

УДК 94 (477:438)“1939/1953”

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of Sciences of Ukraine**ORCID.org/ 0000-0002-2535-998X**yulliakshanovska@gmail.com**DOI: 10.33402/up.2019-12-217-222***BETWEEN ILLUSION AND TERROR. BOOK REVIEW:
DAMIAN MARKOWSKI.****ANATOMIA STRACHU. SOWIETYZACJA OBWODU LWOW-
SKIEGO 1944-1953. STUDIUM ZMIAN POLITYCZNO-GOSP-
ODARCZYCH. WARSZAWA, 2018. SS.588.**

A free discussion of the problems associated with the development of communist ideology in the period after the Second World War in Eastern Europe for decades was impossible. In the countries of the former Soviet Union and satellite countries that were politically dependent on the USSR, these questions were written only positively, and therefore not objectively. Studies illustrating the processes in the Lviv region was impossible, since the records stored in archives on these issues were kept secret until the mid-1990s, and some to the present. Although, the scientist researching the Soviet period continues to struggle with a number of problems of archival affairs: inconsistency, inaccuracy of information, loss of important pages, some cases continue to be classified as «SECRET», as well as various procedural problems, only complicate access to archival materials. The selected group of «historians» from whom fundamental research was expected was limited only to those sources which dealt with the development of communist thought and that the communists took power in Eastern Europe in the manner desired by the government.

This state of affairs meant that in the 90s of the twentieth century it was difficult to find publications that represented the real goals and style of the Communists. The situation in this regard changed only after the collapse of the USSR, when the archives of the former Soviet states and dependent federal states from Russia opened their departments and declassified files. From the mid-90s of the last century, scientific publications include issues on the expansion of communism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe or describe the mechanisms by which the Soviet republics were sovietized (in particular, the changes associated with 1922).

Such studies are published in many countries, especially those that had communist regimes, were directly related to the Soviet Union, or were part of the USSR. In

Ukrainian historiography, studies are worth mentioning Adamovskyi V.¹, Badiak V.², Badzo Y.³, Bazhan O.⁴, Bodnar H.⁵, etc. In Poland, also can be noted the creation of various studies on this topic. This is Wolsza T.⁶, Szumski J.⁷, Prokop J.⁸, Ciesielski S., Hryciuk G.⁹, Bielicki P.¹⁰. There are also numerous collective works in which experts from the post-war era published their research¹¹.

Not long ago, another work on this topic was published in Poland, its author Damian Karol Markowski. A book entitled «Anatomy of Fear. Sovietization of the Lviv region 1944–1953. Case Study of political and economic changes» («Anatomia Strachu. Sowietyzacja obwodu lwowskiego 1944–1953. Studium zmian polityczno-gospodarczych»). This is supplemented and expanded version of the author's PhD (doctoral) dissertation, which he defended on May 18, 2016 at the Institute of History, the University of Warsaw¹².

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- ¹ Адамовський В., Депортації як форма державного терору в Україні (1930-1950-ті рр.): спроба термінологічного та історіографічного аналізу // Історія України: маловідомі імена, події, факти. 2007. Вип. 34. С. 255-268.
- ² Бадяк В., В лещатах Сталінщини: Нарис історії Львівської організації Спілки художників України. 1939–1953. Львів, 2002. 203 с.
- ³ Бадзьо Ю., Право жити: Україна в складі СРСР, людина в системі тоталітарного соціалізму. Київ: Таксон, 1996. 400 с.
- ⁴ Бажан О., Наростання опору в політиці русифікації в Українській РСР у другій половині 1950-х – 1960-х рр. Український історичний журнал. 2008. №5. С. 147-159.; Особливості відбудовчого періоду в Українській РСР у другій половині 40-х на початку 50-х років ХХ ст. Наукові записки. №41. С. 24-25.; Радянiзація західних областей України в другій половині 1940–початку 1950-х років: наслідки в національно-культурній сфері // Україна ХХ ст.: культура, ідеологія, політика. Київ, 2007. Вип. 12. С. 340-356.
- ⁵ Боднар Г., Львів. Щоденне життя міста очима переселенців із сіл (50-80-ті роки ХХ ст.). Львів, 2010. 338 с.
- ⁶ Wolsza T., Za żelazną kurtyną. Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia, Związek Sowiecki i Józef Stalin w opiniach polskiej emigracji politycznej w Wielkiej Brytanii 1944/1945–1953, Warszawa 2005, ss. 286; Dziennikarze władzy, władza dziennikarcom. Aparat represji wobec środowiska dziennikarskiego, red. T. Wolsza, S. Ligarski, Warszawa 2010, ss. 456.
- ⁷ Szumski J., Sowietyzacja Zachodniej Białorusi, 1944–1953. Propaganda i edukacja w służbie ideologii, Kraków 2010, ss. 362.
- ⁸ Prokop J., Sowietyzacja i jej maski. PRL w latach stalinowskich, Kraków 1997, ss. 160.
- ⁹ Ciesielski S., Hryciuk G., Srebrakowski A., Masowe deportacje w Związku Radzieckim, Toruń 2004, ss. 508.
- ¹⁰ Bielicki P., „Żelazna kurtyna” jako aspekt sowietyzacji Europy Wschodniej w latach 1949–1953, „Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej” 2017, nr 1, s. 175–200.
- ¹¹ Europa nieprowincjonalna. Przemiany na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (Białoruś, Litwa, Łotwa, Ukraina, wschodniej pogranicze III Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) w latach 1772–1999, red. K. Jasiewicz, Warszawa 1999, ss. 1496; Sowietyzacja Kresów Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej po 17 września 1939. Studia, red. A. Sudoł, Bydgoszcz 1998, ss. 442; Tygiel narodów. Stosunki społeczne i etniczne na dawnych ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej 1939-1956, red. K. Jasiewicz, Warszawa–Londyn 2002, ss. 630.
- ¹² URL: http://www.ihuw.pl/sites/ihuw.pl/files/page-attachments/institut/dzialalnosc/e-newsletter_2-2016_0.pdf

