the first place and had fought – often against Polish troops – for their own nation state. Polish memorial culture did not appeal to most Ukrainians who refused to abandon their national aspirations, developing their own memorial culture in direct opposition to Polish interpretations of the past. The cult of the Polish Unknown Soldier illustrates well the integrative strength and the limitations of Polish memorial culture. He had fallen in a war which had denied the Ukrainians their right of self-determination, while Jews could not be sure whether prior to his death the Unknown Soldier had not participated in the Lviv pogrom.⁸⁴ In the end, only progressive Jewish communities participated in the annual commemoration, with the cult becoming an integrative symbol mostly for Roman-Catholic Poles.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, Polish and Ukrainian memorial culture showed many structural similarities in focusing on post-1918 hostilities. The sacrifices of Ukrainian soldiers from the Great War had no part in the Ukrainian national narrative and played no role in Ukrainian memorial culture. Of the Ukrainian soldiers who served in the Habsburg forces, only the *Sich* riflemen were honoured, while the West Ukrainian cult of its fallen soldiers concentrated on veterans of the Ukrainian Galician army.

The peculiarities of the cult of the fallen soldier in Poland were reflected at the political level too. The ethnic and political conflicts in the Second Polish Republic deeply influenced the organisations of war veterans and invalids. Piłsudski and his opponents tried to unite the war veterans behind their respective parties. In these manoeuvres, veterans of the former imperial armies were marginalised, while veterans of Polish national units or the Polish army played an important role in Polish politics. The war invalids, on the other hand, were initially united by common interests in

forming a special organisation, the ZIW. For the 1920s all invalids were treated equally, but subsequently those of the imperial armies were disadvantaged. The unity of the war invalids was further broken when in 1926 some Jewish invalids and those from the Polish legions left the ZIW because they no longer felt themselves properly represented. The fact that the Ukrainian community received no help from the state to support the invalids of the Polish-Ukrainian war strengthened Ukrainian beliefs that they would always face discrimination in a Polish state and that a better future was only possible in an independent Ukrainian state.

¹ Christoph Mick, „Der Kult um den Unbekannten Soldaten im Polen der Zwischenkriegszeit,“ in Martin Schulze-Wessel (ed.), *Nationalisierung der Nation und Sakralisierung der Religion im östlichen Europa* (Stuttgart, 2006), 181-200; Joanna Hübner-Wojciechowska, *Grób Nieznanego Żołnierza* (Warsaw, 1991), 84-89; Wanda Mazanowska, „Geneza Symbolu Nieznanego Żołnierza,“ in E. Sabelenko and F. Koziniewski (eds), *7599 dni Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1983), 112-143.

² Ken S. Inglis, “Entombing Unknown Soldiers: From London and Paris to Baghdad,” *History and Memory* 5 (1993): 7-31; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World War* (New York and Oxford, 1990), 94 ff.

³ A. Podraza, *Problem pograniczy w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej (na przykładzie pogranicza polsko-ukraińskiego)*, Prace Komisji Środkowoeuropejskiej: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, vol. 4 (Cracow, 1996), 106; Rudolf A. Mark, *Galizien unter österreichischer Herrschaft. Verwaltung – Kirche – Bevölkerung* (Marburg, 1998), 17.

⁴ Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin [hereafter PA-AA], R-8977, Heinze (German general consul in Lviv) to Reichskanzler Michaelis, 31 August 1917,

⁵ K.u.k. Kriegsüberwachungsamt to Statthaltereie in Graz, 9 November 1914, in: *Talerhofskij Al'manach. Propamjatnaja Kniga*, vol. 4, part 2 (Lviv, 1932), 134 ff.

