

УДК 94(477):325.2+355.2«1930-1939»  
DOI: 10.20535/2307-5244.48.2019.176385

**Iu. Perga**

<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7636-2417>

*National Technical University of Ukraine  
«Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute»*

**Ю. М. Перга**

*Національний технічний університет України «Київський  
політехнічний інститут імені Ігоря Сікорського»*

**THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL  
MOVEMENTS OF UKRAINIANS IN THE CHELM AND  
PODLASIE REGIONS IN THE FIRST HALF  
OF THE 1930S AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE STATE'S  
MOBILIZATION POTENTIAL**

*Еволюція суспільно-політичних рухів українського населення  
Холмищини та Підляшшя в першій половині 1930-х рр.  
та їх вплив на мобілізаційний потенціал держави*

*Article describes the evolution of the social and political movements of Ukrainians in the Chelm and Podlasie regions in the first half of the 1930s and their impact on the state's mobilization potential.*

**Keywords:** Chelm and Podlasie regions, socio-political movements, strikes, mobilization potential, Poland.

*У статті розглянуто еволюцію суспільно-політичних рухів українців Холмищини та Підляшшя в першій половині 1930-х рр. та їх вплив на мобілізаційний потенціал держави.*

*Автор розкриває зовнішні та внутрішні чинники, які призвели до якісних і кількісних змін в українському русі Холмищини й Підляшшя. Насамперед це вибори до парламенту 1930 р., під час яких місцеві українці втратили всіх представників у Сеймі та Сенаті й не могли відстоювати свої права на офіційному державному рівні. Іншим важливим чинником була світова економічна криза, яка болісно вдарила по польській економіці, насамперед по українських робітниках. У той самий час активізувало пропагандистську роботу місцеве відділення КПЗУ.*

*Сукупність цих чинників призвела до переходу від освітньо-культурної діяльності товариств, мирних віч та мітингів під проводом українських парламентарів до озброєних мітингів, які часто закінчувалися сутичками з поліцією та людськими жертвами.*

*Ця радикалізація українського суспільства і втрата довіри до центральної влади негативно позначились на лояльності населення до Польської дер-*

*жави та втрату нею мобілізаційного потенціалу в цьому регіоні. Така ситуація мала негативні наслідки для Польщі наслідки під час підготовки та перших місяців Другої світової війни.*

Ключові слова: Холмщина, Підляшшя, суспільно-політичні рухи, страйки, мобілізаційний потенціал, Польща.

The history of Ukrainian-Polish relations between the two World Wars of the twentieth century is saturated with complex and ambiguous events. This period is characterized by a certain confrontation between the two nations and attempts to solve it in different ways. This resulted in the accumulation of a large number of reciprocal images and accusations. That is why the period of the Second Polish Commonwealth in historical science is very actively studied from different sides and is the subject of many scientific discussions.

The study of the evolution of the socio-political movements of the Ukrainians of Chelm and Podlasie regions in the first half of the 1930s will enable us to follow the changes in the mood of society, the forms of self-organization and their opposition to the central government, the gradual radicalization of protest movements, and so on. At the same time, from the side of the Polish state, this situation meant an increased level of counteraction of the local Ukrainian population to the policy of the state apparatus, including the mobilization potential of the state in a rather difficult period in the international relations. Problems of the study of the mobilization potential of Ukraine and the various historical cases that led to its increasing or decreasing are dealt with by a group of scholars in the context of NRD No. 2043.

The main hypothesis of the study is the thesis about the essential and structural changes that took place in the political and social movement of Ukrainians of Chelm and Podlasie regions in the first half of the 1930s. Firstly, these changes radically changed the political map of the region; secondly, they contributed to the radicalization of the Ukrainian population; and thirdly — they significantly reduced the mobilization potential of the Second Polish Commonwealth.

At present, neither in Ukrainian nor in the Polish historiography, the topic of the socio-political movement of Ukrainians in Chelm and Podlasie regions was considered through the prism of the development of human potential and the mobilization potential of the Polish state.

