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**Tragedy of Volhynia as indicator of the ethnic and cultural split of Ukraine**

**Summary.** The urgent problems of ethnopolitics like civic identity development on the etnocultural split and political deconsolidation background are studied. It is proved that Ukraine has no consolidated foreign policy position in ethnopolitical conflict over Volyn tragedy because of these reasons. This emphasize the necessity of consolidation policy for ethnocultural split overcoming and intensification the process of political nation development.

**Keywords:** ethnocultural split, consolidation, civic identity.

The problem of ethnocultural split belongs to the most actual challenges to ethnopolitical safety and integrity of Ukraine. Without regard to the fact that ethnical policy during many years was aimed at the search of ways of consolidation of Ukrainian nation - integration of all ethnic constituents in a political association, the process of its forming is far from completion. А. Kolodiy in his works names Ukrainian a nation with poor consolidation, as among all the possible identities (ethnic, national, territorial), less than 50% of population of Ukrainian has the citizenship as the basic identity. In other countries with long-term history of creating the state, a civil identity prevails: 80-90% of population identify themselves first of all as citizens of the state, and then as representatives of certain ethnic group, region [1].

According to the sociological public opinion polls, during the last years certain changes have occurred in the process of forming of political nation. Nearly 53,4% of Ukrainian habitants regard themselves in the first place as the citizens of Ukraine, and only then as the representatives of various local identities. For the first time in history of independent Ukraine this index exceeded 50%, thus a civil identity is beginning to prevail gradually above ethnic and regional ones in the general structure of authentication of individual. The highest rate of civil identity is shown in central Ukraine (62,8%), and the least - in Crimea (34%), which the most unstable region in the ethno-political sense and there 17% of respondents continue to identify themselves as habitants of the former USSR [2].

According to the ethnic sociology it is impossible to make clear differentiation of identities, as in the process of community development there is an interpenetration, stratification of different types of identity. G.Mazylova suggests that ethnic authentication results in self-perception by subject as a transmitter of cultural relevant features, and that civil authentication results in understanding of principles of integration of society through integrating into common economic and professional field. A researcher asserts at the same time, that an ethnic identity gradually is being joined into the structure of authentication of higher order (economic, political, ideological), including citizenship. In this case the factor of ethnicity can acquire more various colorings, including political [3].

А. Karas is convinced, that a civil identity is not generated directly neither by society nor by culture - it is generated by the public necessities of human development and includes three constituents: social, cultural and epistemological. A civil identity cannot be reduced to the social only - a researcher characterizes it as representing cultural, social, and epistemological levels of public association at the same time [4]. Forming of civil identity takes place in accordance with forming of abstract political society which is a corresponding form of organization of citizenship. In opinion of А. Karas, in Ukraine there is a permanent substitution of social by ethno-cultural, switching of rhetoric about unsatisfactory social status of individual on a problem of exceptionally cultural identity. The latter the researcher refers to the cohort of "traditional forms of spontaneous identities" alongside with the ethnic and religious identities.

In fact, such suppositions are confirmed by the practice of ethno-national relations. In accordance with public opinion polls, the two third of habitants of all regions of Ukraine consider that the basis for nation integration is the increasing of standard of living and revival of economy, but not search of historical justice or cultural prevailing. Having certain stereotypes and prejudices in relation to the habitants of other regions, that confirms actuality ethno-cultural dissidence and necessity of consolidation of political nation, 57,5% of respondents estimate relations between regions as normal - not containing tension. Only 12% regard the relations between the regions of the state as strained [5].

As І. Kresina asserts, the task of ethno-national policy of any state is to consolidation ethnically and culturally heterogeneous components of society in political nation on the basis of citizenship and national identity. Except the countries which settle the problems of ethnic character in undemocratic way, in particular by means of ethnocracy. The states, interested in maintaining the interethnic world, avoiding the ethnic conflicts, warning of ethno-cultural relations, must pay more attention to consolidation both in a legislation, and in the practical ethno-national policy [6]. Ukraine, no doubt, belongs to the second category. At the level of national ethnical policy more hopes is laid upon consolidation of political nation as a mechanism of overcoming the ethno-cultural split in the state.

For example, in previous annual addresses the state leader mainly pointed at negative consequences of split, in the present appeal he has concentrated on the practical mechanisms of overcoming of this destructive phenomenon. Cultural fragmentation was declared as a threat to national safety, insufficient unity of society - one of reasons of political instability, slow development of civil society and permanent difficulties in economic development. In opinion of President such factors as absence of general cultural basis and deepening of social and cultural limits, which exist between separate regions, language and religious associations, - increase in the terms of political instability and economic confusions. The special responsibility is laid on government and political forces which profiteer on socio-cultural divergences and contradictions from the tactical reasoning, without the account of strategic consequences of such policy [7]. For overcoming of these separating phenomena the state leader suggested to take measures for assisting the information circulation, creative co-operation of cultural associations of Ukraine, forming of general cultural space by development of intercultural dialog in its practical aspect within the limits of ethnical policy that would be accompanied by the increase of level of the mutual understanding and tolerance.

