

Images of Poland and Poles in the Soviet propaganda of the 1920's and 1930's (case of Podillya)

Article is dedicated the views of residents skirts Poland and Poles in the interwar period. Is displayed methods of Soviet power, which was used political workers to form anti-Polish opinion in society.

Keywords: "the other image", "ethnic stereotypes", "image of enemy", "Friend image" ideology, propaganda, image, identification.

Formation of "the image of another", "the image of the enemy" or "the image of a friend" is a psychological necessity of both an individual and a group of individuals, starting with the smallest part of a society, for example, a family, and ending with a nation / nation. One of the important factors that causes such a need is the desire to realize oneself. At the subconscious level, each person finds out the following questions: "Who I am?", That is, identifies oneself.

One of the forms of awareness of "self" is the notion of identity. E. Smith highlights the problem of identity in National Identity, arguing that: "I am composed of diverse identities and roles – family, territorial, class, religious, ethnic, and tribal" [1].

The problem of identity attracts attention in the process of transition from the traditional to the industrial society, which actually happened in the investigated interwar period in the Ukrainian SSR.

When the construction of the identity of citizens in the state is clearly defined, then the authorities still have to make a distinction and separate the "other". Here is the choice of the leadership of the state, who exactly will be "other", whom and how their citizens will be perceived. For whom to put the brand "enemy", and whom to represent in the form of "friend"? The political will of the authorities will depend in part on the way people perceive the representatives of "other" nationalities or states. It is extremely important for the country's leadership that citizens understand and support any decisions they make, especially when it comes to the foreign policy vector (the perception of a particular state as an "enemy").

Contemporary researchers of the psychology of political conflicts L. Ross and R. Nisbett believe that in order to successfully predict the behavior of an individual or a group of people, it is necessary to take into account how this group interprets certain events and phenomena and that stimulates it to think this way [3].

In the 1920s, the Soviet Union fell into international isolation, the tensions in the Union republics increased. Rational thinking in such conditions, both in politics and in society, has suffered, and a psychological phenomenon has emerged, which L. Ross and R. Nisbettton called "the enemy's devilish image" [3].

In the case of the USSR, "the image of the enemy" was received by all the capitalist states. "The image of the enemy" was primitive and stereotyped. Accor-

ding to him, all “inhuman” is always attributed to the adversary, and his own behavior is perceived as correct and adequate. All good deeds of the “capitalists” are associated with their aspirations to achieve any beneficial purpose, their own, charitable actions, are explained by personal positive qualities. Own obscene actions are simply not noticeable.

The illusion of danger from the capitalist states was continuously created by the Soviet authorities on the pages of the press. Such statements were supported by the results of the 15th Congress of the CPSU, which emphasized the growing international weight of the USSR, the growth of its authority as the center of the world revolution. At the same time, growing risk and danger of a direct attack on the Soviet republic from the side of the “capitalist environment”: “The growth of our Soviet Union and the enormous achievements of the communist construction, with which we began the second decade, are forcing the imperialists to strain all their forces to fight us. All attention must be focused on the country’s defense capabilities” [5, p. 5]. The article was published in the local party periodical of Kamyanets-Podilsky. However, despite its territorial remoteness from the republican center, the local press was compelled to publish its notes in a single all-union ideological direction.

The theme of “Polish affairs” did not go away from the column of the central and local Podillya press since when the government of Y.Pilsudski came to power in the Second Republic of Poland. Every failure, which was the policy of the leader of the Polish state, was considered by the USSR as his own victory and proof of the rapid collapse of the Polish state. In the 1920s, several conflicts arose between the Polish Sejm and the government of Y.Pilsudski. During one of them, in 1928, the majority of the deputies of the Seimas rejected the draft law on taxation of peasant lands and buildings submitted by the government. The failure of government projects was interpreted as the collapse of the “fascist political regime” in Poland. The decision of the Diet in favor of the peasants, forms an impression on him, as a friend of “labor people” [6, p. 1].

Journalists were interested in all the events that took place in Poland. In particular, the elections to the Polish Sejm were described in a separate article in the newspaper. The results of the electoral process were indicated, according to which the bloc of cooperation with the government included those supported by Y.Pilsudski’s government, namely: representatives of industry, rich landowners, conservatives, representatives of the Generalate. Particularly highlighted the probable “friends” or “allies” of the communist regime. So, two mandates from the city of Lodz, from the groupings that stood on the platform of the workers “and peasants” bloc. Also, there was one mandate that was gained from the Upper Silesia, it stood on a communist platform. This part of society in Poland, the Soviet leadership presents as a “positive element” of society, as “brother laborers”, who seek to join the Soviet states [7, p. 1].