Despite a large number of studies of the history of Ukraine-Polish relations, the problem of Ukrainian population of Chelm and Podlasie regions largely remains outside the scientific debate or is considered as part of the nationwide issue of the Second Polish Commonwealth.

The largest contribution to the study of the social and political development of the Ukrainian population of Chelm and Podlasie regions was made by J. Makar. Due to the researcher's own deportation and memory trauma, he had prejudg-

ments on the topic. His main works describe the situation of Ukrainians in the Second Polish Republic (Макар, Ю. 1999) demographic changes in the territory Chelm and Podlasie regions (Макар, Ю. 2003) religious revindication in 1937–1938 in Chelm (Макар, Ю. 2009) and so on.

His most important work is a three-volume monograph «From Deportation to Deportation. The Social and Political Life of Chelm-Podlasie Ukrainians (1915–1947). Research. Memoirs. Documents», written in co-authorship with V. Makar, as well as M. Gorny and A. Salyuk (Макар, Ю. & Макар, В. & Горний, М. & Салюк, А. 2011). The authors analyze two stages of deportation of the Ukrainian population from the territory of Chelm and Podlasie regions — after the First World War and World War II, respectively. Describing the events that took place on these lands during the interwar period, they present facts primarily as a precondition for deportations, somewhat separating them from the general Polish and global historical context. It should be noted that the authors elucidated in a sufficiently detailed way the lives of local Ukrainians, their struggle for their cultural and educational, regional and linguistic rights, and revealed the essence of their life tragedy associated with deportations.

M. Sivitsky also studied these same aspects in the paper «Dzieje konfliktów polsko-ukraińskich» (Siwicki, M. 1992). He not only demonstrated all the complexity and ambiguity of the relations between the Polish authorities and Ukrainians but also supported his analysis with reprinted archival materials of the Polish Army.

Another important scholar dealing with the problem is R. Tozhetsky, who in his writings «Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923–1929» (Torzecki, R. 1989) and «Z badań nad polityką narodowościową w Polsce międzywojennej» (Torzecki, R. 1982) condemned the Polish government for his chauvinistic policy regarding national minorities.

Among other researchers who studied this problem L. Aleksievets (Алексієвєць, Л. 2006), O. Rubliov (Рубльов, О. 2010), A. Chojnowski (Chojnowski, A. 1979), G. Kuprianowicz (Kuprianowicz, G. 2003), T. Snyder (Snyder, T. 2005) can be named.

Socio-political movements should be analyzed from the standpoint of the theory of resource mobilization, that is, as types of organization with internal and external resources of development. In this approach, the main thing in social and political movements is the organization that determines its viability. From the standpoint of the theory of collective behavior, socio-political movements act as a form of collective activity in a state, governed by the rule of law. The state provides mechanisms for resolving social conflicts within the existing socio-political system.

Another theory is sociopsychological. It explains the reasons for participation in such movements in terms of psychological motivation. Representatives

of the theory of new social movements — J. Habermas A. Meluši, P. Gundelach, R. Ingelhart noted that the development of democracy has a great influence on the development of socio-political movements. Movements in modern conditions are focused on new problems, new aspects of social conflicts.

According to N. Smelzer: «the old social movements — the movement for the unification of the working class and the revolutionary movements understood in the context of the Marxist worldview — were largely exhausted, as well as Marxist analysis of society» (Смелзер, Н. 1995, с. 62).

E. Giddens proposed the following typology of socio-political movements – transformational movements, reform movements, movements of salvation, alternative movements (Гідденс, 1999), p. 89).

In western political science, political movements often refer to the term «latent (hidden) political forces» which, if necessary, can be transformed into active political forces. It should be noted that there are forms of associations that combine signs of civic organizations and movements — these are the so-called fronts, for example, the Popular Front, the Front of National Salvation.