However, as was stated in previous works, while the state at national level is trying to find compromising strategies of ethnical policy for uniting society and satisfying the interests and necessities of most citizens of Ukraine, regional ethnic policy serves as the mean of politizing the ethnic and cultural differences and intensifying the ethnic and political contradictions, which deepen ethno-cultural split. The initiatives and actions of separate political forces implement the divergences of regional ethnic policy at national level. Regional popularity of Ukrainian parties is the consequence of ethno-cultural split - as a rule they are elected by one region and represent its interests, including ethno-cultural ones at national level. On the stage of pre-election struggle compromise strategies do not have such popularity in polarized Ukrainian society, but disuniting measures, that exploit strategies of dissidence, are, on the contrary, fairly popular.

Not accidentally the country's leader in his address spared so much attention exactly to the ethno-cultural constituent to forming of general field and consolidation of Ukrainian society. Ethno-cultural constituent is widely presented in the civil identity of Ukrainians, is its inherent part. It is impossible to replace it by social, economic or some kinds of identities. Such kinds of projects on political nation forming, which do not take into account the effect of ethno-cultural differences, are condemned to failure. As T. Voznyak writes, our western neighbors are effective in functioning of political nation due to consensus in relation to many things [8], but in Ukraine this unity is not observed, political nation is not consolidated around a certain consensus or it does not concern the strategic things.

Ethno-cultural split has negative influence on forming of native ethnic and national policy – it lacks dynamics, consistency and the common vector of orientation. Political forces which represent interests of one or a few ethno-cultural regions like "Svoboda" or the Communist Party of Ukraine have its own projects of forming of political nation. As a rule, they are polarized and distant from the common national interests. The primary objective of the party "Svoboda" is the creating of the powerful Ukrainian state on principles of national justice which will take the deserving place among the leading countries of the world and will provide continual development of Ukrainian nation. At what they mean is exactly the ethnic nation, i.e. they speak about Ukraine for the Ukrainians. The Communist party on the contrary, "resolutely rejects any attempts to impose on society nationally- jingoistic ideology, which represents ideological basis of fascism, idea of national exceptionality and hostility to other nations and nationalities" [9] and propagandizes internationalism in the ethno-national policy, eliminating any national colouring. Therefore, none of these projects of ethno-national development cannot be put into practice, as, in fact, such radical ethno-national policy will result in greater disuniting of Ukrainian society.

The high level of internal political disunity has a negative influence on the foreign ethno-national policy of Ukraine, which not always can adequately face the external threats to ethno-political safety. A reaction of Ukraine is often belated, not corresponding to the threats and contradictory, as it represents the divergences between basic political forces. They are based on ethno-cultural interests of different regions of the state, non concerted and unconsolidated with each other. The illustrative example of inconsistency of foreign ethno-national policy of Ukraine is resumption of an ethno-political conflict between Poland and Ukraine in 2013 concerning the Volhyn tragedy.

Let us remember that we are speaking about the ethnic “cleaning” of the Polish population, carried out by Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian people, - by Polish Army Regional in the World war II in Volyn. This ethno-political conflict has been substantially complicating collaboration between the two states and preventing from making stable relations in a ethno-national sphere for a long time. Every year during celebrations in honor of those who have died in the slaughter, the relations between the states get worse. However in 2013 the escalation of the conflict has begun. As we know from the theory of ethno-political science, the conflicts of ethnic character are never entirely settled, they get the features of cyclicity, taking into account the irrational coloring of ethnicity. The last, finishing stage of such conflicts development can become initial again even after many years as a result of exploitation of ethnic offenses, historical stereotypes, speculations on hostility between ethnical groups and states in past years.

The following events were taking place. In March, 2013 Ukrainian invited Poland to support initiative in relation to establishment of Day of memory and reconciliation of the Ukrainians and the Polish people. The Head of Verkhovna Rada emphasized that such a step would allow to "to prevent ascribing the political character to the problem of reconciliation and cooperation and will become the guideline for societies of the both countries" [10]. In April in Kyiv the public committee of "Reconciliation between nations" was created and it appealed to the Ukrainians and the Polish with the idea of reconciliation and mutual forgiveness for the times of World war II in Ukrainian-Poland relationships and marked the importance of good-neighborliness today.

