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**THE UKRAINIAN MEMORY COMMUNITY IN POLAND
(the second half of the XX – beginning of the XXI centuries)**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the conflicting potential of the historical policy of the Polish People's Republic concerning the Ukrainian national minority; to reveal the features of social and cultural life of Ukrainians after the deportations of 1944 – 1947; to show the impact of traumatic experience and intergenerational retelling on the activities of the Ukrainian memory community in democratic Poland. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, an authoritative objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, an anthropological approach, as well as special historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. The scientific novelty. The article describes the features of Ukrainian-Polish inter-ethnic relations after World War II, in particular, by the Ukrainian national minority activity in Poland. Conclusions. The interdependence of history and politics has been proved, especially in*

the era of the Polish People's Republic, where Ukrainians have gone from object to subject of social and political life. Several formation periods of the Ukrainian minority as a memory community were highlighted through cultural, educational, religious, and ethno-political activity. In 1944 – 1956, Ukrainians were assimilated through mass deportations and the prohibition of national church life; in 1956 – 1989 they were in the conditions of institutional revival of socio-cultural and church-religious life; since 1989, under the systematic state-political transformation conditions, the Ukrainian national minority was given the opportunity to participate in democratic transformations through the activities of representative authorities.

Key words: Ukrainian national minority, Polish People's Republic, assimilation, historical memory, memory policy.

УКРАЇНСЬКА СПІЛЬНОТА ПАМ'ЯТІ В ПОЛЬЩІ (друга половина XX – початок XXI ст.)

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати конфліктогенний потенціал історичної політики влади ПНР щодо української національної меншини; розкрити особливості суспільно-культурного життя українців після депортації 1944–1947 рр.; показати вплив травматичного досвіду і міжпоколінневого переказу на діяльність української спільноти пам'яті в демократичній Польщі. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, антропологічний підхід, а також спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна:** уперше показано особливості українсько-польських міжнаціональних відносин після Другої світової війни, зокрема на прикладі діяльності української національної меншини в Польщі. **Висновки.** Доведено взаємозалежність історії та політики, особливо в добу Польської народної республіки, де українці пройшли шлях від об'єкта до суб'єкта суспільно-політичного життя. Виокремлено декілька періодів становлення української меншини як спільноти пам'яті через культурно-освітню, релігійну, етнополітичну активність. У 1944 – 1956 рр. українці були піддані асиміляції через масові депортації та заборону національно-церковного життя; у 1956 – 1989 рр. перебували в умовах інституційного відродження суспільно-культурного та церковно-релігійного життя; після 1989 р., в умовах системної державно-політичної трансформації, українська національна меншина отримала можливості для участі у демократичних перетвореннях через діяльність представницьких органів влади.

Ключові слова: українська національна меншина, Польська народна республіка, асиміляція, історична пам'ять, політика пам'яті.

The problem statement. The interdependence of history and politics is an obvious fact today. The thoughtful activity of state bodies and institutes in the commemorative sphere makes possible to understand the contradictions of the state-political process better and to try to reconcile mutually exclusive national-historical narratives. The activities of such a category of memory communities as national minorities are often a marker of the vulnerability of ethnic and inter-state relations, especially the newest Ukrainian-Polish ones. Given the aggravation of Ukrainian-Polish relations in recent years, especially in the symbolic sphere, with the intensification of migration processes, there is a need to study the experience of the Ukrainian national communities in preserving their identity and cherishing historical memory.

Analysis of the research. The theoretical basis of the article was the works of Polish researchers L. Niakowski, T. Stryjek, R. Traba and Ukrainian H. Kasianov, A. Kyrydon, O. Hrytsenko on the nature of historical memory, features and dangers of instrumentalisation of history for the sake of political aims. This problem was also actualized by Polish and Ukrainian scientists. In particular, the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study of historical memory and culture were updated (L. Zashkilniak), ethno-cultural (R. Chmelyk)

and church-religious relations at the border (V. Mokryi, S. Stempen, H. Kupriianovych, Yu. Havryliuk), military-political confrontation during the Second World War and post-war years (A. Bolianovskyi, I. Halahida, V. Hulai, V. Ilnytskyi, I. Patryliak, V. Serhiichuk, I. Tsependa), scientific and public discourses on the Volyn tragedy of 1943 (B. Hud, O. Kalishchuk), the course and consequences of deportations in 1944 – 1951 (R. Drozd, Ye. Misyllo, Ya. Pisulinskyi), commemorative practices on honoring Ukrainian military-political emigration (O. Kolianchuk, M. Chekh).