⁶ Tsentral'nyj Derzhavnyj [Istorychnyj Arkhiv](#)~~Archiw~~ Ukrainy, m. Lviv ([translate this Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv](#)) [hereafter TsDIAL], f. 462, op. 1, spr. 90, ark. 1-4: aide mémoire of the Ukrainian Civil Committee in Lviv, 4 December 1920,

⁷ Jakób Schall, *Żydostwo Galicyjskie w czasie inwazji rosyjskiej w latach 1914–1916* (Lviv, 1936), 8-20; Alexander Victor Prusin, *Nationalizing a Borderland. War, Ethnicity, and Anti-Jewish Violence in East Galicia, 1914-1920* (Tuscaloosa, 2005), 24-28.

⁸ Christoph Mick, „Kriegsalltag und nationale Mobilisierung. Lemberg im Ersten Weltkrieg,“ *Nordost-Archiv* 17 (2008): 58-82.

⁹ Christoph Führ, *Das k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando und die Innenpolitik in Österreich 1914 – 1917* (Graz, 1968), 65-71.

¹⁰ Christoph Mick, *Kriegserfahrungen in einer multiethnischen Stadt: Lemberg 1914 – 1947* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 138ff.

¹¹ PA-AA, R-8975, German consul in Lviv to the German ambassador in Vienna, 21 February 1916.

¹² Mick, *Kriegserfahrungen*, 181ff.

¹³ William H. Hagen, „The Moral Economy of Ethnic Violence: The Pogrom in Lwow, November 1918,“ *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 31 (2005): 203-226.

¹⁴ Mick, *Kriegserfahrungen*, 232ff; Josef Bendow, *Der Lemberger Judenpogrom* (Vienna, 1919).

¹⁵ On the Polish-Soviet war, see Norman Davies, *White Eagle – Red Star: The Polish-Soviet War, 1919-20* (London, 2003); Adam Zamoyski, *Warsaw 1920. Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe* (London, 2008).

¹⁶ Łucja Kapralska, *Pluralizm kulturowy i etniczny odrębność regionalna Kresów południowo-wschodnich w latach 1918-1939* (Cracow, 2000), 98; Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski, *Robotnicy przemysłowi w Polsce 1918–1939* (Warsaw, 1971), 35; J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów* (Warsaw, 1985), 35.

¹⁷ For example the article “Lwowski Listopad,“ *Słowo Polskie*, 1 November 1920; *Słowo Polskie*, 24 November 1923.

¹⁸ On UVO and OUN see Franziska Bruder, “Den ukrainischen Staat erkämpfen oder sterben!” *Die Organisation Ukrainischer Nationalisten (OUN) 1929–1948* (Berlin, 2007); Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942–1960* (Warsaw, 2006); Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right. The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism 1919–1929* (Boulder, Colorado 1980); John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (Littleton, Colorado 1980).

¹⁹ Reinhart Koselleck, „Einleitung,“ in Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds), *Der politische Totenkult. Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne* (Munich, 1993), 9.

²⁰ Rudolf Broch and Hans Hauptmann, *Die westgalizischen Heldengräber. Aus den Jahren des Weltkrieges 1914-1915* (Vienna, 1918), 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 2ff.

²² Adam Bartosz, “Jewish War Cemeteries in Western Galicia” (<http://www.museum.tarnow.pl/judaica/jewish.html>, accessed on 27 March 2011).

²³ Bruch and Hauptmann, *Die westgalizischen Heldengräber*, 8ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6ff. Similar to the *Heldenhaine* in East Prussia, see Robert Traba, “Der Friedhof im Kulturwandel. Ostpreußische Kriegsgräber aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg von 1915 bis 1995,” *Nordost-Archiv* NF, 6 (1997): 109-129.

²⁵ J. Szubert, *Austriackie cmentarze wojenne w Galicji z lat 1914-1918* (Cracow, 1992), 30 ff.

²⁶ Pavlo Hrankin, „Z istorii vijs’kovykh zvyntariv L’vova (1914-1918 r.),“ *Halyts’ka Brama*, 5-6 (traven’-cherven’ 1998), 14-15; O. V., „Cholm Slavy 1914-1915 rr.,” *idem*, 16ff; Khrystyna Kharchuk, „Avstrijs’kyj vijs’kovyj tsvintar,” *idem*, 18-20.

