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## **[Рец. на:] Roman Kabachyi «Exiled to the Steppes. The Deportation of Ukrainians from Poland to South of Ukraine in 1944–1946»**

In 2019 «LUTA SPRAVA Publishing» with the assistance of Ukrainian Cultural Foundation there was published an updated and additional edition of the book by historian and publicist Roman Kabachyi «Exiled to the Steppes. The Deportation of Ukrainians from Poland to South of Ukraine in 1944–1946» (Polish translation was published in 2012)

The main aim of book, as noted by the author in the annotation, is «popularization of knowledge about the history and culture of the inhabitants of the Kholmshchyna, Podlasie, Nadsyannia, Lemkivshchyna and Western Boykivshchyna (territory of Zakerzon) in the 75th anniversary of beginning of the deportation from their native lands». Note this information is also needed to establish communication with «world Ukrainian [synonymous to the word diaspora and definition to characterize the Ukrainians who stayed in the former ethnic territories after the change of borders in The Second World War – *Y. A.*], in particular the Ukrainians from Poland «to whom this issue is important», also to fill in the blanks of knowledge the Ukrainians who come to Poland and know nothing about Ukrainian history and culture in Poland.

The book consists of an introduction and well-structured five chapters in which the author answered the question why The Ukrainians deported from Poland (P. 37–122), how process of resettlement was transformed from relatively voluntary to a forced action, how deported (Ukrainians) and ordinary Polish citizens, and local government (voivodeship, district, county) perceived this movement (P. 122–230), how deported Ukrainians lived in the new political and social reality in the South of the USSR and after illegally leaving the Southeastern regions and moved to the western ones (P. 325–430). Roman Kabachyi paid special attention in chapter «OUN and UPA: defenders and provocateurs» to the ambiguous issue of the attitude of Ukrainian Nationalist Underground (the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army) to the deportation of the Ukrainians, assistance and counteract to resettlement action (P. 235–321). The last paragraphs of the book united under the name «Strangers among their own» (P. 435–524) outlined the key points in the social adaptation of the deportees. On the one hand, Roman Kabachiy emphasized their professional success and contribution to independence, in particular through participation in the national liberation struggle after moving to the USSR, thereby demonstrated the equality of identity of the Ukrainians from territory of Zakerzon and Ukraine, and he made a brief description of various of Lemko identities. The author also described identity of people

from the Podlasie region. Roman Kabachyi completed the book with analysis of deportees' folklore and literature by authors living in Ukraine and Poland, simultaneously researcher focused on plots devoted to deportation, and reflections on the causes, perpetrators of the tragedy, the image of small homeland.

In the introduction R. Kabachyi briefly defined the main contents of the monograph, took notice to the terminology, for example explained the legitimacy of the use of the term territory of Zakerzon to the Polish-Ukrainian borderland inhabited by Ukrainians (P. 23–26), also resettlement actions, which were formally voluntary, but which were in essence forced displacement (P. 26–28). Historians also explained that «when it comes about to national consciousness of the deported population» in modern understanding it should be noted that citizens of territory of Zakerzon – ethnic/ethnographic had different level of national self-awareness (for instance, population of Nadsyannia felt like Ukrainians and distinctly identified with the Ukrainians, instead inhabitants of Kholmshchyna, Lemkivshchyna, Boykivshchyna, Podlasie had lower level of national self-awareness. Therefore, author of monography summarized «to emphasize an ethnographic approach to displacement, I will continue to use the term «Ukrainian population» «(Ukrainian inhabitants)... in parallel to use the ethnonym «Ukrainians». And in order to distinguish deported people from the rest of the Ukrainians, the term «Polish Ukrainians» will be used (P. 28–29).

The book begins with a consideration of the process of deportation of Ukrainians from Poland as a broader problem to the creation of new (post-war) borders by approaches, policy of the Soviet Union (USSR) (P. 50–70), the Polish emigration government, Polish communist government (P. 70–102). In the same first part the problem of who «decided the displacement of the Poles and the Ukrainians on different sides of the border» has been raised. In the author opinion «there is mutual connection of the Polish Communist on the deportation of Ukrainians with previous theories of the Polish right-wing forces, and later on underground and emigration, and the determination to apply these theories in practice» (P. 72). In particular, the author believed that in the ideas of the National Democratic Party of Poland («endecks») the forerunners of the concept of population transfer. Their («endecks») belief in the correctness of the assimilationist approach to the Ukrainian population in some opinion of party member evolved to the possibility displacement of Ukrainians to the USSR (P. 71–73). R. Kabachyi basing on the research of the Ukrainian historian Igor Iliushyn, noted that at the beginning of the «German-Polish War, it became known about the government plans prepared in 1938–1939 by Marshal Edward Ridz-Smigł and General Tadeusz Kasprzycki with intention of the liberation of the country from the Ukrainian presence (as well as the action of deportation and, possibly, even partly physical extermination of Ukrainians prepared by General Marian Januszajtis) (P. 73). Simultaneously author linked Edward Ridz-Smigł and the later plans of the Polish emigration government, but R. Kabachyi noted that this concept did not immediately become a key one, and the problem of solving the Ukrainian question remained open, as there were thoughts about the possibility of «cultural autonomy for Ukrainians in the restored borders of Poland» (P. 74). Therefore, we think that the author's position on the impact of «endecks» ideas on the government in emigration and, subsequently, the nationalist underground regarding the Ukrainian issue is some harsh and needs more detailed analysis.