The purpose of the article is to analyze the conflicting potential of the historical policy of the Polish People's Republic concerning the Ukrainian national minority; to reveal the features of social and cultural life of Ukrainians after the deportations of 1944 – 1947; to show the impact of traumatic experience and intergenerational retelling on the activities of the Ukrainian memory community in democratic Poland.

Statement of the basic material.

Institutionalization of post-war Ukrainian public life

The participants in the Yalta Conference of 1945 not only discussed the principles of the German capitulation, but also defined the new borders of Poland. J. Stalin's plans to clear its eastern borders (Nadsanie, Lemkivshchyna, Chełm Land and Podlasie) from the Ukrainians, the western border from the Germans, and the western regions of the UkrSSR from the Poles, were not met with rigid objections by the Allies (Churchill, 2108, pp. 456–466). As a result of border changes, the Ukrainians and the Poles found themselves in two Kremlin-controlled states. After the deportation of the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Germans in 1944 – 1951, Poland became a mono-national state, where national minorities accounted for 2% (Zashkilniak, Krykun, 2002, p. 549; Bonusiak, 2007, p. 103). National identity markers such as Greek Catholic (over 600) and Protestant shrines were either closed or transferred to Roman Catholic temples and outbuildings (Grunberg, Sprengel, 2005, p. 679). 176 priests were deported to the UkrSSR as «active participants in the anti-Soviet Vatican policy» and «accomplices in favour of the German occupiers» (Prakh, 2014, pp. LI – LII; Misyllo, 1989, pp. 214–217), leaving only 87 ones in Poland. In the following years, another 69 Greek Catholic priests were arrested, 11 of them were imprisoned. The unmarried ones, or those who renounced the family, were encouraged to move to the Roman Catholic Church.

In spite of the harsh measures taken by the authorities, deported Ukrainians tried to restore spiritual and cultural life through shared song nights, following the holidays according to the Julian calendar (Kmita, 1997, p. 62; Hałagida, 1998, p. 64, 67, 59–76; Drozd, 2011, pp. 175–192).

After J. Stalin's death and the course of «liberalization» in the USSR, in April 1957, Greek Catholics were given unofficial permission by the Polish People's Republic, but only in the western and northern parts of the country, with a firm ban on pastoral counseling in ethnic Ukrainian lands (Hałagida, 2013, pp. 302–318). Mentioned partial legalization became possible by the self-sacrifice of several Greek Catholic priests: V. Hrynyk, M. Denko, P. Pushkarskyi, M. Ripetskyi, V. Borivets (Kozak, 2007, pp. 32–46). Przemysl Greek Catholic Cathedral Chapter re-established its activity only in 1967, and the Primate of Poland Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński appointed priest V. Hrynyk as Vicar General (Deputy Roman Catholic Bishop) for the religious people of Greek Catholic rite (Hałagida, 2008, p. 217).

Trying to transform the deportees into a loyal community, the School Affairs Department with non-Polish language studying of the Polish Ministry of Education formally increased

the number of Ukrainian language studying centers: 1952 – 24 centers, 487 students; 1955 – 82 centers, 1625 students; 1958 – 146 centers, 2429 students, but the existing network did not cover all places of compact residence of the Ukrainians. After all, many parents, with the fear of national persecution, did not allow their children to study in these centers (Perłowska, 2000, pp. 211–219). Conscious concealment of Ukrainian nationality was often dictated by career prospects.

Institutionalization of Ukrainian life has become possible since V. Homulka came to power in 1956 and at the beginning of so-called «small stabilization» in the economy and public sphere. Under the control of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society (USCT; since 1990 the Association of the Ukrainians in Poland) was established, headed by the former leader of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine S. Makukh (Drozd, 2011, pp. 184–185). The first events organized by the USCT were school lectures, speeches and nights dedicated to the 100th birth anniversary of the «revolutionary-democrat» I. Franko (Grunberg, Sprengel, 2005, p. 691). In general, since 1956, the Ukrainian community has received its organization, radio, and a network of schools. The Faculty of Ukrainian Philology was opened at the University of Warsaw. Since 1967, the Festival of Ukrainian Culture in Poland has taken place, the first venue of which was the town of Sanok, later – Kętrzyn, Koszalin, Warsaw. Since 1983, the Ukrainian language has been heard from the stage of the Forest Opera in Sopot (Kravchuk). However, communication with overseas Ukrainian people was carried out not by USCT, but by the Society of Soviet-Polish Friendship (Years of Brotherly Friendship, 1974, p. 141).