There are two main dimensions of working out and analyzing the concept of «mobilization» — a purely military and one that depicts the development of social institutions and civil-military relations in it. Fundamentals of understanding the term in the military plane were laid by Carl Clausewitz in the 18th century and refined by the military theorists of the following centuries (Huntington, S. 1952).

The concept of mobilization was actively used by modernization theorists such as K. Deutsch (Deutsch, K. 1953) and K. Jowitt (Jowitt, K. 1971). These scholars viewed mobilization as the ability of political institutions to direct human and economic resources for the transformation of society towards Western modernity patterns.

The American sociologist Charles Tilly (Tilly, C. 1990; Tilly, C. 1977) carried out the heuristic interpretation of the concept of mobilization. He said that the theoretical models of social mobilization and the transition of society from stability to revolution have been fulfilled. In both dimensions, the term “mobilization” is primarily analyzed as a transition process (society, army, economic relations, etc.) at a level equal to the abundance of activity.

The composition of the Parliament of the Polish Republic, elected in 1928, was not acceptable to the acting executives, as political parties continued to destabilize the situation in the state. The number of those dissatisfied with Juzef Pilsudski policy was constantly growing. The field for left-wing parties expanded, including in the territories of the Chelm and Podlasie regions. Because of this, formally becoming the head of the government, Pilsudski on August 8, 1930, dissolved Sejm and appointed new elections.

Elections took place on November 16, 1930, 75% of voters came to the ballot box, often upon administrative pressure. The elections themselves

were marked by significant falsifications by the Polish authorities. In Galicia these falsifications were carried primarily against the Ukrainian forces. However, in Chelm and Podlasie regions, where Ukrainians did not form the overwhelming majority of the population, falsifications were directed mainly against the Polish oppositional powers. Nevertheless, such actions of the authorities also indirectly hit the Ukrainian political groups in the region, causing their electoral loss.

According to official data, in the elections to the Sejm, the Non-Party Bloc of Cooperation with the Government (BBWR) gathered 46,8% of the votes, Centrist-left party — 17,7%, National party — 12,7%, Christian Democrats — 3,8%, Block of national minorities — 14,3% (Ukrainians and Belorussians — 6,4%). At the elections to the Senate, the BBWR received 54,7%, the National party — 12,9%, Centrist-left party — 13%. Characteristically, in the eastern territories, where the Poles were a minority of the population, the BBWR won the largest number of votes (82%)<sup>1</sup>, which indicated the highest abuse of the administration power during the election. However, numerous appeals to the Supreme Court were rejected.

In fact, the elections resulted in a shift of political center of all-Ukrainian life of the Second Polish Commonwealth from the territory of the Chelm, Podlasie, and Volhynia to Galicia. In addition, Ukrainians almost did not receive official representation in the Sejm and the Senate; from the territories of Chelm, Podlasie, for the first time, no representative was elected. This marked the transition to the period of the political oppression of the region on the local level and marginalizing left-wing and right-wing parties to a semi-legal status. This situation negatively affected the quality and quantity of coverage of local politicians in archival sources and periodicals.

At the same time, the global economic crisis, which began in 1929, deeply affected Polish industry. The volume of industrial production in 1931 decreased by almost 30%, compared to 1929. The number of unemployed exceeded 75% of the total number of workers (Цибко, О. Г. 1963).

In June 1931, deputy minister of finance E. Stazhinsky announced a «austerity program»: reducing pensions, reducing the number of civil servants, reducing the term for cash assistance to the unemployed from 17 to 13 weeks, and complete deprivation of such assistance to those who worked in small workshops<sup>2</sup>. Such actions of the government hit hard Ukrainian workers of Chelm and Podlasie, which, in the overwhelming majority, worked in small enterprises.

Meanwhile, the government supported police and secret service: more than 95,000 police officers and gendarmes, nearly 100,000 secret agents got their wages increased by 10% from May 1931 (Пепра, Ю. М. 2016).

<sup>1</sup> Sprawy Narodowociewe. 1930. № 5–6. S. 596–597.

