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BETWEEN POLITICS AND UNIVERSITY LIFE: THE STUDENT POPULATION OF LVIV IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The article is concerned with the student body of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv in the interwar period. At that time, Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews, as well as Romanians and Russians, studied at the university. The University of Lviv was one of the most important academic centers in the Second Polish Republic. Students had strong political beliefs during that time; often they were members of political factions and groups that operated inside and outside the walls of educational establishments. This led to the development of conflicts at the university. One phenomenon that had an impact on how interpersonal

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conflicts arose was the development of a strong nationalist ideology in Ukraine during the late 1930s. Other factors contributing to conflicts on the basis of nationality included the difficult economic situation of students at that time and the personal attitude of some members of the intelligentsia. The policy of the Polish state and the general political and economic situation in the city and in the country also had a significant impact on relations in the academic milieu. In the 1920s, just after Poland had regained independence, the Polish-Ukrainian conflict intensified at the university, which led to the establishment of the Ukrainian Secret University. Later, the struggles of nationalist Polish youth for the introduction of the numerus clausus principle at the university, and then of a bench ghetto for Jewish students, became more intensive. The objective of this article is to characterise the academic milieu of the Jan Kazimierz University, emphasising the role of politics as a factor shaping relations between students of different nationalities.

Keywords: **Lviv students, Jan Kazimierz University, interwar period, academic life, student organisations, politics in academia.**

The subject of this article is the student body of Lviv's Jan Kazimierz University in the interwar period. However, I am interested in student issues in a specific context. I would like to answer the questions: How did political activity and political involvement of young people affect the operations of the university? How did expressions of political views influence relationships between young people of different nationalities?

The period of the Second Polish Republic was a time of intense political life for students. Various ideologies and political orientations developed in universities. The mood among young people reflected the political situation of the era. The youth promoted views formulated in the programs of a broad range of political groups and factions. Pressing topics included issues of Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish relations. In this article, I am interested not simply in the student milieu, but in how state policy and propaganda among young people shaped the relations in this milieu. I would also like to draw attention to issues of national politics, which had a significant impact on what was happening in universities.

It is worth mentioning at the beginning some of the more important works and authors that have dealt with the issues of student life at the Jan Kazimierz

University. A good starting point for exploring this subject is the research done by professors Volodymyr Kachmar and Marian Mudryj. Volodymyr Kachmar is the author of many works on the history of the University of Lviv and its students in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Marian Mudryj has written on the Ukrainian Secret University (Kachmar 1999; Mudryj 2002). Other Ukrainian authors interested in problems of student life at the University of Lviv in the 19th and 20th centuries include R. Kovaliuk and M. Krykun (Kovaliuk 2001; Krykun 1998). Many Ukrainian authors address in their work the struggle for an independent Ukrainian university in Lviv at the turn of the 20th century. This is a particularly important thread for understanding inter-student relations at the university in the subsequent decades. In Poland, the problem of the students of the Jan Kazimierz University was discussed by Andrzej Pilch, Adam Redzik, Jan Draus, and Ewa Bukowska-Marczak. Andrzej Pilch has studied the student movement in the interwar period, while Adam Redzik and Jan Draus are the authors of a number of publications about the Jan Kazimierz University (Draus 2007; Redzik 2015). Notably, most works devoted to the University of Lviv focus on presenting the history of the university from the perspective of scholars and departments. Ewa Bukowska-Marczak offers a slightly different perspective in her research. In 2019, she published a monograph devoted to Polish-Jewish-Ukrainian relations at the university in the interwar period (Bukowska-Marczak 2019). Exploring the everyday life and problems of Lviv's academic youth, Bukowska-Marczak attempts to explain the causes of conflicts within the student body. She also draws attention to examples of cooperation and friendship between students of different nationalities. The present article continues this trend and, among other things, considers several sources from Lviv archives (mainly the DALO and CDIAL) that show the way of thinking among the students and academic staff about pressing problems of university life.