In 1980, against the backdrop of the new economic crisis, workers' strikes, an opposition platform rallying around the independent, self-governing trade union the Solidarity (Ukrainians were among its creators) declared commitment to the Ukrainians, the Belorussians, the Lithuanians, and other national minorities, and initiated an informal dialogue with Ukrainian political opposition (Horyn, 2010, p. 406).

Thus, the institutionalization of the Ukrainian national minority in the Polish People's Republic was facilitated by more liberal (compared to the USSR) political situation, within which the legalization of Greek Catholic Church and the activities of social and cultural societies became possible. The active participation of the Ukrainians in the trade union movement the Solidarity made possible for the Ukrainians to appear in government and self-government.

Necropolises as a way of (non) memory

Transformation processes in post-communist Poland and Ukraine actualized the commemorative work of not only governmental institutions, but also public structures. The military cemeteries have remained important memory places of the Ukrainian community in Poland; they were reorganized by the Association of Ukrainians in Poland. In 1989, near the town of Przemyśl, the Pykulytskyi Military Cemetery was rebuilt, where UNR and ZUNR soldiers were buried. The memorial cross «to Freedom Fighters of Ukraine», designed by artist O. Kulchytska, has been restored. In 2000 28 soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who died in the battle with the Polish Army in the village Bircha in 1946, were also reburied in this cemetery as well as 19 UPA soldiers shot by the representatives of the Polish Security Service in the village of Lishnia near Sanok in 1947. In 1993, on the initiative of the Union of the Ukrainians in Poland, the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, the renovated memorial of the UNR Army in Aleksandrow Kujawski was opened (Kolianchuk, 2018, pp. 82, 214–218).

In the 1990s, the Ukrainian section of the Warsaw Orthodox Cemetery in Will was restored, where more than a hundred figures of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, their families, representatives of Ukrainian culture and science of the interwar and postwar period were buried. The new monument, which was opened in 1999 with the participation of the Presidents of Poland and Ukraine – A. Kwasniewski and L. Kuchma, has the inscriptions «to Freedom Fighters of Ukraine», «Ukraine, Ukraine, where are your children» (Kolianchuk, 2018, p. 141). The graves of UNR figures were also arranged at the cemetery in Povonзки (Warsaw). On the initiative of the head of the department of Ukrainians Union in Podlasie R. Sydoruk in 2003 the monument «to Freedom Fighters of Ukraine» was restored in the village of Dubiny, where three dozen soldiers of the UNR Army died. Due to the Young Enlightenment organization, members of the Plast, the National Alliance, the Union of Polish Scouting in 2005 the obelisk was renovated with the iron coat of arms of Ukraine «to Those who died but did not betray Ukraine» on the grave of interned soldiers of the UNR Army in Suwalki. The cemetery of the interned soldiers of the Galician Army, the UNR Army, and the Red Army (many people from Dnieper Ukraine were serving there) was also renovated in Tukhol (Kolańczuk, 2015, p. 210).

In 1999 commemorative sign in honour of the prisoners of war and interned Ukrainians who died in a prisoner of war camp Dąbie in 1918 – 1919 was built at Krakow Rakowica Cemetery and in 2000 it was consecrated in the presence of the Prime Ministers of Poland and Ukraine – J. Buzek and V. Yushchenko. At the insistence of the World Congress of Ukrainians, Ukrainian authorities, local public in 1998 – 2010 the Ukrainian military memorial was partially restored with the monument «to Faithful Sons of Ukraine» in Lancut, which was destroyed by the communist authorities in 1974. The Ukrainian public hopes that by the 100th anniversary of the celebration of the Polish-Ukrainian Military-Political Agreement in 1920, the Polish authorities will allow completely renovate the cemetery of the UNR Army with the burial of more than 550 Cossacks and Starshynas (Kolianchuk, 2018, pp. 187–188).