<sup>2</sup> Dziennik ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. 1934. Nr. 38.

The main form of worker protests at that time were strikes. There they raised mainly economic questions: wages, the introduction of an eight-hour working day, social insurance, etc. At the same time, more and more state-owned administrative agencies and magistrates forced the unemployed into despair, by cutting the cash aid available to them. For example, this happened in the village Pavlovt-sy of Tomashiv district, when the unemployed demanded 10 zlotys for everyone from the available box office (Пеpra, Ю. М. 2016).

An important role in the development of the labor movement on the territory of the Chelm and Podlasie regions was played by the local cells of the Communist party of Western Ukraine, headed by the Chelm District Committee. Despite the loss of support from the USSR, since the late 1920s, the Communists' influence on the Ukrainian population of these territories was growing in significance. Under this influence, workers on strike began to combine economic demands with political.

For example, during a strike in the Mezhirichy on June 17, 1931, two political demonstrations were organized. Slogans «Freedom to Political Prisoners!», «The Struggle for the Workers' and Peasants' Government» and others were brought to the meeting. The workers of the aviation plant in Bila Pidlyaska on June 19, 1931, supported the seedlings, starting their strike. The joint effort of the Ukrainians ended with the victory of the strikers — they achieved a 15% increase in wages and an eight-hour working day (Степанчук, О. П. 2013).

Traditionally, the workers of Chelm and Podlasie regions actively responded to the calls of the left-wing political forces to celebrate the Day of International Solidarity of the Working People on May 1st. Particularly violent, despite police reprisals, rallies and demonstrations took place in Krasnaustav, Vlodava and Hrubshiv districts.

On May 1, 1930, many people gathered near the town of Hrubeshiv, with the intention of holding a demonstration in the city. However, the police and the ulans, whose regiment was stationed in Hrubshov, brutally dispersed the demonstrators, killing one person and arresting more than 100. Lately, the repression of Polish authorities further intensified, the police actively carried searches, interrogations, investigations<sup>1</sup>.

The arrested activists of the «Selrob-Unity», the organizers of the demonstration, were brought to trial on charges of treason and attempts at undermining the integrity of the state. On May 17, 1930, a lawsuit was filed in Lublin on the leaders of the farmer's movement. They were sentenced for a term of three to six years imprisonment<sup>2</sup>.

In Lubart town, after a long struggle, the police broke down a massive demonstration of Ukrainian workers from cement plants and other enterprises. At the

<sup>1</sup> Сельроб. 1930. 8 травня.

<sup>2</sup> Сельроб. 1930. 18 травня.

same time, seven workers were killed, 20 were wounded and many arrested (Пепра, Ю. М. 2016).

The Public Assembly Law, approved in March 1932, granted the administration broad control over civil society organizations. In August of that year, the Minister of Justice received the right to transfer and remove judges, which made them dependent on the administration; a little later freedom of the law was limited. In 1933, the Law on Self-Government was approved, which also expanded the powers of the administration in the convention of local representative bodies.

In the future, the worker struggle for their rights intensified, which caused enforcement from the state authorities. During a demonstration at Chelm, on June 18, 1934, the police shelled the unemployed with shots, stones, and chops of wooden boards. In the result of this clash, 16 police officers got seriously injured, one demonstrator was killed and 8 were seriously injured (Кучараба, С. П. 2003). In the village Zhirard at Hrubeshov district in August 1934, the clashes between protesters and police, who used tear gas, was pervasive.

Jozef Pilsudski's «sanation» regime practically did nothing to mitigate the acute problems in relations between the Ukrainians and the authorities; he continued his previous policy. The workers responded to the government's actions with strikes. On November 1935, a strike in the city of Chelm broke out on mills. Over a hundred workers ceased work demanding a 25% increase in wages. After a 7-day strike, the administration of the enterprise was forced to meet their demands. According to the report on this event from the Chelm district committee of the KPW: «... the mood of the workers is aggressive — a new armed strike may occur» (Пепра, Ю. М. 2016).