Roman Kabachyi described the problem of deportation of the population from the Polish-Ukrainian border to the wider Eastern European context. He showed that that this displacement, as well as the expulsion / resettlement of Germans from Central and Eastern

Europe, is part of the same approach to solving the problem of national minorities and borders during the post-war period (P. 102–122). Innovative for Ukrainian historiography, since it is poorly researched, are also paragraphs devoted to the optation action between the USSR and Czechoslovakia in 1947 (P. 108–117), and the population exchange between Poland and the Byelorussian SSR in 1944–1946 (P. 117–122). When author wrote about optation, He mentioned that the population exchange was not equal, since the Czechs left Volhynia almost three times more than the «Prashov Rusyns», whereas, the initiative of this transfer belonged to the Czechoslovak leadership, but the Slovak authorities were not interested in deserted their land, otherwise the question of the Hungarian minority remained more actual for Slovak government. The movement of Ukrainians from Slovakia and the Volhynia Czechs, the problems of displaced persons from Priashiv region with dwelling, and therefore a some social tension between them and the deported people from Kholmshchyna, who arrived sooner, difficult situations with study (in consequence of they did not have a competent level of Ukrainian language), and hard work in collective farming (P. 108–117) were considered.

The second and fourth parts of the book described in detail and comprehensively all the stages of deportation action in 1944–1946 and even in 1951. On the base of considerable number of archival and ego documents successfully reconstructed life of the displaced persons in the southern territories of the USSR. In the second chapter, the author also drew attention to the first voluntary movements of a part of the inhabitants of Kholmshchyna, Lemkivshchyna. The author thought that people agreed to move out not only through the agitation of the resettlement commissioners (agitators) for a better life, but also to this process influenced the anti-Ukrainian terror during the inter-ethnic conflict (Polish-Ukrainian conflict in the Kholmshchyna) and and devastation after hostilities near Polish-Czechoslovak border in Lemkivshchyna. The researcher also assumed that these voluntary resettlement were connected with the memory of the 1915 refugees from the Kholmshchyna and the will to live in the Orthodox community, as well as the «pro-Russian-left-communist sentiment», «Moscophiles» «pro-Russian symphaty» characteristic of a part of the citizens of Kholmshchyna and Lemkivshchyna. This last thesis is not discussable, but needs some clarification, and the terminological distinction between «pro-Russian»/«Moscophiles» for state formation (before the Bolshevik revolution), or the focus on the Rus-Orthodox (Kyivan Rus') cultural and sacrum heritage in the broader sense of the word, or a belief in communist ideas, agreeable towards to the Soviet state. It is important to consider the material about methods «efforts to persuade» to leave, the forced phase with the involvement of the army, and especially about the ambiguous attitude of local authorities and the Polish population, the church to resettlement.

Special attention should be paid to the thoroughgoing issue about the evolution of the views of the OUN and the UPA towards resettlement actions as not a serious threat to the importance of protecting the population. In the author opinion the turning point came in the fall of 1945, when the UPA not only used slogans against deportation to gain the support of Ukrainians in territory of Zakerzon, but began resisting to resettlement. Why the Ukrainians supported the underground, which areas were their greatest sympathies, the UPA's attitude towards those who agreed to leave, the ambiguity of information about the UPA terror against them, this complex of problems were considered. The issue of agitation of the OUN and UPA against the deportation, the appeal to the soldiers of the Polish army, who participated in the deportation and the Polish population, were also examined. Researcher reviewed actions of the UPA against deportation: «directed contrary to the work

of Committee of resettlement from the USSR: destruction of filled evacuation documents and forms, impossibility of commission work, finally killing of referents and commissioners (agitators); blocking of transport intended for resettlers; protection of Polish Ukrainians during deportations and anti-Ukrainian terror».

The last chapter, entitled «Strangers among their own» has successfully outlined various scenarios – life trajectories deported Ukrainians to the USSR and afterwards, to an independent Ukraine. Simultaneously, the last paragraphs are devoted to the process of self-awareness of inhabitants of Lemkivshchyna, Podlasie with the final one about the key narratives of the resettlement folklore, they reinforce the previous sections, which consider of territory of Zakerzon Ukrainians as a special, somewhat distant and yet branch of the Ukrainians.

Transformation of Lemko and Podlasie regional identities after deportation to Ukraine are considered. Author describe the different type of identification of the Lemkos («Lemko-Russophiles, -Ukrainophiles, -Regionalists»). Simultaneously, R. Kabachiy appeals to their unity (P. 451): «in spite of their ideological diversity ..., the inhabitants and the natives of this region have always felt a strong unity and their differentness, they, so, to say, they made up the Lemko «body» together, (P. 483) «the distinctiveness of Lemkos today is part of their Ukrainian culture». The direction of the Lemkos resettlement directly influenced their further attitude towards the Ukrainians and their own self-identification: if there were many supporters of the Lemko regionalist identities deported to the West, then the descendants of deported to the East [Ukrainian –*Y. A.*] mostly identify themselves Ukrainians» (P. 487).

Thus, notwithstanding some insignificant remark publication of R. Kabachiy is an innovative and comprehensive research of deportation of Ukrainians from Poland to South of Ukraine in 1944–1946 to the South of Ukraine. The author analyzed a branch of question: from defining the reasons for the deportation of Ukrainians to the identity and folklore of the deportees, in an easy and popular form, without loss of scientific content. Finally, book have impressive graphic and visual design of the book, which contains many photos, and author's work.