The renovation and opening of honouring places of the Ukrainian Revolution participants did not cause such resistance by the Polish society as the burial place of the Ukrainians who died in the Second World War. In the early 1990s, with the assistance of families and the public, the monuments were set up in the areas of Nowy Lubliniec, Stary Lubliniec, Werchrata, Monastyr, Kalnykiv, Hruszowice (Malikowski, 2010, p. 28). A memorial sign was set up on the Hruszowice Cemetery with the inscription «Glory to the UPA heroes» in 1994. Combatant Polish societies protested against the construction of the object, they focused on inadmissibility of the establishment of «monuments for Polish people's murderers» (Wilczak, 1994). For them, the monument was a manifestation of the Ukrainianization of the south-eastern Poland territories. The initiators of the construction of the signs were accused of not consulting the form and content of the inscriptions with the Voivodeship Committee for the Preservation of Combat and Martyrdom in Przemysl, but acting in a «committed manner» (Malikowski, 2010, p. 29).

According to the Polish sociologist S. Lodzinski, for Polish Ukrainians the restoration of the UPA graves and their worthy honouring were primarily an attempt to close the Second World War era. The monuments were built by an older generation who felt obliged to pay the respects to their loved ones and peers trying to remove the stigma of «terrorists» and «murderers» from the insurgents. OUP chairman Reit noted: «The conspiracy of silence was a broken concerning Ukrainian memory places. The Polish people have heard from the Ukrainians about their wounds» (Łodziński, 1997, p. 93).

The protests from the Polish side were not only verbal. In March 1995, unidentified people splattered the Hruszowice monument with paint, writing anti-Ukrainian slogans. The next acts of vandalism were carried out in 2012, 2014, and 2017.

The site of the Ukrainian tragedy also remains Pawlokoma village, where on March 3, 1945, the Home Army Division (AK) executed from 366 to 500 people (Motyka, 2011, p. 363; Viatrovych, 2011, p. 198). In the early 1990s, the site of executions and burials was abandoned within the old rural cemetery where cows and pigs were grazed. A local resident of the Polish-Ukrainian family, D. Radon, looked after the burial sites. Instead, the appeal of the Przemysl Ukrainians to the administration of Dynow Gmina asking for regulating the cemetery has not received positive feedback. Only after several years of discussion Presidents V. Yushchenko and L. Kaczynski opened the monument to the victims of the Pawlokoma tragedy in 2006 (the inscription does not indicate the nationality of the victims). The action became possible only by two compromises: with the residents of Pawlokoma (it was connected with the promise of The Council of Protection the Memory of Combat and Martyrdom of the Republic of Poland to help establish a cross in memory of the murdered Poles); with the consent of the Lviv City Council to place on the Tomb of an Unknown Soldier at the Polish War Memorial at the Lychakiv Cemetery in Lviv a compromise inscription: «Here lies a Polish soldier who fell for the Fatherland» (Gorczyca).

The initiative of exhumation and re-burial of the remains of UPA soldiers who died in the town of Bircha in 1946 was ambiguously implemented. In the early 1990s, A. Karvanska-Bailiak, wife of the retired Sotnyk D. Karvanskyi, began searching for a burial place, held talks with the authorities and the public about the reburial of the remains of the dead. Emotional public hearings of Bircha residents supported the proposal to remove the remains of UPA soldiers from Bircha and bury them elsewhere (Karvanska-Bailiak, 2002; Ostałowska, 1995).

Honouring more than 600 murdered Ukrainians as a result of the armed action of the AK and the Bataliony Chłopskie in 1944 with the participation of local Ukrainians and the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko in the village of Sahryniu in the Chełm Land on March 11, 2019 got many protests in the Polish radical environment (Heral, 2018).

It should be noted that the Ukrainian authorities and the public have not succeeded in restoring all places related to the military and political emigration of the UNR, especially the Ukrainian underground in the 1940s, it was hampered mutual reluctance to dialogue dictated by the political ambitions of some parties or organizations.

Deportations in public discourse

The historical memory of the Polish Ukrainians includes the traumatic experience of the deportations of 1944 – 1951, especially Operation Vistula in 1947. The Polish memory of this operation was formed by communist propaganda, interpreting the operation as the right answer for the UPA's crimes. At the same time, some of the Poles have formed a certain leniency towards the crimes committed by their fellow citizens.

In democratic Poland, the memory of Operation Vistula has gained a new socio-political sound. In 1990, at a meeting of Polish and Ukrainian public and political figures in the town of Jablonna near Warsaw, Yaroslav Kuron urged to overcome the negative stereotypes associated with Operation Vistula: The first step from the stereotype is not that the angel-Ukrainian will come instead of Ukrainian who holds the knife. The first step is to break the stereotype, that is, to say that all this is very difficult (...) I think that this is the first step and only then we can go on» (AAN, zespół 2346, sygn. 127).

