Struggling for peace: understanding Polish-Ukrainian coexistence in southeast Poland (1943-2007)
Lehmann, R.N.M.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
Preface

Obrigkeiten, Behörden, übernatürliche Mächte mischen sich von Oben in alles ein, kommandieren herum, machen, was sie wollen, und unten der Mensch ist Machtlos.

Janosch (1972: 5)

Die Menschen machen ihre eigene Geschichte, aber sie machen sie nicht aus freien Stücken, nicht unter selbstgewählten, sondern unter unmittelbar vorgefundenen, gegebenen und überlieferten Umständen.

Karl Marx (1852: 21)

My father left Germany at the age of 19 to escape the grim postwar German society, and, not insignificant, military service. He married my mother, a Dutch girl from a small provincial town. Several years later my father applied for Dutch citizenship and became a member of the Dutch Communist Party (CPN). As communists, our parents introduced me and my brother to the wonderful tales of world revolutions and to the ‘real existing’ socialism in Eastern Europe. The iron curtain was still up and strong when my parents took us to visit the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union during summer vacations in the early 1980s. Even though I did not like what I saw, it was during these travels that my interest was raised in what was then called the ‘Second World’. As a teenager, my attention was drawn to the above quoted illustrious Germans, the novelist Janosch and the political philosopher Karl Marx. The works of these authors touch on one of the major paradoxes of human existence: the confinement of people to their historical, social, and economic circumstances as well as their ability to manipulate fate and change their circumstances. Or, to quote Janosch (1972: 5) again, “wie oft ist es nicht so, daß einer kommt, was macht, und schon fällt alles ganz anders aus.” In other words, base and superstructure weigh heavily on people but it is these same people who, in the final instance, may make a difference. This insight has been one of the major motivations behind the present work.

Marx’s introduction to historical materialism in “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy” and Janosch’s sensitive portrayal of humankind in “Cholonek, oder der lieber Gott aus Lehm” did not make me a Marxist. However, their works did lay the basis for my later interest in anthropology. Marx’s conclusion that “it is not the
consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness” provided one explanation as to why people think and act the way they do (Marx (1859) quoted in Bottomore and Rubel 1963: 67). In a similar way, Janosch’s portrayal of life in a nineteenth-century Upper Silesian small town beautifully revealed how people’s histories profoundly affect their feelings, expectations, rationalizations, and behavior. Janosch’s work links up with this study in still other ways. Born in 1931 in Hindenburg, Upper Silesia, Janosch wrote about his own childhood experiences: an alcoholic and abusive father, the rise of Nazism, the outbreak of the war, and the family’s escape from Hindenburg, which was turned into the Polish Zabrze after the war’s end. Janosch was one of millions of Germans who left Soviet occupied Poland in the years following the end of the Second World War. During my first anthropological fieldwork in Poland in 1992, I was confronted with the massive impact of wartime upheaval in Poland’s southeastern regions. Most of my Polish and Ukrainian informants came from families who had severely been affected by wartime destruction and by the voluntary and involuntary wartime and postwar population transfers. This study emanates from this rather disturbing finding. It is to the millions of uprooted people in postwar Central and Eastern Europe that I dedicate this book.

When I considered starting a PhD study on Polish-Ukrainian coexistence, Ot van den Muijzenberg and Hans Vermeulen of the University of Amsterdam, my professors and mentors for many years, supported my project and agreed to supervise it. The research project got a head start when I received a research grant from the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research in 1995. I am much obliged to both staff and students of the ASSR for facilitating my research activities and for offering me a fertile academic environment during those first years. For their support and encouragement I would like to thank in particular Anton Blok, Jeremy Boissevain, José Komen, Anna Ostrowska, Hans Sonneveld, Bonno Thoden van Velzen and Jojada Verrips. The end of the grant term in 1999 marked the beginning of a new phase. I started working as a freelance researcher and stopped working on my PhD project for several years. In 2006 the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (CHGS) and the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD) offered me an affiliation. I thank Johannes Houwink ten Cate, Wichert ten Have, Hans Blom and Marjan Schwegman, former and present directors of respectively the CHGS and NIOD, for their kind hospitality and for making available to me the facilities of their institutions. The meetings and discussions with my colleagues from the CHGS and NIOD, in particular with Karel Berkhoff, Hans Blom, Peter Romijn and Ton Zwaan, were a challenging and continuing source of inspiration.