The University of Lviv, which received the name of the Jan Kazimierz University (JKU) in 1919, was one of the most important academic institutions in interwar Lviv and one of the most prominent higher-education establishments in the country at the time. Its operations were directed by regulations and decisions of the government of the Second Polish Republic (specifically, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education),

decisions of the University Senate, and the provisions of the university charter. The University Senate was the highest academic authority, comprised of the rector, the deputy rector, deans, deputy deans, and representatives of the faculty councils (one from each council). Shortly after Poland had regained independence, there were four faculties operating within the University: the Faculty of Theology, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Faculty of Medicine, and Faculty of Philosophy. In 1924, the Faculty of Philosophy was split into the Faculty of Philosophy and Faculty of Mathematics and Life Sciences. In 1930–1939, the Faculty of Medicine included the Faculty of Pharmaceutics, preparing students for the profession of a pharmacist. In turn, the School of Diplomacy was established at the Faculty of Law in April 1930 (Bukowska-Marczak 2017).

Recognising the Jan Kazimierz University as the academic hub of Lviv that brought together diverse figures, we can recall the names of some outstanding professors, such as Stefan Banach, Hugo Steinhaus, Kazimierz Twardowski, Eugeniusz Romer, Franciszek Bujak, Juliusz Kleiner, Oswald Balzer, and Leon Piniński. The university community included not only scholars, but also students, although they are not mentioned as often as their professors. Future prominent artists and cultural figures, such as Emanuel Schlechter and Henryk Vogelfänger (known under his stage name Tońko), were among the students of the Jan Kazimierz University. Other well-known alumni were Jan Karski (Kozielewski), Louis Brunon Sohn, Debora Vogel, Rachela Auerbach, and Roman Zubyk. Special literature is available on many of these figures (Redzik 2007, 46–47; Redzik 2014, 245–255). However, it should be stressed that when we speak of them we only speak of a tiny percentage of students. This paper is an attempt to characterise the entire community of young people studying at the Jan Kazimierz University in the interwar period, in times when the outstanding professor of Roman law and rector of the university, Count Leon Piniński, was lecturing there. The complex relationships between the most prominent ethnic and national groups at the university, namely Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian students, will also be discussed.

In the academic year 1921/1922, the Jan Kazimierz University had 4867 students and 318 auditing students; in the academic year 1932/1933,

the number of students reached 7358. The vast majority of students were Polish. In terms of religion, the majority of young people at the university were Roman Catholic (of course, statistics on religious affiliation cannot be equated with that on nationality; however, due to the lack of precise data on the number of students of different nationalities, we must use the data on the religion of students). At the beginning of the university's operation, in the academic year 1921/1922, the largest group were Roman Catholics (approx. 53 percent). They were followed by young people of the Mosaic faith (approx. 43.5 percent), while Greek Catholic students numbered only 2.5 percent. Most Ukrainian students, the majority of whom were Greek Catholic, studied at the illegal Ukrainian Secret University at that time. In the academic year 1934/1935, the number of students of the Jewish faith decreased significantly (they constituted approximately 20 percent of all students), while the number of Roman Catholics (approx. 65 percent) and Greek Catholics (approx. 11.5 percent) increased. This change was connected with the dissolution of the Ukrainian Secret University in 1925. Due to the lifting of their boycott on the state university, Ukrainian students increasingly enrolled at the Jan Kazimierz University (Wittlinowa 1937, 50).

Students mostly came from out of Lviv — from the Lwow, Tarnopol, and Stanisławow voivodeships, and less frequently from the Lublin, Krakow, and Silesian voivodeships (Wittlinowa 1937, 23). They lived in the University dormitories at 7 Łozińskiego St., 32 Mochnackiego St., 35 Pijarów St., and 10 Słodowej St. Female students had the Student House at 36 Torosiewicza St. at their disposal. Jewish youth were housed in a student dormitory at 26a Św. Teresy St., while Ukrainians were lodged in a building owned by the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, located at 21 Supińskiego St. It was a luxury to live in a university dormitory and not everyone could count on a room there. Some found accommodation in the homes of city residents, and others turned to their families for support (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 38–40).