An important step by the authorities was the special resolution of the Republic of Poland Senate of August 3, 1990, condemning the deportation Operation Vistula. The responsibility for «painful events» at the border rests with the pro-communist authorities. At the same time, the Senate condemned Operation Vistula as an unfair example of the use by totalitarian regimes of collective responsibility (Uchwała Senatu RP). This gesture was welcomed by the Ukrainians in Poland, who regarded the decision as political rehabilitation.

Operation Vistula received significant publicity in 1997, and in the statement «To the Polish people» the concept of mutual union and apology was offered. The call was made by the *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which had a circulation of 500,000 copies. The Congress also appealed to the Sejm, the President and the Prime Minister of Poland demanding to condemn Operation Vistula, to return the property of the deported people, to give prisoners of labor camp in Jaworzno the rights granted to other victims of Stalin's repression. Vice-Marshall of the Sejm, a member of the SDL Party, M. Borovsky saw no reason to condemn Operation Vistula to the Sejm: «The operation was the consequence, not the cause of certain events, not like the Stalinist policy of denationalization, when whole innocent peoples were relocated. These Ukrainians were not patient and quiet people, then the authorities had to do something and react» (Krzemień, 1997). To the statements of Borovsky was added the voice of the senator from the same party, M. Berny, who said: «It is not possible to separate Operation Vistula from the murders committed in Volyn before 1944 and then in the Eastern lands. I do not want to spread the hatred, but when we, Poles, have to condemn Operation Vistula and to build a monument to our murderers in Jaworzno, I cannot remain silent» (Zraniona pamięć).

On the 50th anniversary of the Operation celebration L. Kuchma and A. Kwasniewski signed the Declaration of the Polish-Ukrainian Union, which was supported by the bishopric of Poland, individual political parties (Union of Freedom and the Election Solidarity Action), participants of the Congress of the Polish Ukrainian Union (OUP). But the post-Communists of the Union of Democratic Left party opposed these intentions. At the same time, President A. Kwasniewski promised Ukrainians to build a monument on the camp site. Instead, Senator M. Berny has repeatedly opposed the construction of this monument, calling for the addition of the Presidential advisers group to people who, «respecting Ukrainians, would support the need to distinguish the Ukrainian people from fascist nationalist groups» (Berny, 1997). Anti-Ukrainian appeals from the rostrum of the Polish Senate have met with opposition from the Ukrainian national minority. In May 1997, during the visit of A. Kwasniewski to Ukraine, the ambassador to the Sejm M. Chekh refused to participate in the official delegation. His protest was connected with the inclusion of Senator Berny in the delegation as an expert on Ukrainian issues (Pavlyshyn, 1997, p. 115).

Members of the World Union of Home Army soldiers were dissatisfied with the rehabilitation of the victims of Operation Vistula; they accused the Polish media of pushing for the revival of Ukrainian nationalism. Combatants accused the Main Commission of studying crimes against the Polish people for ignoring the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists (Kruszona, 1997).

The Polish Intellectuals Report on Operation Vistula stated that the deportation was the result of the Stalinist system and an expression of totalitarian ideology and politics. The Polish intellectual elite and politicians condemned Operation Vistula and expressed «condolences to everyone who bear the painful memory of the grievances of their families and communities» (Apel, 1997, p. 154). A. Kwasniewski and L. Kuchma opened a monument to the victims of the Jaworzno camp on May 23, 1998 (Kwasniewski, 1999, p. 153). The latter called its

construction «a step toward the destruction of stereotypes shared by our peoples» (Krzyk, Imeliński, 1998).

The memory of this crime continues to divide both societies today; the 2007 and 2012 debates over the evaluation of Operation Vistula prepared by the Commission of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Sejm of Republic of Poland show it (Projekt uchwały Sejmu). The document essentially reiterated the text of the Senate's resolution of August 3, 1990, condemning the «principle of collective responsibility inherent in totalitarian regimes». However, some Polish politicians continued to use widespread stereotypes for their own manipulation. Despite the achievements of Polish and Ukrainian historians, the publication of sources, some ambassadors to the Sejm (representatives of the Right and Justice Party) called Operation Vistula a «feedback for the crimes of the UPA» during the project discussion and demanded the condemnation of the «genocide of the Polish people in Volyn in 1943» (Wojciechowski, 2007).