There are many people and institutions, which were very helpful during the various stages of my fieldwork. Thanks are due to Professor Zdzisław Mach and Professor Hieronim Kubiak of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków for offering university facilities
and for taking up the task as mentors. My many meetings with scholars in the field of Ukrainian and Eastern European studies in and outside of Poland have been of invaluable assistance. In particular I would like to thank Olena Duć-Fajfer, André Gerrits, Professor Chris Hann, Bogdan Horbal, Ewa Michna, Susyn Mihalasky, Professor Paul Robert Magocsi and Jacek Nowak for their help and advice. Special thanks go out to Andrzej Zięba for his tireless efforts to keep me informed and updated, for introducing me to numerous scholars and institutions, and for his supportive criticism of my work in progress. Grzegorz Bryda, Bartosz Gomolka, Jarosław Kadyło, Elżbieta Kijowska and Ewa Klekot helped me out during various stages of fieldwork. I thank them for their enthusiast assistance and for their help in refining my Polish and getting to know my way around in the libraries and archives in Poland. Krystyna Bryda invited me in her home during a Polish language course; I thank her for her generous hospitality and friendship. I wish to express my gratitude to Anna Ostrowska, Anna Orla-Bukowska, Dorota and Piotr Zabrzycki, Agnieszka and Grzegorz Bryda for their warm friendship, support and encouragement along the way. They made my stays in Poland much more pleasant and continue to provide a living link with what had become, at least for a while, my second homeland.

This thesis also owes its existence to those institutions that kindly granted me access to their files: the Central Archives of Modern Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych) in Warsaw, the local branches of the Central State Archive (Archiwum Państwowe) in Sanok and Przemyśl, the Archive of the Ministry of Interior and Administration (Archiwum MSWiA) in Warsaw, the Central Bureau of Statistics (GUS) in Krosno and Warsaw, the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw. Thanks to the helpful staff that made research so much easier. Thanks also to Eugeniusz Misioło, director of the Ukrainian Archive Foundation, who gave me a crash course on how to use archives (and how to investigate the Polish-Ukrainian relationship), to Stanisław Stepien, director of the South-Eastern Research Institute, who kindly invited me to visit his institute on several occasions, to Jerzy Motylewicz, who helped me retrieve valuable documents from the State Archive of Ukraine in Lwów, and to Fr Dean Adam Dubec, Archbishop of the Orthodox Przemyśl-Nowosądecki diocese, who generously gave me access to his church archive. I am most obliged to the Komańcza rural district authorities, in particular Barbara Warchol and Stanisław Bielawka, for giving me all the support I needed during my visits to Komańcza. I am especially indebted to Bożena Fijalkowska, who as district secretary helped me out in all sorts of bureaucratic matters. Despite my regular visits to her office she never lost her patience and always helped me out efficiently and professionally. This is also the place to thank Tadeusz Baj, Piotr Skocki and Ewa Domańska-Ciukaj, for giving me their time, expertise and support during the fieldwork.
This book would not have been possible without the hospitality and generosity of all those people, who spent so many hours of their time with me recounting their (life) stories. I owe a very special thanks to them. Access to the villagers was made easier thanks to the kind hospitality of the local parish priests. I acknowledge Fr Pipka, Fr Bogdan Kiszko, the late Fr Dec, Fr Szumigraj, and Fr Martyniuk for their generous help and support. Władysław Gułycz became my key informant and friend. He passed on to me his knowledge and passion for local history, spent hours discussing my many questions, and helped building a village genealogy. For this I am most thankful. If not for my hosts, Józef and Irena Wołczański, my field research would have been far less pleasant and successful. They not only helped me getting access to the village community and introduced me to their extended family and friends, they also offered me a true home. There are no words to thank them enough for the support and love they gave me. My heartfelt thanks go out to Tomek and Justyna, my new brother and sister, to Marysia, Sławka, Darka, Janek, Andrzej and Mariusz. Their love, support and encouragement have been invaluable to me.

I am much indebted to family and friends for countless instances of help, and to all those who have contributed in many ways to the completion of this book. In particular I would like to thank my parents, who have instilled in me a fascination for Europe’s brutal and revolutionary history. I should like to thank Anton Blok, Chris Hann, Tom Inglis, Longina Jakubowska, Zdzisław Mach, Ot van den Muijzenberg, David Niemeijer, Rudo Niemeijer, Peter Romijn, Hans Vermeulen, Andrzej Zięba, Ton Zwaan, and the anonymous journal referees for their valuable comments on earlier versions of the chapters. I am grateful to Peter Mason for the English translation of Chapter 2 and to Elwira Skapska for the Polish translation of the Summary. Remaining mistakes are, of course, entirely my own.

Most heartfelt thanks go to my supervisors Ot van den Muijzenberg and Hans Vermeulen for their unfailing loyalty, patience and understanding, for their sensitivity in not pressing or constraining me but instead allowing me to work at my own pace and in my own way. Without their personal commitment and helpful guidance I would never have managed to come through with this project. In a later phase, Peter Romijn joined as a supervisor. Our monthly meetings and discussions helped me back on track. I thank him for his indispensable enthusiasm, feedback and encouragement all along the way.

My greatest debt goes to David—my husband, teacher, critic and friend—and to our daughters Femi and Bente. I thank David for his love, confidence and support, which enabled me to complete my research. Femi was always there to ask whether I finished my book yet, but was generously patient when I explained her that time had not yet come. Bente always cheered me up, especially at times when I could not see how this study could ever be finished. I thank them for their love, patience and constant encouragement. Most of all, they keep reminding me of what is important in life.