Participation in student organisations was a vital aspect of academic life. Effective propaganda facilitated recruitment to such bodies. Students beginning their education at the university were instantly informed that involvement in academic organisations was their moral duty. The Academic

Union of All-Polish Youth (Związek Akademicki Młodzież Wszechpolska) distributing leaflets to encourage students to join is a perfect example here. All-Polish Youth members used every opportunity to recommend associations that students should affiliate with and caution against those that were best avoided. Different clubs and societies were focused on ideological and educational issues, research, or mutual assistance. The oldest ones included the Academic Reading Room (Czytelnia Akademicka) and the JKU Students' Mutual Aid Society (Towarzystwo Bratniej Pomocy Studentów UJK), dating back to the 19th century. The former was established in 1867 as a cultural and scientific organisation. One of its key statutory objectives was to create structures and spaces for community and research work through such activities as running a library, hosting meetings, and publishing journals (the society's press wing was «Czasoposmo Akademickie» [*Academic Journal*]). The JKU Students' Mutual Aid Society, commonly known as the Bratniak, brought together students who sought financial support. Through the society, cash loans were awarded to students and rooms in university dormitories were assigned. Students could also benefit from discounts in canteens. As regards ideological and educational associations, the nationalist All-Polish Youth enjoyed great popularity at the Jan Kazimierz University. In the late 1930s, one in six JKU students was its member. Most university societies were in its sphere of influence. According to the data collected by the Lviv District Administrator's Office in 1934, national organisations in Lviv were seen as «setting the tone for academic life». The Union fulfilled its objectives by effectively recruiting young people from rural and working-class backgrounds. As it had its representatives in the governing bodies of most mutual aid and scientific societies in Lviv (including the popular Bratniak), it could offer more to students than other associations. Youth coming from remote areas of the country thus became dependent on this organisation. For some students, this support represented the only opportunity to complete their studies (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 199–202).

The Jews and Ukrainians had associations of their own. The activities of young Ukrainians were, to a large extent, centred around political issues. A lot of the students belonging to the Students'ka Hromada, one of the most important Ukrainian bodies operating at the university in the 1920s, were

affiliated with the Ukrainian Military Organisation (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 85).

Numerous recent scholars exploring the Polish-Jewish relations in interwar academic communities (among others Monika Natkowska, Natalia Judzińska) stress that Jewish youth were often excluded from Polish academic organisations due to the introduction of the so-called «Aryan paragraph» in their charters. It is undoubtedly true. However, it should be noted that other nationalities were also unwilling to allow «aliens» to join their associations. The Jan Kazimierz University was not free of that peculiar atmosphere of segregation. The establishment of separate student societies for young people of different nationalities did not result only from the use of the Aryan paragraph by Poles. The charter of the Society of Jewish Philosophy Students, operating in Lviv and headed by Hugo Steinhaus, included a clause allowing only Jews to become members. Moreover, in the late 1920s Jewish youth were planning to establish a separate mutual aid organisation called «Friendly Aid» («Pomoc Koleżeńska»). According to its draft charter, its membership was to be limited to Jews (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 90–101).

In the second half of the 1930s, enrolment at the university began to decrease. The economic problems plaguing the youth population (including high tuition fees) were not the only reason. The decrease in the number of students at the time was partly related to the harassment and abuse perpetrated mainly by Polish nationalist youth and targeting students of Jewish background. In the interwar period, the university was not free of disputes and conflicts.

In the early 1920s, Jews accounted for approximately 40 percent of the total number of students at the Jan Kazimierz University (Wierzbieniec 2000, 242). Already at the time, students expressing nationalist views were pushing for the adoption of a *numerus clausus* rule. They demanded that the number of Jewish students at the university be limited to 11 percent of the total. The students justified their claims by stating that the lecture halls were overcrowded. They warned against the university losing its Polish character. Soon thereafter, in the course of enrolment procedures for the academic year 1922/1923, the deans of the faculties of medicine and philosophy

demanded restrictions on the admission of Jewish applicants, citing classroom and laboratory capacity (Żyndul 1992, 59; Rędziński 2016, 585). In late October 1922, Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education Kazimierz Kumaniecki overturned these orders, which caused turmoil in the nationalist youth circles. Disturbances started with the announcement of an academic strike, and continued with attacks against several Jews during a rally they had organised (Biedrzycka 2012, 177). The idea to introduce a *numerus clausus* was soon voiced at the Faculty of Law, and supported by the dean, who claimed that a decrease in the number of students at the faculty would improve efficiency. He noted the significant proportion of Jews among the law students. He defined the *numerus clausus* as a «safety valve» which could «protect Poland against grave risks to the nation and the state in the future»[1].