The above facts lead to the conclusion that on the territory of Chelm and Podlasie regions in the first half of the 1930s the type of struggle of the Ukrainian population for its political and economic rights changed. The People's Council, the speeches of the deputies of the Sejm, the activities of cultural and educational organizations, the workers and peasants strikes shifted towards an armed confrontation with local authorities. This largely underlines the rapid radicalization of the Ukrainian population, further enhanced by economic factors due to the global crisis and political propaganda from the local communists.

At the same time, the authorities' actions towards the Ukrainians have created a very negative image of «central power» and the state of Poland in general. In the context of the mobilization potential of the Ukrainian population in the region, one can conclude that the state completely lost it. Subsequently, this resulted in the creation of Ukrainian alternative military formations (UVO, UPA), the reluctance of military service in the Polish Army and the support of the Soviet military and authorities that occupied the territory of the Chelm and Podlasie regions in September 1939.

- Chojnowski, A. 1979. *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Deutsch, K. 1953. *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Huntington, S. 1952. *The Soldier and the State; the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Jowitt, K. 1971. *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944–1965*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kuprianowicz, G. 2003. *Projekty «rozwiązania» kwestii ukraińskiej na Chełmszczyźnie i Podlasiu Południowym w drugiej połowie lat trzydziestych XX wieku*. Lwów.
- Siwicki, M. 1992. *Dzieje konfliktów polsko-ukraińskich*. T. 1. Warszawa: Tyrsa.
- Snyder, T. 2005. *Sketches from a Secret War: A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine*. місце видання невідоме: Yale University Press.
- Tilly, C. 1977. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Michigan.
- Tilly, C. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European states AD 990–1990*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Torzecki, R. 1982. *Z badań nad polityką narodowościową w Polsce międzywojennej*. Warszawa: PWN.
- Torzecki, R. 1989. *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923–1929*. Kraków.
- Алексієвщ, Л. 2006. *Польща: утвердження незалежної держави 1918–1926*. Тернопіль.
- Гідденс, Е. 1999. *Соціологія*. Київ: Основи.
- Кучараба, С. П. 2003. *Еміграція у Західній Україні (1919–1939 рр.)*. Львів.
- Макар, Ю. 2003. *Холмщина і Підляшся в першій половині ХХ століття. Історико-політична проблематика*. Львів: Інститут українознавства НАН України ім. І. Крип'якевича.
- Макар, Ю. & Макар, В. & Горний, М. & Салюк, А. 2011. *Від депортації до депортації. Суспільно-політичне життя холмсько-підляських українців (1915–1947)*. Дослідження. Спогади. Документи. Чернівці: Букрек.
- Макар, Ю. 1999. *Становище українців у міжвоєнній Польщі*. Одеса; Київ; Львів, Міжнародна асоціація українців.
- Макар, Ю. 2009. *1938 рік — апогей трагедії Холмсько-Підляського Православ'я. у: Акція руйнування православних церков на Холмщині і Південному Підляшші в 1938 році — обставини, перебіг, наслідки*. Холм: Люблинсько-Холмська православна єпархія; Українське Товариство. С. 93–110.
- Перга, Ю. М. 2016. *Суспільно-політичне життя українців Холмщини та Підляшся 1918–1939 рр.* [Текст] : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Київ: НАН України, Ін-т історії України.
- Рубльов, О. С. 2010. *Західноукраїнські землі в складі II Речі Посполитої 1921–1939: історичні нариси*. Київ
- Смелзер, Н. 1995. *Проблеми соціології*. Львів.
- Степанчук, О. П. 2013. *Становище українського населення Холмщини в контексті польської національної політики 20–30-х років ХХ ст.*: Дис. канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01. Переяслав-Хмельницький: Переяслав-Хмельниц. держ. пед. ун-т ім. Григорія Сковороди.
- Цибко, О. Г. 1963. *Револуційно-визвольна боротьба трудящих Західної України за возз'єднання з Радянською Україною*. Львів.