Church as a form of identity representation

Given the drama of the deportations of 1944-1951 from 250 to 500 thousand Ukrainians lived in the Ukrainian national minority in Poland in the late 1980s, on the territories of 39 voivodships (most of them in the northern and southwestern regions) (Shvydiuk, 2008, p. 127). The southeastern voivodships of the Republic of Poland, including the princely city of Przemyśl, where there were 2,000 Ukrainians out of 60,000 population, remained a symbolic place of national cultural and religious life of Ukrainians (Polak, 1991). There were 129 churches and 193 cemeteries in the voivodship (Malikowski, 2010, p. 23). According to the Law of the Republic of Poland «On Relations between the State and the Catholic Church» of May 17, 1989, some of the sacred structures were returned to Greek Catholics, first of all in the Przemyśl Voivodeship (Ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989). Conflicts between the Poles and the Ukrainians concerned three problems: the transfer of the Carmelites Church to the Przemyśl Greek Catholics, the restoration of graves with memorial signs to the UPA soldiers, the reburial of their remains in the national graves and the intention to hold the Ukrainian Culture Festival in Przemyśl.

After the renovation of the Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese and the appointment of bishop I. Martyniak by the Vatican in 1991, the issue of the cathedral for the religious people became urgent. Having no cathedra of his own, the bishop could not fulfill his duties fully; the community of Przemyśl had no place to meet with Pope John Paul II during his journey to Poland in 1991. Therefore, the Polish bishopric handed over the Carmelite Church to the Greek Catholics for five years (until 1946 the temple was already owned by the Greek Catholic Church) until their church will have been built. When in Przemyśl they began saying that the church would be handed over to Greek Catholics, a group of Poles wrote a letter to the Pope expressing concern about the Greek Catholic community's attempts to take over the temple. Following the decision of the hierarchs, the Public Committee for the Defense of the Polish Carmelites Church in Przemyśl was formed, that began pickets at the residence of the Ordinary Bishop and the Secretariat House of the Bishopric in Warsaw. The heirs of the sponsor – the Krasicki family from Krakow – also expressed their opposition to the hierarchy's decision to hand over the church to Greek Catholics, emphasizing that the sponsor's burial is there (Malikowski, 2010, p. 26). Members of church-defending societies have been associated with right-wing and Christian-Democratic parties, such as the Understanding Center, the Christian National Association, and others (Hugo-Bader,

1993). The transfer of the church was supported by the President of Poland and the voivode. However, the regional headquarters of the Independent Self-Governmental Trade Union Solidarity of Przemysł Land, the Understanding Centre and other structures have supported the Public Committee.

On April 13, 1991, the ordination of Bishop I. Martyniak was held at the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the city. On June 1, 1991, before the arrival of the Pope, the Public Committee for the Defense of the Polish Carmelites Church in Przemysl ended the protest. At a meeting with Greek Catholics on June 2, John Paul II initiated to transfer Jesuit garrison church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for eternal use (Mokry, 2001, pp. 297–298). However, tensions over the Carmelite church have not subsided, and disputes over the dismantling of the Byzantine dome from it have continued in the following years (Khakhula, 2016, pp. 168–170).

However, in recent decades, the Polish authorities have begun to devote considerable funds to the revitalization of Ukrainian temples, and the church has become a place of identity for many migrant workers, it is facilitated by a constructive dialogue between the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic churches. At the same time, a significant part of Orthodox parishes (especially in the Chełm Land) is influenced by the Russian Orthodox Church, which impedes the «Ukrainian-Ukrainian» religious dialogue in the Republic of Poland.

Festivals of Ukrainian culture as a form of social interaction

After the revival of Ukraine's independence in the environment of the Ukrainian memory community and with the support of the Ukrainian authorities, a change of Ukrainian Culture Festival venue at the border area was initiated – in Przemysl. At first, the Voivodeship and Przemysl authorities were adamant about such an initiative. Some public figures believed that holding it would promote «radicalization of anti-Ukrainian views» (Kucharski, 1995). The biggest opponents of the event were the kresy and combatant organizations, which sent a protest letter to the Senate Marshal and the Minister of Culture in late May 1995 by requiring the festival prohibition (Krzemień, 1995). When the local authorities finally decided to grant the permit, the combatant organizations on the city posters called the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Poland, the Voivode of Przemysl and the president of the city as agents of the OUN (Stępień, 1995). The most radical ones resorted to acts of vandalism: on June 8, 1995, unknown people lit the doors of the Ukrainian People's House and doused the grave of M. Verbytskyi, the author of the anthem of Ukraine. The following day, posters with slogans appeared in Przemysl: «Ukrainians, Away from Poland», «Poland for Poles» and others. Commenting on anti-Ukrainian inscriptions, representatives of the Polish combatant communities claimed that these were Ukrainian provocations.