“The image of the enemy of Poland” was sometimes presented to readers of the press, along with “the image of the enemy priests”. Thus, an ideological anti-

religious company was united with anti-Polish propaganda, which amplified the result of both propaganda directions. Under the heading “Peasants land give priests”, the newspaper “Red Border” tells of the peasants protests in the Salyewski village of Galician against the transfer of land to priests. The commandant of the village drew 20 acres of land from the Catholic parish for use for their own economic needs. Since there was a problem of landlessness in Western Ukraine, such an act of old age in the village was indignant. Peasants wrote complaints, but did not get the desired results. When the congregation sent in the field of plows, the village community gathered and did not allow the cultivation of land. The local authorities perceived this as a peasant rebellion; The village sent horse “policemen”, arrested 9 people and imposed a fine on the peasants. The author evaluates this incident as one of the manifestations of the undemocratic policy of the Polish authorities: “for the selected land, the community had to bear responsibility and pay a fine.” In the article, suppressed by the Polish rule, the peasant appears in the “image of a friend.” Interestingly, when describing the event, attention is not focused on national differences – the correspondent emphasized the violation of the “peasant class” by the Polish authorities and the Catholic clergy [8, p. 1].

In the article “The intentions of Poland did not materialize” described the failure of Polish diplomacy in concluding a nonaggression treaty with Lithuania. Diplomatic missions of both countries met the meeting of Kovno (Lithuania) in May 1928. The Polish delegation headed by Goluvkov offered Lithuania to enter into a non-aggression agreement. But the Lithuanian delegates on this project are stuck. The conclusion made by the Soviet press is that Lithuania does not want to join politics directed against Germany and the USSR.

On the pages of the local press there are allegations of espionage in favor of Poland. Quite often, such suspicions of espionage fell on Catholic clerics.

About the pressure and persecution of Catholic priests we learn from lawsuits. The case of a Catholic priest from the town of Derazhna S. Gansky, who was accused of anti-Soviet agitation and activities in favor of Poland, was known. In his sermons, Ghani criticized the Soviet government, frankly declared a policy of oppression for religion, in particular Catholicism. He resisted registration in the department of the cults of his temple, being “reactionary” against the Soviet regime. On June 25, 1926, the priest appealed to local authorities with a declaration clearly anti-Soviet. In a statement criticized by the laws and measures of Soviet power, Gansky claimed violence against religion and clergy. This declaration of the priests cited among other priests at the apartment of Father Levinsky in Vinnitsa. A Gansky in the city of Derazhna surrounded himself with a group of “anti-Soviet people”, with whom he met in his apartment in the evenings and conducted talks “of anti-Soviet character”. Gansky did not admit his guilt, he was tried under Article 227, 56–21 and parts 54–10 of the Criminal Code of the USSR and sentenced to 3 years of serving punishment in the remote northern places of the USSR [10, p. 51-52]. Similar indicative lawsuits and their publication in the

press created the impression of a permanent danger that the readers of the Ukrainian SSR dwelt on the part of Poland and its representatives. Compromising in the eyes of the population the activities of religious institutions, the authorities tried to focus on the anti-Soviet activities of Catholic churches and priests in the first place.

The essence of the ideological anti-Polish campaign was to gradually form the image of this state as a hostile, and the ethnic group as disloyal. Until 1927, nevertheless, there were some positive connotations associated with the positive image of the “laborer’s polar”, who sought to get rid of the power of “the mistress of Poland”. However, after 1927, and especially during the 1930s, the Soviet Union’s policy of national minorities changed radically, and ethnic cleansing convinced citizens of the USSR did not doubt that the “Pole” was first and foremost a synonym for the word “enemy”.

Together with a change in the course of power in relation to national politics, the intensification of repression against Poles and other national minorities, the atmosphere of hatred and danger from persecuted nationalities prevailed in society. This national enmity has deepened all possible propaganda structures. In the 1930’s, the theme of Poland was traced not only to media pages, as in the previous decade, but also in special propaganda literature, school textbooks, and artistic works.

As for artistic works, the novel V.Belyaev’s “Old Fortress” is very revealing. Events unfold in Kamyanets-Podilskyi on the eve of the Liberation Movement, when there were Polish troops here. A spectacular moment for the reader was to become an episode when the main characters of the book in the Kamyanets-Podilskyi gymnasium were taught, with the reception of S.Petliura and Polish officers, which the author calls “piltsudchiky”. One of the main heroes of the story of Manjur read the verse of Taras Shevchenko “When We were Cossacks” before the guests, mentioning Poles and priests who “shed the sea of blood and tears” [12, p. 32] on Ukrainian lands. After the performance, the guy was punished and locked up in the basement, and they also got drunk on the director of the gymnasium and responsible for the solemn concert.