The nationalist campaign brought measurable results. In the 1930s, the decrease in the number of Jewish students at the university was notable. In the academic year 1931/1932, 230 candidates of a Christian background and 166 candidates declaring Jewish faith applied to the Faculty of Medicine. In the event, 114 students from the first group were admitted, compared to only 17 candidates from the second group[2].

Polish students acted in line with the principle that Poles should enjoy most rights in the reborn Poland. They expressed their opposition to Jewish students' organising annual dormitory weeks to raise funds for poor students, just like their Polish counterparts were doing. They opposed Jews wearing academic association badges similar to those used by Polish students. They launched a «green ribbon» campaign, boycotting Jewish commerce and encouraging the purchase of goods in Polish stores. Church authorities supported some initiatives of the Lviv youth. This was the case with the anti-Semitic excesses in response to the alleged insult of a Corpus Christi procession by Jewish gymnasium students in Zygmuntowska St. in June 1929. Three

[1] ДАЛО, ф. 26, оп. 6, спр. 974 к. 10: Лист декана юридичного факультету до Міністерства релігійних віросповідань і народної просвіти від 15 березня 1923 р. A letter from the dean of the Faculty of Law to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education, March 15, 1923.

[2] ДАЛО, ф. 110, оп. 4, спр. 336, к. 3: Списки студентів, прийнятих на перший курс у Львові. Lists of students admitted to the university, Lviv.

bishops, Franciszek Lisowski, Bolesław Twardowski, and Józef Teodorowicz (representing the Armenian rite), despite calling for an end to the excesses in a letter to the youth, upheld the story about an insult to the procession, describing the student riots as «noble outrage» (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 127–146).

In the late 1920s, voices were raised at the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education calling for the need to reform higher education. Proponents of reform believed that the existing liberal system allowed too much freedom to academic societies. Young Polish nationalists were critical of the draft reform and plans to restrict university autonomy, but, despite protests, the Ministry under the leadership of Janusz Jędrzejewicz eventually managed to bring them to life in the spring of 1933. The nationalists blamed the Jewish circles, which had been critical of the laws previously in force, for the enactment of the new regulations. Anti-Semitic protests soon broke out at the JKU. The youth demonstrating in defence of academic autonomy blocked access to the university building for Jewish students and hung a dummy of Janusz Jędrzejewicz dressed in orthodox Jewish clothes on the university dormitory at Łozińskiego St. (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 155–164).

In the mid-1930s, the anti-Semitic campaign escalated again. After 1935, the stance of the Polish authorities towards the Jewish population hardened. At that time, anti-Semitism became one of the most important points on the agenda of National Democracy. Anti-Semitic attitudes made it possible to attack the government, which was accused of philo-Semitism. After Marshal Piłsudski's death, his successors were unable to stave off ethnic conflicts. In 1937, the so-called Camp of National Unity was established, with Colonel Adam Koc as its leader. In theory, the aim of this body was to unite supporters of the Sanation. In fact, the program of the Camp of National Unity was right-wing nationalist in character, positing that the Polish nation had to be the exclusive beneficiary of the Polish state. Members of this organisation upheld the idea of a special role of the Catholic Church in the development of the nation. The prolonged economic crisis and intensified anti-Semitic propaganda led to a wave of anti-Semitic excesses throughout the country. There were also demands for Jewish emigration (Trębacz 2018, 19–30).

Nationalist youth across the country started a campaign to drive Jewish students out of institutions of higher education. The first stage of the campaign was focused on the introduction of ghetto benches in universities and segregation between Polish and Jewish students. In a 1936 letter to Rector Stanisław Kulczyński, Czesław Rojek, a student, argued that «the academic youth cannot ignore the fact that the university educates future teachers of the Polish language and the history of our Homeland — Jews who are unable to think like Poles and share a covert anti-Polish sentiment […]. An order that would block access to the University of Lviv for the Jewish population and provide separate seating to those who are already enrolled would not harm the course of scientific work but, on the contrary, it can certainly be said that the separation of the two hostile groups would surely contribute to enhancing the prestige of institutions of higher education»[3].