However, the Festival of Ukrainian Culture in Przemysl has taken place. Performances by leading Ukrainian artists, actors (among them Bogdan and Ostap Stupka), folk groups contributed to the rapprochement of the Polish and Ukrainian intelligentsia. As one of the organizers rightly remarked: «Too much fire for one festival» (Szwic, 1995). Not without conflicts, the 15th Festival of Ukrainian Culture was held in 1997, although the President of Przemysl tried to ban it. However, the organizers, with the support of the Kyiv and Lviv authorities, have achieved their aim. Among guests were the Prime Minister W. Cimoszewich and the Chairman of the Sejm Committee on National Minorities Ya. Kuron (Młynarski, 1997). In his welcoming speech, W. Cimoszewich expressed the support for the Ukrainians by the government emphasizing the importance of the right to privacy and cherishing one's own culture.

Unlike in the 1990s, the current Ukrainian authority do not implement large-scale cultural projects in the neighboring country, limited to exchanges of cultural bands and museum collections. The Ukrainian community, which has grown sharply in recent years, faces challenges of representing Ukrainian culture in small settlements lacking Ukrainian cultural and educational societies and church communities.

Designing memory places: history and culture monuments

A number of works in post-communist Poland and Ukraine that reveal the role and place of Chełm as King Danylo Romanovych's capital city of the Galicia-Volhynia State have published. Representatives of the Ukrainian public of the city gladly welcomed the decision of the Chełm City Council to name a square in the city centre after Danylo Romanovych. Local Ukrainians also honour the memory of one of the Ukrainian Revolution leaders, M. Hrushevskyi, who was born in this city. In his honour, a memorial plaque was established on the house (8, Sienkiewicz Street) in 1991 (Havryliuk, 2016, p. 5). To the 150th anniversary of M. Hrushevskyi's birth the city council even issued a special decree, but under pressure from some Polish politicians it was soon abolished, so the celebration – conference and liturgy was held with the assistance of the Ukrainian Society in Lublin and the local bishopric (Kolianchuk, 2018, p. 127).

Thanks to teachers and community activists, a memorial plaque was installed on the facade of the M. Shashkevych Przemysl School, which states that two students of the Przemysl Ukrainian Gymnasium, I. Sorokevych and H. Pypskyi, died in the battle near Kruty on January 29, 1918 and were buried on the Askold's Grave in Kyiv (Kolańczuk, 2015, pp. 169–171).

In honour of the UNR National Centre in Emigration in Tarnow (1920 – 1922) a commemorative plaque was opened at the Bristol Hotel in 2003, with the participation of Ukrainian diplomacy, the Guard of Honour of the Polish Army, representatives of the voivodeship authorities and Ternopil, which is the twin city of Tarnov. With the assistance of the Honourary Consulate of Ukraine in Rzeszow and the Pilsudski Subcarpathian Union on the occasion of the 130th anniversary of S. Petliura's birth in this city (88, Dembytska St.) commemorative plaque was opened in 2009 near the memorial plaque in honour of J. Pilsudski. In honour of the victory of the united Ukrainian-Polish army over the Cavalry Army of S. Budyonny (August 28–31, 1920) a commemorative plaque was established at the Polish Army Museum in Zamosc, which commemorated the valor of the soldiers of the 6th rifle division of the UNR Army under the command of M. Bezruchko (Kolańczuk, 2015, pp. 184–185).

The Ukrainian public and the teaching staff of the Mining and Metallurgical Academy in Krakow are honoring the memory of their professor, the Minister of the Government of the UNR, the head of the Council of the Republic in Tarnov, I. Feshchenko-Chopivskyi, in whose honour a memorial plaque has been established. Today many young people from Ukraine study at this institution.

On the initiative of the Ukrainians of Poland and the support of the Kyiv authorities, a monument to the victims of the Great Famine (1932 – 1933) was set up near the UNR Army Memorial in Warsaw in 2009; the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko participated in it. A commemorative sign in honour of this tragic event was also unveiled in Krakow (1, Olszewski St.) in 2008 (Kolyanchuk, 2018, p. 141, 166).