Here it is worth paying attention to the description of Polish officers, one of which initially threatened Manjuri, and then teachers. Speaking about Shevchenko, the Pole used remorse and contempt, saying that his poems are sacrilege, and he himself is an obvious enemy of the church of Poland and the Vatican [12, p. 32].

The figures of the UPR are presented in the work as servants of the Poles. Confirmation of this is the image of Petliura, who silently watched the situation, and then, wanting to please the “piltsudchiks”, ordered to remove the portrait of Taras Shevchenko from the wall.

Socio-political views in Poland and the Poles changed in the 1930s. In the 1920’s there were ideological stamps of anti-Polish character in the press and some diplomatic conflicts. In the next decade, the formation of a negative image of the “enemy Pole” extends to educational and artistic literature, as well as propaganda

literature. The press began to openly and occasionally to blame Poland for territorial claims on the Ukrainian and Belarussian lands. The pages of the newspapers provide justifications for repressive measures by the authorities regarding the diplomatic representatives of Poland. It is striking that the justification of terror is also for ethnic Poles, citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

In the Podillya region, where the representatives of different ethnic groups traditionally lived, during the interwar period the authorities deliberately shaped the image of Poland as hostile to the Soviet Union and its citizens of the state. For some time, this propaganda combined with plots of “Polish workers” as victims of bourgeois power, but the growth of militaristic sentiments in the USSR, the desire to counteract in the public consciousness the Soviet society and the rest of the world led to the abandonment of these plots and the complete blundering of all Polish Soviet propaganda.

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Образ Польщі в уявленні жителів Поділля 1920-1930-х рр.

У 1920-х рр. СРСР потрапила в міжнародну ізоляцію, напруженість у союзних республіках зростає. Раціональне мислення в таких умовах як у політикумі, так і в суспільстві постраждало, й виник такий психологічний феномен, який американські дослідники Л.Росс і Р.Нісбеттон назвали “диявольським образом ворога”.

Тема “польських справ” не сходила зі шпальт газет від тоді, як до влади в Другій Речі Посполитій прийшов уряд Ю.Пілсудського. Кожну невдачу, яку зазнавала політика очільника польської держави, в газетах СРСР розцінювалась, як власна перемога та доказ швидкого краху польської держави.

В статті описано погляди жителів Поділля на Польщу та поляків в міжвоєнний період. Відображується методика Радянської влади, яку використовували політпрацівники, формуючи антипольську думку в суспільстві.

“Образ друга” в свідомості громадян СРСР формувался аналогічно “образу ворога”. Влада Радянського союзу в будь-який момент могла поставити тавро “друга” на ту державу, з якою було вигідно товаришувати в конкретній ситуації. В 1920-х – 1930-х рр. в думках громадян СРСР “друзми” були ті держави, в яких до влади приходила партія лівого спрямування. На статус “друга” могли також претендувати й “колишній ворог” (наприклад Німеччина), якщо їх об’єднував “спільний ворог” (інша держава, амбіції та політика якої загрожувала для обох).

Суть ідеологічної антипольської кампанії полягала в поступовому, ненав’язливому темпі характеризувати дану державу, як ворожу, а етнос, як нелояльний. До 1927 р. в свідомості українців існувала ще можливість зробити висновки самостійно. Ми прослідковуємо думку, яка нав’язувалась населенню через ЗМІ, як таку, що припускала можливий позитивний образ “поляка-трудівника”, який прагнув позбутись влади “панської Польщі”. Проте, після 1927 р. та наступних 1930-х роках кардинально змінюється політика СРСР до національних меншин, етнічні чистки переконають громадян СРСР не сумнівались в тому, що “поляк” у першу чергу це синонім слова “ворог”.

Суспільно-політичні погляди в 1930-х рр. на Польщу та поляків зазнали змін. У 1920-х рр. присутні ідеологічні штампи антипольського характеру в пресі та деяких дипломатичних конфліктах. У наступне десятиліття формування негативного образу “поляка-ворога” поширюється на навчальну та художню літературу, а також літературу пропагандистського характеру.

Ключові слова: “образ іншого”, “етностереотип”, “образ ворога”, “образ друга”, ідеологія, пропаганда, імідж, ідентифікація.