Fearing a disorganisation of the work of universities, the minister of religious affairs and public education decided to make some concessions to the nationalist youth. On September 24, 1937, in a meeting of rectors, he authorised regulations regarding the distribution of seats in lecture halls between Polish and Jewish students (Natkowska 1999, 142).

At the University of Lviv, the nationalists' efforts would not initially produce the expected results, as Rector Kulczyński did not agree to the introduction of ghetto benches. At the end of 1937, crowds of young people would regularly gather at the university gates, announcing another day without Jews, who were not permitted to enter the premises. The authorities ultimately gave in and introduced ghetto bench arrangements in January 1938. The segregation of benches in lecture halls was a major step towards the realisation of the *numerus nullus* demand. Jewish students would study in fear and miss classes, being afraid of assaults. Police were patrolling the university premises daily, expecting disturbances at any time. Karol Zellermayer, a pharmacology student, was killed at the university, and two other students, Samuel Proweller and Markus Landesberg — at the Lviv Polytechnic (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 164–190).

[3] ЦДІАЛ, ф. 424, оп. 1, спр. 46, к. 106: Лист студента Чеслава Роєка до ректора Університету Яна Казимира, 31 жовтня 1936 р. Letter from the student Czesław Rojek to Stanisław Kulczyński, rector of the Jan Kazimierz University, October 31, 1936.

The attitudes of the nationalist youth were, to a large extent, influenced by the leaders of National Democracy and some in the Catholic circles, promoting the view that «Poland will either be a Catholic country or it will not exist at all» (Modras 2000, 245). The opinions of the Catholic press played a significant role. They criticised the assimilation programme, trying to prove that the Jews opposed polonisation. In the 1920s, these views were consolidated among the broad Catholic elites. At the same time, double identity often turned out to be unacceptable in interwar Poland. Under the influence of developing racial theories, a growing emphasis was placed on the «right of blood», according to which nationality was inherited from the parents (Landau-Czajka 2003, 125 et seq.)

Students, being young, were susceptible to various types of influences. Some of them came from rural areas and were raised in the spirit of traditional folk Catholicism, thus sympathising with the nationalist trends. The campaigns of Polish nationalists were opposed by socialist, democratic, and peasant party groups, but these were in the minority at the university. There were also examples of friendship and cooperation between Polish and Jewish students. Julian Stryjkowski (a well-known writer later in his life) recalled that, during his time at the university, he made friends with Teodor Parnicki and Marian Promiński, who would also become renowned writers. Many students opposed the ghetto benches and sat with their Jewish classmates. Some activists representing the All-Polish Youth (for instance, Witold Nowosad) also opposed aggressive anti-Semitic campaigns. At the time, expressions of support for persecuted Jewish students required a lot of courage, as any attempt to help them could have tragic consequences. Maria Fiderer, a socialist opposing aggressive attacks, was thrown off stairs, and Teresa Cisłówna, a Polish language and literature student who stood up for her Jewish friends, was assaulted in Kopernika St. Militias, armed with makeshift weapons, most often attacked students who were walking alone. There was no sufficient opposition on the part of young people who merely wanted to graduate as fast as possible after coming to Lviv and were not keen to risk conflict with members of the All-Polish Youth.

Relations between Polish and Jewish students at the JKU followed the pattern prevailing both in Lviv and across the country. The idea

of strengthening Polish identity in the eastern borderlands, to which members of the All-Polish Youth added theses on the need to eliminate «alien» (in this case, mainly Jewish and Ukrainian) influence, played a significant role in Lviv. There were Jewish pogroms across Poland, in Przytyk, Mińsk Mazowiecki, and Myślenice, right before the outbreak of the war (Żyndul 1994, 21–27).

Polish-Ukrainian relations at the Jan Kazimierz University were largely shaped by the legacy of the Polish-Ukrainian War. Poles living in Lviv were wary and mistrustful of Ukrainians. In 1921, Ukrainians established an illegal Ukrainian Secret University (USU). The Ukrainian youth were divided into two factions — one group enrolled at the JKU, and the other boycotted that institution and chose the USU. Conflicts emerged between the two factions. Young Poles from the nationalist camp kept their distance from Ukrainian students attending classes at the illegal university and reported secret lectures to the police (Mudryj 2015, 887–911; Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 203–213).