Aleksieivets, L. 2006. *Polshcha: utverzhennia nezaleznoi derzhavy 1918–1926 [Poland: the establishment of an independent state 1918–1926]*. Ternopil. [in Ukrainian]

Hiddens, E. 1999. *Sotsiolohiia [Sociology]*. Kyiv: Osnovy. [in Ukrainian]

Kucharaba, S. P. 2003. *Emihratsiia u Zakhidnii Ukraini (1919–1939 rr.) [Emigration in Western Ukraine (1919–1939)]*. Lviv. [in Ukrainian]

Makar, Yu. 2003. *Kholmshchyna i Pidliashshia v pershii polovyni XX stolittia. Istoryko-politychna problematyka [Chelm and Podlasie in the First Half of the 20th Century. Historical and Political Issues]*. Lviv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva NAN Ukrainy im. I. Kryp'iakevycha. [in Ukrainian]

Makar, Yu. & Makar, V. & Hornyi, M. & Saliuk, A. 2011. *Vid deportatsii do deportatsii. Suspilno-politychne zhyttia kholmско-pidliaskykh ukrainsiv (1915–1947). Doslidzhennia. Spohady. Dokumenty [From deportation to deportation. Social and political life of Chelm-Podlasie Ukrainians (1915–1947). Research. Memoirs. Documents]*. Chernivtsi: Bukrek. [in Ukrainian]

Makar, Yu. 1999. *Stanovyshche ukrainsiv u mizhvoienii Polshchi [The Situation of Ukrainians in Interwar Poland]*. Odesa; Kyiv; Lviv, Mizhnarodna asotsiatsiia ukrainistiv. [in Ukrainian]

Makar, Yu. 2009. 1938 rik — apohei trahedii Kholmско-Pidliaskoho Pravoslav'ia [1938 — Apogee of the Tragedy of the Chelm-Podlasies Orthodoxy]. *Aktsiia ruinuвання pravoslavnykh tserkov na Kholmshchyni i Pivdenomu Pidliashshi v 1938 rotsi — obstavyny, perebih, naslidky*. Kholm: Liublynsko-Kholmсka pravoslavna yeparkhiia; Ukrainске Товариство. S. 93–110. [in Ukrainian]

Perha, Yu. M. 2016. *Suspilno-politychne zhyttia ukrainsiv Kholmshchyny ta Pidliashshia 1918–1939 rr. [Social-Political Life of Ukrainians of Chelm and Podlasie Regions from 1918–1939]*. [Tekst] : dys. ... kand. ist. nauk : 07.00.01. Kyiv: NAN Ukrainy, In-t istorii Ukrainy. [in Ukrainian]

Rublov, O. S. 2010. *Zakhidnoukrainski zemli v skladi II Rechi Pospolytoi 1921–1939: istorichni narysy [West-Ukrainian lands in the Second Polish Commonwealth 1921–1939: historical essays]*. Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

Smelzer, N. 1995. *Problemy sotsioloii [Problems of Sociology]*. Lviv. [in Ukrainian]

Stepanchuk, O. P. 2013. *Stanovyshche ukrainskoho naseleння Kholmshchyny v konteksti polskoi natsionalnoi polityky 20–30-kh rokiv XX st. [The Situation of the Ukrainian Population of the Chelm in the Context of the Polish National Policy of the 1920's and 1930's.]*: Dys. kand. ist. nauk: 07.00.01. Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi: Pereiaslav-Khmelnys. derzh. ped. un-t im. Hryhoriia Skovorody. [in Ukrainian]

Tsybko, O. H. 1963. *Revoliutiino-vyzvolna borotba trudiashchykh Zakhidnoi Ukrainy za vozz'iednannia z Radianskoiu Ukrainoiu [Revolutionary-Liberation Struggle of the Working People of Western Ukraine for Reunification with Soviet Ukraine]*. Lviv. [in Ukrainian]