petroleum products were invented, which eventually led to the construction of large plants, factories and enterprises.

Conclusion. The oil and gas industry remained an important spectrum of economic development in Prykarpattia. The development of this industry during the second Sovietization led to a rapid pace of industrialization. The development of the oil and gas industry allowed the development of the oil refining industry, the gas industry, which allowed to raise the level of the economy to a new level. Oil fields in the Stanislavsky region have allowed the development of other sectors of the economy, including forestry, coal, salt, etc. Characterizing this industry, we see significant changes in the social sphere and improving the lives of the population of the region.

**Key words:** oil, gas, industrialization, Prykarpattia, development, sovietization, fast growth, oil fields, enterprises.

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# POLISH-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS AS VIEWED BY THE «LEMKIVSHCHYNA» MAGAZINE (1979-1991)

The article examines a wide range of Polish–Ukrainian issues presented in the «Lemkivshchyna» magazine. It was determined that this topic was represented in all of the magazine's columns, focusing on discussions of the peculiarities of Polish–Ukrainian relations during three key periods: interwar Poland, World War II and the postwar years. It is concluded that the «Lemkivshchyna» authors initiated essential processes of Polish–Ukrainian dialogue on the basis of tolerance and mutual respect.

Key words: the «Lemkivshchyna» magazine, Polish–Ukrainian relations, conflicts, deportations, Ukrainian diaspora.

Formulation of the problem. The Polish–Ukrainian conflict of the 1920–1940s is recognized by researchers as one of the sharpest ethnic confrontations in Central and Eastern Europe. Amongst the factors which ignited the conflict was the unwillingness of Polish politicians of the early 20th century to abandon imperialist plans of Polish restoration towards the old borders of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was met with the natural desire of Ukrainians to be masters of their own destiny in the ethnic lands of Galicia and Volyn. Along with the adequate awareness of both the expert community and the general public about these tragic events, the fate of the Lemkos during those turbulent times remains obscure. In fact, being the «western bastion of Ukrainian essence», it was the Ruthenians who found themselves at the epicenter of the Polish–Ukrainian confrontation with all the devastating consequences for their spiritual and material existence. The Polish interwar administration was strongly inclined to denationalize the Lemkos, analyzing the danger that the existence of a Ukrainian enclave might entail within a territory that the Poles saw as their own. Attempts to denationalize the Lemkos were continued by the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. This culminated in many tragic events, including violent resettlement, which had all the hallmarks of ethnocide.

Those tragic events were immortalized by the «Lemkivshchyna» magazine, which has been published quarterly in New York since 1979 and made its way to its homeland after Ukraine gained independence. The magazine's contributors, resisting the outcry of Polish and Soviet ideologues to silence and oust the Lemko portion of the Polish–Ukrainian confrontation from scientific discourse, attempted to retrace Ruthenian memory of those difficult times in the history of this subethnic group from generation to generation. Thus, in a short while, «Lemkivshchyna» became a true chronicle of the Lemko tragedy of the early  $20^{th}$  century – unique both in terms of depth of the issues covered and the understanding of source material.

Analysis of recent research and publications. In view of this, the «Lemkivshchyna» magazine has long been in the field of view of researchers of the Ruthenian subethnic group. References to the materials published or mentions of publication are contained in the works of many present-day Lemko scholars [1]. At the same time, there have been no specific attempts to recreate the heuristic potential of the letters published on the «Lemkivshchyna» pages for the reconstruction of Polish–Ukrainian relations in the early 20th century so far. This determines the relevance of our study. Furthermore, we will focus on the diaspora period of the magazine's existence, when the need to nurture the complex historical memory of the Lemkos was of particular importance to the Ukrainian nation.

The purpose of the article is to study the wide range of Polish–Ukrainian issues presented in the «Lemkivshchyna» magazine during the diaspora period of its existence.

The presentation of the main material. «Lemkivshchyna» positioned preservation and retracing of the memory of the Polish–Ukrainian conflict in the Lemko lands as its sacred task, which was articulated in the editorial board's address to its readers. In particular, it emphasized the need to confront «hostile Polish [...] delusional ideas» – which consisted of efforts to use the Lemkos as a tool to split the unity of the Ukrainian people within its ethnographic settlement and multifaceted unity of regional identities, conducted by the imperialist part of Poland's political environment [2, 1]. In view of this, the members of the editorial board decided to «protect» the Ruthenians from the leveling of their national identity policy of the Polish government [2, 1]. Another important goal of the magazine's publishers was to counter Polish propaganda with its own efforts, as a necessary reaction to ideological sabotage performed by Polish politicians of different party affiliations, united in their urge to «instill feelings of inferiority amongst Ukrainian youth and to fuel traditional Polish contempt and hatred for everything that is Ukrainian» [2, 1].