Ukrainian students in the inter-war period were convinced that they were taking part in a fight not for individual interests, but for the cause of the entire nation. They created hero figures that could serve as symbols of anti-Polish resistance. These included Olha Basarab, a member of the Ukrainian Women's Union, and Yaroslav Lubovych, a law student. They both died as a result of actions taken by the Polish police, and their funerals became large national demonstrations, which left a lasting mark on the consciousness of the younger generation. The universal homage that was paid to them gave rise to controversies in Polish circles. Ukrainian university students took part in the protests organised in connection with the funerals of Basarab and Lubovych (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 213–217).

Nonetheless, conflicts between Polish and Ukrainian youth were less frequent than between Poles and Jews. They usually broke out in circumstances related to commemoration of the events of November 1918 or the attempts to establish an independent Ukrainian state in Transcarpathia. In November 1928, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Polish-Ukrainian War, Ukrainians hung yellow-and-blue flags on several major official buildings (including the university) and splashed paint on the Lviv Eaglets monument at the Polytechnic. Members of the Polish student corporation retaliated

brutally by demolishing the Ukrainian Student House at Supińskiego St. On both sides, conflicts between young people were usually provoked by nationalist circles. The authorities also indirectly contributed to the tension, accusing Ukrainians of provocations and restricting their liberties. Even Lviv democrats, liberals, and socialists would turn a blind eye on anti-Ukrainian campaigns in the city (Żygulski 1994).

Many Ukrainians were convinced that they were treated as second-class citizens at the university. Such applicants as Mykhailo Drahan, despite being eager to take up studies, could not be enrolled at the university shortly after the Polish-Ukrainian War because they had fought for the West Ukrainian People's Republic. Only after two years of tragic events, the relations between the two sides began to normalise, with some Ukrainian youth still choosing the Ukrainian Secret University. Even after graduating, employment opportunities for young Ukrainians were much more limited than those available to Polish graduates. These factors contributed to the growing distance between Polish and Ukrainian students. But despite the tensions, friendly relations could also be found in these circles, as testified by the students Volodymyr Barahura and Myroslav Semczyszyn (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 217–239; Semczyszyn 1998, 34, Barahura, b.d.w., 26, 46, 53–54).

Ukrainian-Jewish relations at the university are a fairly complex issue. In the interwar period, they were often quite amicable. In the press, Ukrainians warned against joining the mass anti-Semitic movement, and sometimes even mocked the behaviour of Polish nationalists. However, the Ukrainian youth generally perceived the Jewish community as a threat to their national interests. They believed that Jews might compete with them in the fight for a share in the city's commerce and ultimately drive Ukrainians out of large urban centres. At the university, Ukrainians took part in anti-Semitic excesses much less frequently than Poles did, yet this does not mean that they refrained from such actions altogether (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 239–245).

Relations between students of the three nationalities were certainly influenced by the academic staff, unable to deal with violent anti-Semitic campaigns. Powerless to find a solution to the problem, the university authorities limited their response to suspending lectures. Numerous

professors were involved in political games, losing esteem in the eyes of their students. Some scholars (such as Rector Edward Porębowicz) publicly declared their political views, e.g., by disparaging the Ukrainians' ambitions to have a state of their own. They expressed critical views about the establishment of an independent Ukrainian university. Those who strongly opposed radical slogans were often insulted and harassed, and loud demonstrations were organised near their homes. Most professors tried not to fall foul of their students. The share of scholars defending the attacked Jewish youth was negligible, with only a few signing an open letter against anti-Semitic excesses at universities. Many professors supported the *numerus clausus* provision — during a vote at a meeting of the council of the Faculty of Philosophy on February 1, 1922, 18 members were in favour of the *numerus clausus*, and 6 were against (Chrostek 2019, 353). Across the city as well as at the university, there was no effective opposition to the anti-Semitic campaign waged by the nationalist camp. However, the academic circles did include scholars (for instance Ryszard Ganszyniec, Stanisław Kulczyński) who openly came out in support of persecuted Jewish youth (Bukowska-Marczak 2019, 246–265).