Through the efforts of the Greek Catholic Church, on August 29, 2002 a memorial plaque was set up for Metropolitan bishop Andrei Sheptytsky of the Metropolitan Greek Catholic

Church in Krakow (17, St. Mark's Street), where he lived in 1879 – 1889. It was consecrated by Pope John Paul II during his visit to Poland. A commemorative plaque in honour of the Metropolitan bishop, who studied there in 1884 – 1887, was opened at the University of Wroclaw on November 15, 2018. With the assistance of the Department of Ukrainian Literature and Professor V. Mokryi, a commemorative plaque in honour of poet and teacher B. Lepkyi was set up in Jagiellonian University.

Local Ukrainians and tourist groups from Ukraine enjoy visiting the Lancut Icon Gallery, the funds of which were formed from the icons of hundreds of Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches that were destroyed after the deportation of the Ukrainians by the new Polish authorities on the territory of the Przemysl Diocese in 1945 – 1956. Some of the Ukrainian icons were given to the museum in Sanok. Only some Greek Catholic churches, including the Bazyliańskie Temple in Przemysl (used as an archive in the era of the Polish People's Republic), were returned to their former owners (Kolyanchuk, 2018, p. 203).

Many churches have established commemorative plaques (Przemysl, Yaroslav, Leszno, Kobylnica Wołoska, Trzcianiec, Leszczyny, etc.) on various anniversaries of the deportations of the Ukrainians from Nadsanie, Lemkivshchyna, Chełm Land, and Podlasie in 1944 – 1951, on the cemeteries – commemorative crosses (Chotyniec, Rybotycze, Roztoka, Jawornik Ruski, Zagórz, Morochów, Komancza, Krynica, Chełm, Zablocie, etc.).

It should be noted that such memorial activity of the Ukrainian community and an authority causes symmetrical initiatives of the Polish side in Ukraine, which is often met with opposition from the representatives of local authorities and political parties.

Conclusions. Scientific interpretation of national minorities' commemorative practices is an important component for building models of constructive implementation of memory policies, for interethnic and interstate relations harmonization. The traumatic experience of the Ukrainian memory community in Poland is reflected in the implementation of a number of cultural and educational activities already in a democratic society. In post-Soviet states, the implementation of historical politics has often consisted of ideological and political instrumentalization of history and memory, their use in domestic and foreign policy, legal and legislative practices. Changes in political vectors on both sides of the border were often felt by national minorities, who, along with civil society institutions, remain agents of historical politics.

The main markers of the memorial map of the Ukrainians of Poland in the 1990s – 2000s were the burial places of the Ukrainian Revolution participants of 1917 – 1921 and the liberation movement of the mid-twentieth century, Greek Catholic shrines in the southeastern voivodeships of Poland, the tragic legacy of the deportation operation Vistula in 1947, cultural and educational activities of the Ukrainian community in Poland. The history and culture of the Ukrainian minority in Poland are explored by the departments and units of Ukrainian students at several universities in the country, the Polish Institute of National Memory, and the Southeastern Scientific Institute in Przemysl.

While the pro-communist authorities of post-war Poland destroyed most of the markers of Ukrainian culture, the Polish national heritage of the western region of the UkrSSR was in every way sought to be included in the nation's cultural heritage. In the first post-war years the monuments of the Polish King Jan III Sobieski, the poet K. Ujejski and the playwright A. Fredro, the Ja. Witwicki Plastic Panorama of Lviv, and the Raclawice Panorama were taken out from Lviv to Polish cities.

Nowadays, the Ukrainian memory community, in addition to the Union of Polish Ukrainian, is formed by the Ukrainian Association of Podlasie, the Ukrainian Teachers' Association, the Ukrainian Medical Society, the Union of Ukrainian Independent Youth, the Lemkos Association, the Ukrainian Youth Organization Plast, and Shevchenko Scientific Society. Ukrainian socio-political discourse is also supported by periodicals the Our Word, the Our Choice, the Above the Buh and Narva; every year the Festival of Ukrainian Culture, the Festival «Autumn of Podlasie», and the Days of Ukrainian Theatre in Olsztyn are held. Contemporary emigrants, unfortunately, remain inactive in the sphere of historical memory and do not cooperate enough with the Ukrainian community of Poland.

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