The issue of Polish–Ukrainian relations was widely presented in almost all of «Lemkivshchyna» columns. It should be noted that the content of the magazine's columns became the subject of many years of creative search for its editors, who understood the optimal logic in selecting and grouping of its material in close communication with their readers. The «Culture and Art», «From Lemkivshchyna and about Lemkivshchyna» and «Memories» columns were specifically enriched with interethnic subject matter.

The most important complex of interethnic issues in «Lemkivshchyna» was focused on understanding the tragedy of the Ruthenian ethnic group during the times of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and World War II. At the same time, the conflict between the Lemkos and the invading Poles was predetermined, as the researchers claimed. After all, the Lemkos unambiguously rejected the claims made by the Poles towards the Lemko territories after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Kateryna Mytso referred to the brief period of independence embodied by the Komancza Republic as the «Lemko Rebellion»: it was a time when the Lemkos, feeling their unity with Ukrainians from other lands, began to establish their livelihood in the hope of looming unification in the form of a consolidated conciliar state. But the failure of the Liberation Struggles in Kyiv and Lviv made the Lemkos' unfair confrontation with the prevailing Polish forces hopeless. And although the results of this conflict were fatal for the Lemkos, the very fact of short-term independence had a significant mobilizing effect. K. Mytso wrote in the magazine: «Although Lemkivshchyna's liberation struggles did not bring any longterm consequences (neither did they in the other parts of Ukraine), this good page in our history still persists, one that has awakened our people spiritually and politically. We can say that despite all obstacles, the Ukrainian national worldview has prevailed in the Lemko region. The national maturity of the Lemkos was manifested in their mass participation and unparalleled heroism in the ranks of the UPA» [3, 4].

The researchers of Polish–Ukrainian relations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century focused considerable attention on the actions of forcible denationalization of the Lemkos in the 1920s and 1930s, actions of planned destruction of churches and monuments of architecture and art, violent oppression of Ruthenians by occupiers of different colors during the war. The historical studies of Volodymyr Borodach [4], Mykhailo Bryk-Dev'iatnytskyi [5], Hryhorii Lemko [6], Pavlo Lopata [7] and others were devoted to this issue.

Preserving the memory of the houses destroyed by the Polish, Nazi and Bolshevik occupation regimes, the editorial board of the magazine introduced the tradition of publishing local history essays about the historic Lemko villages. It was a kind of martyrology of the Lemko world, which largely existed only in the memory of the Ruthenians themselves. Historical essays about the villages of Vilka [8], Sianik [9], Lisko [10], Mushyna [11], Nove selo [12] and others were especially unique. The popularity of such essays amongst the readership resulted in the establishment of the «Materials on the history of Lemkivshchyna» column. At the same time, Iryna Bohun's local lore essays, united in the «From a Journey through Western Lemkivshchyna» cycle, became particularly of interest to the readers.

The next chronological block of interethnic issues was devoted to the analysis of the most tragic page in the history of the Ruthenians – the resettlement actions, when the indigenous population was forcibly removed from historical sites that were «cleansed» of Ruthenians and later inhabited by Polish colonizers. Concurrently, the monuments of sacred and secular Ruthenian architecture were purposefully and brutally destroyed, which was performed with the intention to erase the memory of the original owners of the Lemko lands. Thorough articles by Kateryna Mytso [13], Volodymyr Pasichniak [14], Ivan Rad [15] and others were devoted to this issue.

The personal experience of the tragedy of the Lemkos was revealed through the editors' tradition of publishing memoirs and diaries, as well as numerous interviews with the then-diaspora Ukrainian leaders who were forced to emigrate to the American continent due to unyielding persecutions. The memoirs of Ivanna Savytska [16], Volodymyr Olhovych [17], Nataliia Leontovych-Bashuk [18], Omelian Mazuryk [19], Ivan Kornafel [20], Oleksa Halushchak [21], Bohdan Morokhivskyi [22] and Yaroslava Fil-Marta [23] deserve particular attention.

Along with purely historiographical texts and memoirs, the tragedy of the Lemko subethnic group was also reflected in art, such as poetry, short prose and folk songs. The most popular authors among the «Lemkivshchyna» readers were Anton Verba [24], Yevhen Herasymovych [25], Ivan Holovchak [26], Mariia Ostromyra [27] and others. It is important to note that «Lemkivshchyna» was distinguished by a wealth of illustrative material, which acquainted the reader with the forgotten (or destroyed by the occupiers) religious monuments and relics of Ruthenian social structure.