²⁷ Derzhavnyj Arkhiv L’vivskoi Oblasti (State Archive of the region of Lviv) [hereafter DALO], f. 257, op. 2, spr. 183, ark. 17-18: Magistrate of Lviv to the Society for the Protection of the Graves of Polish Heroes, 27 February 1922.

²⁸ For example Kazimierz Żygulski, *Jestem z lwowskiego etapu*, (Warsaw, 1994), 21; Archiwum Wschodni Ośrodku Karta (Archive of the East of the centre Karta, [Warsaw—where is this archive?](#)) [hereafter AW], II/1773: Alma Heczko, “Dziennik-pamiętnik,” diary entry for 1-2 November 1938.

²⁹ “W obronie wschodniej Małopolski,” *Słowo Polskie*, 23 November 1919.

³⁰ *Słowo Polskie*, 1 October 1925.

³¹ *Kurier Lwowski*, 1 November 1925.

³² *Słowo Polskie*, 5 November 1920.

³³ *Dilo* 1.November 1922.

³⁴ Vasyl’ Shchurat, “Dlja tych, shcho vstanut’ ...,” *Vichny pamjat’ herojam* (Lviv, 1921), 9.

³⁵ Ivan Nimchuk, “Kul’t poliahlykh heroiiiv,” *Dilo*, 17 May 1927, 13-15.

³⁶ “Zhyvi svidky nedavn’ominuloi slavy,” *Novyj Chas*, 1 November 1934.

³⁷ *Dilo*, 14 May 1927.

³⁸ Orest Dzjuban, “Strilec’ki nekropoli L’vova,” *Halytse’ka Brama*, 5-6 (traven’-cherven’ 1998), 3-6.

³⁹ Józef Białynia-Chołodecki, *Wojenny posiew Anioła Śmierci i kult pamięci poległych* (Lviv, 1926), 12ff.

⁴⁰ *Inwalida* 8/1919.

⁴¹ Mirosława Papierzyńska-Turek, *Sprawa Ukraińska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1922-1926* (Cracow, 1979), p. 167.

⁴² Mick, *Kriegserfahrungen*, 362 ff.

⁴³ TsDIAL, f. 205, op. 1, spr. 500, ark. 140-143: Daily report of the police in Lviv, 30 May 1939.

⁴⁴ TsDIAL, f. 701, op. 3, spr. 388, ark. 13: Protocol of the Jewish religious community (excerpt), 15 November 1916.

⁴⁵ Waclaw Wierzbieniec, "Związek Żydów Uczestników Walk o Niepodległość Polski we Lwowie (1932–1939)," in Henryk W. Żaliński and Kazimierz Karolczak (eds), *Lwów. Miasto – społeczeństwo – kultura* (Cracow, 1998), 283.

⁴⁶ Marek Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski. Z dziejów ruchu byłych wojskowych w II Rzeczypospolitej, 1918–1939* (Olsztyn, 1998), 104.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 213; Wierzbieniec, "Związek," 299.

⁴⁸ „Ofiary,” *Chwila*, 16 December 1919; „Uczczenie pamięci ofiar rozruchów listopadowych,” *Chwila*, 7 December 1920.

⁴⁹ Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 103.

⁵⁰ Mick, „Der Kult um den Unbekannten Soldaten.“

⁵¹ Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 56 ff, 87ff.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 29, 104.

⁵³ TsDIAL, f. 146, op. 8, spr. 3807, s. 49-51: Director of the Police in Lwów, Reinlender, to the Präsidium der Statthaltereii, 19 June 1920.

⁵⁴ Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 253.

⁵⁵ This applied to soldiers of the German army from August 1914 until 27 December 1918, to soldiers of the Russian army until 1 March 1918, and to soldiers of the Habsburg army until 1 November 1918.

⁵⁶ “Ustawa 18 March 1921 on war invalids etc,” *Inwalida* 14, 3 April 1921.