As rightly noted by Vil Bakirov and Serhiy Posokhov, World War I triggered a crisis of the model of the classical university (Bakirov, Posokhov 2017). The researchers stress that the University of Lviv was an institution «on the periphery», in a borderland where various political and cultural identities mixed. The war only deepened the internal antagonisms. In this sense, the university was perceived as a «bastion». This was especially visible in the interwar period, when there were growing tendencies to build an independent Ukrainian identity. However, this process began much earlier, before the outbreak of World War I, represented among other things by the struggles to create an independent Ukrainian university (Bakirov, Posokhov 2017).

To sum up, it is important to emphasise once again the enormous influence of ethnic and national politics in shaping the attitudes of young people. This process was particularly visible in the eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic, where the Polish and Ukrainian nationalisms clashed. In Lviv, Polish-Ukrainian relations were particularly tense during the interwar period.

This was due to the city's location, ethnic makeup, and the fact that the Galician capital was the most important Ukrainian political and cultural centre at that time. The war of 1918-1919 left a lasting mark on the mutual relations. The rapid proliferation of conflicts was driven by nationalist tendencies developing very quickly in the Polish and Ukrainian milieus. The National Party in Lviv was one of the strongest in the country. Many professors had nationalist beliefs or were associated with this camp. This in turn influenced the popularity of nationalist ideas at the university and the related development of anti-Semitism. The radicalisation of academic youth had a significant impact on the development of anti-Semitic ideology at the university. An added factor was the change in government policy towards nationalism after the death of Marshal Józef Piłsudski.

In recent years, several significant publications have appeared demonstrating the achievements of the University of Lviv and successes of individual departments and professors. Relatively little consideration has been given to the student body. We should not forget the fate of the Jews and Ukrainians that lived in the same state and were discriminated against in various ways and deprived of equal opportunities and access to higher education. It is necessary to stress the role of radical ideologies, which resulted in the exclusion of certain categories of students from academic associations and student dormitories, making it impossible for them to pursue university education. The image of the Jan Kazimierz University familiar to us from the existing historiography remains incomplete without analysing these issues.

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МІЖ ПОЛІТИКОЮ ТА УНІВЕРСИТЕТСЬКИМ ЖИТТЯМ: АКАДЕМІЧНА МОЛОДЬ ЛЬВОВА У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД

У статті вивчено особливості життя студентської молоді Університету Яна Казимира у Львові в міжвоєнний період. У той час в закладі навчалися поляки, українці, євреї, а також румуни та росіяни. Університет уважали одним із найважливіших наукових центрів Другої Речі Посполитої, його студенти були політично активні; часто ставали членами політичних фракцій і груп, які діяли в навчальних закладах або поза ними. Це спричинило появу конфліктів в університеті. Одним із додаткових чинників, що вплинули на виникнення міжособистісних суперечок, стала націоналістична ідеологія, яка розвивалася в Україні наприкінці 1930-х рр. Іншими причинами конфліктів на національному ґрунті стали складне економічне становище тогочасного студентства та особисті політичні та ін. переконання деяких представників інтелігенції. У статті схарактеризовано студентське середовище Університету Яна

Казимира, акцентовано увагу на політичних підтекстах, які опосередковано впливали на стосунки між студентами різних національностей. Значний вплив на взаємини в академічному середовищі мала політика польської держави та загальна політична й економічна ситуація в місті та країні. У 1920-х рр., відразу після відновлення Польщею незалежності, в університеті загострився польсько-український конфлікт, який спричинив створення Українського таємного університету. Пізніше боротьба націоналістично налаштованої польської молоді за впровадження принципу numerus clausus в університеті, а потім і в гетто для єврейських студентів загострилася. Авторка схарактеризувала академічне середовище Університету Яна Казимира, наголошуючи на ролі політики як чинника, що формує взаємини між студентами.

Ключові слова: **львівські студенти, Університет Яна Казимира, міжвоєнний період, академічне життя, студентські організації, політика в університеті.**

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