This publication, of course, is innovative at its core, since there are few similar monographs in Polish historiography. Although in Ukraine there are several well-known studies on this topic, which have already been mentioned above.

There are no big remarks in the sources of research. When writing the work, the author used archival documentation stored in the *Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw*, Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance, Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, State Archives of Lviv Oblast, State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast and Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. Although it seems strange why the author did not refer to the materials of the State Archives of Ternopil Oblast, the institution also has materials representing the situation that developed in the Lviv Oblast after 1944. Archival materials supplemented by sources from private collections. The source of the peer-reviewed work is also numerous compact publications and articles, as well as memoirs, newspapers, dictionaries, chronicles, guidebooks, several materials posted on Internet resources. It is also eye-catching that the author did not use the materials of the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine and did not use interview materials, turning his attention only to the memoirs, most of which were published in Poland, and only a few of them in Ukraine. Again referring to the sources of the monograph, it is worth noting that the author used a number of publications not only in Polish, but also in Ukrainian, Russian, German and English. However, it would be nice to use the publications of William Jay Risch¹³ and Tarik Cyril Amar¹⁴, which is dedicated to the Soviet Lviv period of «Stalinism». A definite flaw in the work is the use of only four press headlines. The press was the main propaganda milestone of the so-called «new government», which cared about its huge editions (exceeding real needs), in order to create the impression of a universal unification of the population around the ideals of communism¹⁵.

A time-frame indicated in the study cover the period from the summer of 1944, that is, from the re-occupation by the Soviet army of Lviv and its environs, to the spring in 1953, that is, until the death of Stalin. These time-frame concern to quite important events in the history of the region or even the entire USSR. Since the starting date is 1944, does not raise any questions, the adoption of the death date of Joseph Stalin (1953) as a turning point in the process of Sovietization in Lviv should be interpreted very conditionally, and one can argue with how much this event affected the situation in the region. Let's not forget that despite the struggle for power at the highest levels of authority in the USSR, until the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which was held on February 14-26, 1956, and the publication of the original secret document of Nikita Khrushchev entitled «On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences» continued not only Sovietization, but also the Stalinization of everyday life in the region. The turning point in this process took

¹³ Risch W. *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv*. Vol. 173. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011. 360 pp.

¹⁴ Amar T. *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015. 356 pp.

¹⁵ The full press resources of the analyzed period can be found in the press department of the Scientific library of Lviv National Ivan Franko University

place only in 1956. Therefore, the adoption of 1956 as the final date of sovietization, has an advantage from the point of view of both Polish and Ukrainian historiography. It was from the end of 1955 that the Polish government sought to allow the citizens of Poland who remained after the Second World War in the USSR to return to their homeland. This process began in 1955 and continued in 1956-1959. Therefore, the so-called II repatriation certainly influenced the situation in the Lviv region.

The study consists of 588 pages, of which the main text is 496 pages. The work contains an Introduction, twelve (and not as the author claims in the introduction, thirteen, see P. 24) paragraphs and Conclusions. The publication is structured in a problem-chronological order, supplemented by 12 applications, a list of abbreviations, an index with initials and illustrations. The lack of a geographical index, which would certainly improve the «navigation» after publication in geographical terms, causes a certain imbalance.

The first and second paragraphs introduce the reader to the political situation in the region and the functioning of the Soviet apparatus of power both in 1939-1941 and in the summer of 1944, when the Soviet Army as a result of the offensive takes control of Lviv and the entire region. Furthermore, in the first chapter also discusses the period of German occupation with all its consequences for the population. Chapter II is expanded in relation to the previous one and contains the characteristics of party organizations and security agencies operating in this area.