Finally, a prominent place in the magazine was given to current issues – the protection of cultural and social rights of the Lemkos in their compact residence area in the postwar period. Describing the scale of the latest Lemko tragedy, the magazine's editors wrote: «After the forced evictions of 1945–1947, the situation of Ukrainians in Poland changed dramatically. Ukrainian villages have been wiped from the face of the earth, and thus there are no more Ukrainian parishes in the former sense of the word. Administratively, the remnants of Ukrainian cultural monuments are being gradually destroyed, which includes changing the age-old names of Ukrainian villages and towns to Polish ones. The attack on Ukrainians in Poland is perpetuated from different directions, which sometimes, although in competition with one another, contrarily complement each other when it comes to the Ukrainian issue» [2, 3].

Materials devoted to this painful for the Ruthenians problem were published in the «Chronicle of Lemkivshchyna and the Upper San region» column, divided into two eloquently named subheadings — «In the native land» and «In a foreign land». At the same time, the editorial board was particularly biased towards the situation of their compatriots in Poland, whose leadership, despite political changes, continued to forcibly assimilate the Ruthenian subethnic group and destroy the historical memory of Ukrainians through mass propaganda. Describing its magnitude and danger, the «Lemkivshchyna» contributors noted: «[...] The Polish government, with the help of mass media — radio, press, television, cinema and journalism — presents Ukrainian liberation struggles throughout history, especially during World War II, in a very false light. The Polish Ministry of National Defense has published countless books and publications on Ukrainian issues, which have spread throughout all book collections and libraries in Poland, and released a number of films. Both portray the heroes of the Ukrainian liberation struggle as degenerate sadists, fools and criminals. Common sense suggests that such films and literature have a clear purpose [...]» [2, 3].

On the magazine's pages we can see informational appeals by Ivan Hvozda [28], journalistic essays by Valentyn Moroz [29], Vasyl Hulkevych [30] and Vasyl Pasichniak [14], analytical reports by Orest Pytliar [31] and Ivan Syrotynskyi [32], and many works of other Lemko publicists, who provided shocking information to the free world about the abuse of power by communist Poland against the indigenous Ukrainian population. The aforementioned Ruthenian intellectuals claimed that political changes in Central and Eastern Europe after the end of World War II brought the Ukrainian minority in the Polish state to a catastrophic situation. Attempts to radically resolve the «Ukrainian question» through the exchange of national minorities, therefore forced evictions, led to the barbaric destruction of the spiritual and material culture of innocent and peaceful people, sometimes to the extent of their physical destruction, which clearly contradicts international recognition of the need for organic development, as well as the basic requirements of humanity, not to mention the need to establish good neighborly relations between friendly nations for the future.

Pointing out ways to resolve this situation, Lemko observers drew the attention of Polish politicians to the urgent need to normalize Polish–Ukrainian relations: «Only through granting and ensuring full

rights of the Ukrainian national minority in Poland to nurture and develop its culture can become the first step towards good neighborly relations between the Ukrainian and Polish nations. [...] Polish religious and secular leaders cannot keep pretending that the issue of the Ukrainian national minority in modern Poland is resolved. They can most likely account for their actions, because it was and remains a stumbling block for them. Until the situation of the Ukrainian national minority in Poland is resolved in accordance with the demands of the civilized world, Poles will be deprived of the moral right to claim the same minority rights, speak in the name of these principles, or teach others» [33].

In view of the above, it becomes clear why the magazine's authors were very sympathetic to the Polish «Solidarnoн» opposition movement. Its leaders unanimously condemned the state's deportation and assimilation policies, classifying them as terrorist acts against the indigenous Lemko population. The Polish opposition called for restoration of the humanitarian rights of the Ukrainian minority by the communist authorities and for establishment of an interethnic dialogue. Maciej Koziowski's article, published in the «Solidarnов» trade union weekly newspaper which sharply condemned the «Akcja Wisia», emphatically illustrated for the first time that there are defenders of the universal rights of national minorities among the Polish intelligentsia. The article was very well received in the Lemko world. The Polish author noted: «The «Akcja Wisia», like the whole period of fighting on the eastern border against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, is another of the «white spots» in our recent history. There is no lack of reasoning, elaborations, fictional stories and memoirs on this subject matter, but they are all decidedly one-sided and many of such shortcomings can be noticed by any attentive reader. Undoubtedly, this conflict, like any other civil war, was marked by extreme brutality... However, can even the greatest atrocities of the forest detachments and the fierceness of the struggle be considered an excuse to apply collective responsibility to the entire non-Polish population of those areas? Can the forced eviction be justified by the extremity of the liquidation of the already destroyed UPA hideouts? And the fact that the «Akcja Wisia» spread to the Lemkivshchyna areas where the UPA regiments were never active can only be considered an act of particular hatred, and should be persecuted and condemned, as any violent act against innocent people based solely on their ethnicity or language, regardless of intention» [34, 9]. In conclusion of his important article, M. Koziowski stressed the need to give the Lemko-Ukrainians their natural rights of native language education, development of their cultural life, freedom of religion and to enable the establishment of a public institutions network. It should be said that the events related to the «Akcja Wisia» were amongst the most covered in the columns of «Lemkivshchyna», and the magazine constantly reminded its readership of this page of Ruthenian history, perhaps the most tragic page of all [35].