⁵⁷ *Inwalida* 3 (1921), 1ff.

⁵⁸ Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 254ff.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁰ 3508 Belorussians, 3587 Germans, 15 Russians, und 88 others were also recognised as war invalids: *Inwalida Zydowski*, 11/1934.

⁶¹ *Inwalida Zydowski*, 7/1934.

⁶² Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 104 ff.

⁶³ *Reduta Ilustrowana* (published by the Legia Inwalidów Wojsk Polskich), 1 (February 1930), 20.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 267

⁶⁶ *Inwalida Zydowski*, 12/1926.

⁶⁷ *Inwalida Zydowski*, 6,7, 8, 9/1930.

⁶⁸ Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 258.

⁶⁹ *Inwalida Zydowski*, 11/1934.

⁷⁰ Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 259.

⁷¹ *Inwalida*, vol. 20, several numbers.

⁷² Jabłonowski, *Sen o potędze Polski*, 232ff.

⁷³ Ibid., 260.

⁷⁴ Out of 166,733 war invalids 127,649 were Poles, 25,661 Ukrainians, 3883 Belorussians, 3595 Germans, 656 Russians, 5236 Jews, and 52 other nationalities. 38,199 lived in the three south eastern voivodeships. Grouped according to their degree of disability, more than 85,000 were in one of the first three categories, almost 40,000 were in categories 4-8 and only 2082 were in category 9-10 with a disability of 90-100 per cent: *Inwalida*, 20/1 (10 January 1938), 9-10.

⁷⁵ TsDIAL, f. 462, op. 1, spr. 180: report of the *Inwalidenreferat* of the Ukrainian Civic Committee, 1921; TsDIAL, f. 462, op. 1, spr. 180, ark. 15-21: Note on Ukrainian disabled soldiers, July 1921.

⁷⁶ After the Polish victory in the Polish-Ukrainian war the Supreme Allies' Council approved Polish control of the territory of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (more or less identical with Eastern Galicia), but the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris only formally recognised the Eastern borders of the Second Polish Republic on 15 March 1923.

⁷⁷ TsDIAL, f. 462, op. 1, spr. 180: report of the *Invalidenreferat* of the Ukrainian Civic Committee, 1921; TsDIAL, f. 462, op. 1, spr. 180, ark. 15-21: Note on Ukrainian disabled soldiers, July 1921.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ “Sprava Ukraïns’kykh Invalidiv,” *Svoboda*, 12 June 1921.

⁸⁰ “Communiqué of the Union of Ukrainian Invalids in Galicia, Sojuz Ukraïns’kykh Invalidiv v Halychyni,” *Svoboda*, 18 May 1922.

⁸¹ “November - the month of the Ukrainian invalid (Ukrainian),” *Novyj Chas*, 1 November 1934.

⁸² “Lystopad – misjats’ ukraïns’kykh invalidiv!,” *Dilo*, 1 November 1935.

⁸³ For Lviv: Christoph Mick, “War and Conflicting Memories – Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in Lvov 1914 – 1939,” *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook*, 4 (2005): 257-278.

⁸⁴ Polish authors did not cease to accuse the Jewish population of collaboration with the Ukrainian troops. See Ludwik Baar, “Milicja wojskowa w obronie Lwowa,” in *Obrona Lwowa*, 2 (Lwów, 1936; reprint Warsaw, 1993), [date needed], 47-64. Similar views were held by the Polish commander of the Obrona Lwowa: Czesław Mączynski, “O stanowisku Żydów w czasie listopadowej obrony Lwowa w 1918 r.,” in *Obrona Lwowa*, 2 (Lwów, 1936, reprint Warsaw, 1993)[date needed], 830-841. See also the criticism of the Polish position in a letter by the Jewish lawyer Izaak Bürger, autumn 1933: DALO, f. 257, op. 2, spr. 1753, ark. 95-99.

⁸⁵ Mick, „Der Kult um den Unbekannten Soldaten,“ 199ff.