In the third chapter, the author describes the struggle for the independence of the Polish Underground State with the Soviet regime. These analyzes begin with a description of Operation «Storm» (pl. «Burza») conducted by the military of the Home Army (pl. Armia Krajowa or AK). Were also characterized the activities of such organizations as NIE (pl. «Niepodległość» - Independence) and WiN (pl. «Wolność i Niezawisłość» - Freedom and Independence). In each case, the process of destruction of the structures of these organizations by the Soviet security agencies was presented.

The next chapter presents the process of deportation of the Polish population from the Lviv region. The author showed in it the procedures for the removal of the population and the actions of the Soviet government aimed at forcing the Poles to leave. In addition, the Poles tried to carry out attempts at passive resistance. Therefore, the author puts emphasis in the section on the mechanisms that the Soviet government used to «convince» the unconvincing.

Chapter V illustrates the next step when, after the eviction of the Poles, these regions were populated by Ukrainians and Russians. The Soviet government used the method of settling people brought from remote areas of the entire USSR. Some of the «new residents» of Lviv were Ukrainians displaced from Poland within new borders, which is also reflected in the peer-reviewed publication.

The next chapter illustrates a slightly different topic, namely the struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army with the organs of Soviet power. In this part, the author acquaints the reader with the structure of the Ukrainian underground in Lviv region, demonstrates attempts at unification representatives of Polish and Ukrainian anti-Soviet groups, and also gives methods for conducting combat operations of Ukrainians.

The seventh chapter presents the issue of deportation of the population by the Soviet government, which in the eyes of the security apparatus could pose a threat to the new

government. This chapter also contains information on the living conditions of specially displaced persons and the process of their further rehabilitation.

Chapters eight and nine describe the struggle waged by the communist government against the Greek Catholic and Catholic churches, as well as other religious associations. The first of these chapters shows the path to the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church and the expansion of Orthodoxy, in the second a system of struggle with representatives of other faiths.

In the next chapter, the author analyzed the process of recovering losses in the field of economy and infrastructure of the Lviv region. The author also raised the important issue of the beginning of economic reconstruction in the direction desired by the communist system (for example, collectivization).

The penultimate eleventh chapter of the peer-reviewed monograph raises questions of the formation of a «new citizen» in the regions that make up the USSR. The author presents here the actions that the authorities are taking to change the mentality of the inhabitants - propaganda carried out through books and the press, ubiquitous agitation in the public space or even the condemnation of capitalism and everything connected with it.

The last chapter deals with the reality of everyday life - created and strictly controlled by the Soviet government. It describes the situation with housing, issues of focusing on basic necessities, working conditions and wages, the quality of health care, crime and terror conducted by the Soviet government against «disobedient» people. There is also information about the everyday life of the Poles, after the resettlement actions in 1944-1946.

Although the topics that are in the chapters are not in doubt and should be considered valuable for the entire study, however, it seems that the author can construct the structure in a slightly different way (mainly from the point of view of the location of the topics discussed).

This would facilitate the perception of the whole and improve the process of comparison and synthesis. For example, Chapter 5. «*Walka OUN i UPA z władzą sowiecką*» could be entered immediately after the third chapter «*Walka polskiego podziemia niepodległościowego z władzą sowiecką: AK – NIE – WiN*». Thanks to the aforementioned procedure, the author would get an effect similar to that of the neighboring arrangement of chapters eight and nine, where author analyzed the struggle of the Soviet government with individual churches and faiths.

Also open is the question of justifying the separate existence of Chapter VII. The author wrote a lot about settlement and resettlement actions in the fifth chapter, and the first two subchapters were successfully placed there («*Deportacja rodzin członków podziemia*» and «*Deportacja kulaków*»). In turn, the last subchapter («*Warunki osób deportowanych na specosiedleniu i proces ich rehabilitacji*») going beyond the basic considerations of the author (takes only 3 pages) - without loss for the entire book its could be skipped.

There are also certain doubts regarding the inclusion at the end of Chapter XII of the question of the Poles in Lviv region who remained in the USSR after the resettlement operation in 1946. This problem would be much more appropriate to place in the fourth chapter («*Wypędzenie ludności polskiej*»).

As mentioned in previous fragments of this review, the work is not without other shortcomings. The state of the press used is, of course, too small, especially in a situation where it was the main instrument of Sovietization and Russification of the population, and even more the construction of the image of a «new (Soviet) person». Certain questions raise the chronological framework of the work. Although, this is most likely already a certain strain that has entrenched among researchers when a period is determined by a specific date or event. But if we take into account all the events in the aggregate, then this date did not affect the changes in the Union's policy regarding the republics, especially the Lviv region.

All of the above disadvantages in no way reduce the overall substantive value of the research. The author did a titanic work, conducting extensive archival and library queries. The use of a large number of non-Polish bibliography only gives more objectivity for research. Therefore, although the work does not exhaust the topic, it makes it an important scientific achievement in filling the «white spots» in the studies of Soviet history.

It is also worth adding that the book is written in an understandable language, accessible to a wide group of readers. As a result, it certainly deserves to read a monograph. However, in order to gain popularity among the general public, the research needs to be translated into Ukrainian.