Conclusions. Thus, this analysis allows us to convincingly state that «Lemkivshchyna» became a true chronicle of the Lemko world, devoting a significant percentage of its pages to Polish–Ukrainian issues. It should be noted that, functionally, in terms of cultivating historical memory, the magazine's editors did not set out any historical bills for Polish people to pay, understanding the importance of separation of the actions perpetrated by political authorities from the position of ordinary people. Therefore, the articles devoted to the Polish–Ukrainian question should also be seen as a warning to the then communist government of the Polish state – to not repeat the tragic mistakes of the past. Finally, it should be noted that the highly humanistic pathos of «Lemkivshchyna» fully corresponds with the current state of Polish–Ukrainian relations, complicated by the efforts of some circles of Polish politicians who are seeking to resurrect the conflict rhetoric in international discourse.

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## ПОЛЬСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКІ ВЗАЄМИНИ В РЕЦЕПЦІЇ ЖУРНАЛУ «ЛЕМКІВЩИНА» (1979-1991)

**Постановка проблеми.** Польсько-український конфлікт 20-40-х років XX ст. визнаний дослідниками одним із найбільш гострих етнічних протистоянь на теренах Центрально-Східної Європи. Причиною цього було небажання польських політиків початку минулого століття відмовитися від імперських планів реставрації Польщі в межах старої Речі Посполитої, котре зіштовхнулося з природним бажанням українців бути господарями своєї долі на етнічних землях Галичини та Волині. Поряд із доброю поінформованістю як представників експертного середовища, так і широких кіл громадськості цими трагічними подіями, надалі малознаною є доля лемків v ті буремні часи. Натомість, будучи «західним бастіоном українства», саме русини виявилися в епіцентрі польсько-українського протистояння з усіма руйнуючими наслідками для своєї духовної та матеріальної екзистенції. Польська міжвоєнна адміністрація була рішуче наставлена на денаціоналізацію лемків, вважаючи небезпекою існування українського анклаву на нібито питомо польській етнічній території. Не залишили спроб винародовити лемків і функціонери Польської народної республіки. В підсумку, це призвело до багатьох трагічних подій, включно з насильницькими переселенськими акціями, що мали всі ознаки етноциду. На сторожі пам'яті тих трагічних подій і став журнал «Лемківщина», котрий у короткому часі перетворився на правдивий літопис трагедії лемків у першій половині ХХ ст. – унікальний як за широтою охопленої проблематики, так і глибиною її осмислення.

**Mema cmammi** — дослідити широкий спектр польсько-української проблематики, представленої на сторінках журналу «Лемківщина» протягом діаспорного періоду його існування.

**Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу образів польськоукраїнського протистояння на сторінках журналу «Лемківщина.

Висновки. Здійснений аналіз дозволяє переконливо ствердити, що «Лемківщина» стала справжнім літописом лемківського світу, на сторінках якої багато місця було відведено польсько-українській проблематиці. При цьому відзначимо, що виконуючи функцію плекання історичної пам яті, редактори журналу зовсім не змагалися за виставлення історичних порахунків братньому польському народу, розуміючи потребу сепарації вчинків представників політичної влади від позиції звичайного громадянина. Тож присвячені польсько-українському протистоянню дописи слід розглядати також і як певне застереження тогочасній комуністичній владі польської держави— не повторити трагічних помилок минулого. Насамкінець зауважимо, що цей високий гуманістичний пафос «Лемківщини» вповні кореспондує із сучасним станом польсько-українського діалогу, ускладненому намаганнями певних кіл польського політикуму повернути конфліктну риторику до міжнаціонального дискурсу.

**Ключові слова:** журнал «Лемківщина», польсько-українські взаємини, конфлікти, депортації, українська діаспора.

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