A reaction of Poland on conciliatory initiatives of Ukraine was opposite. Lower Chamber of Polish parliament, Sejm, in draft resolution to the 70year of the Volhyn tragedy, pointed at the features of genocide in Polish-Ukrainian relations. A Senate, Upper Chamber of Polish parliament, supported text of resolution, where the events of 1943 are determined as "ethnic cleaning by the Ukrainian nationalists of the Polish population with the features of genocide" [11]. Resolution names the Volhyn tragedy as the Volhyn crime, the events of which had the organized mass character and were accompanied by cruelty. The actions of UON-UIA are characterized as rough actions on physical elimination of the Polish people. The victims of the Anti-Polish actions of UIA number 100 thousand persons. The Ukrainian historians put under a doubt such number of victims from the Polish side. The document does not mention the number of about 15 thousands of Ukrainians who were killed during the mutual cleaning. At the same time, the resolution named "At the 70th anniversary of the Volhynia crime" sais, that Poland and Ukraine have done a lot for overcoming of the difficult past, and Poland wants reconciliation and friendship with the Ukrainians. Polish Parliament considers however, that the real reconciliation can be built only on a true and general conviction of the Volhyn crime.

Therefore Polish party "United Poland" appealed to European Parliament with a query to celebrate in honor of 70th anniversary of the Volhyn tragedy by strict resolution and silence minute. In Radymno town in the south of Poland within activities on paying tribute to victims of the Volhyn tragedy, the historical reconstruction of destruction of the Polish village by the UIA subdivisions and the Ukrainian peasants took place. The Association of Ukrainians in Poland (AUP) called local-authority to abolish the reconstruction, as such an activity that does not contribute to reconciliation between two nations and ascalate ethno-political conflict.

Ukraine meantime was convincing the Polish politicians not to use term "genocide" concerning the Volhynia tragedy. On meeting with the Speaker of Senate, the first President of Ukraine insisted on that genocide is the planned actions performed by the state, while Ukraine in 1943 did not have the state and mechanisms to carry out genocide. Therefore he called not to intensify the Ukrainian-Polish conflict [12]. Party "Svoboda" promised to meet the resolution of Poland Seim with civilized criticism, although it considers that the Polish politicians purposefully destroyed by this document the 20 years of neighborliness between the states. This political force recommended to take measures to honor the memory of Ukrainians who were tortured in Kholmshchina by the Polish in 1944.

Kyiv reacted on resolution with tolerantly restraint as regarded it as a cause for enforcing the conflict. Political forces of the right wing refused to take part in actions against the visit of President of Poland to Lutsk in July for participating in memorial actions dedicated to the Volhyn tragedy. B. Komarovsky with the representatives of Ukrainian government honored the memory of the killed. The most disgraceful incident during the visit of Polish President was a thrown egg.

However, ethno-cultural split, disunity of Ukrainian political forces as to interpretation of historical events substantially affected foreign ethno-national policy of Ukraine during escalation of conflict in summer 2013. This policy was not concerted and did not demonstrate unity that is utterly necessary for Ukraine to prevent threats to ethno-political safety. 148 Deputies of Verkhovna Rada from left and centrist ideological spectrum during the accepting of resolution by Polish parliament appealed to Sejm with a request to "support the decision of Senate to consider the Volhyn slaughter performed by UON-UIA as genocide in relation to the Polish population and to condemn the criminal acts of the Ukrainian nationalists" [13]. By this document Deputies estimated this initiative of Poland in convicting the genocide of civilian population, regardless of nationality, as very timely. The Ukrainian politicians agreed, that different interpretation of events of those years damage the relations between countries.

Right-wing political forces accused 148 deputies of treason of national interests of Ukraine. Party "Svoboda" appealed to SSU with a requirement to examine an appeal as to including the signs of state treason. "History hasn’t seen similar cases when people's deputies who got a mandate from the Ukrainian people, tried to discredit the nation and state. For the first time in world history the statesmen of one country appealed to the other one with a request to humiliate their nation, their heroes in public opinion", - was declared by right-wing political force [14].

These events and statements emphasized the depth of ethno-cultural split between the separate regions of Ukraine, which have different heroes and honor different historical events. In fact the certain national heroes of the Western part of the country appear criminals and traitors from the point of view of the Eastern and Southern parts of the state and vice versa. A document addressed to the Polish parliament in interpretation of right political forces looks like treason, does not conflict with the ethno-cultural picture of the world in East and South, where heroization of UON-UIA is unacceptable. Deputies which signed a request to consider the Volhyn tragedy as genocide against Poland declared for this reason, that do not understand, why they are accused of treason of national interests. They reasoned the act by a necessity to estimate the role of UIA in the events of 1943, which slaughtered people because of their nationality.

Without regard to absence of the consolidated reaction of Ukraine, the ethno-political conflict with Poland did not get continuation. The Head of Sejm declared, that he did not familiarize himself with the text of the Ukrainian deputies’ appeal, so this document did not influence the Polish resolution. State Security Service of did not see the signs of state treason in the appeal of 148 deputies and regarded this document as a certain opinion of a group of people's deputies of Ukraine in relation to the tragic historical events.

Worsening in the Ukrainian-Polish interrelations, that grounds on ethno-political conflict on the Volhyn tragedy, became the indicator of ethno-cultural split in Ukraine, disunity of political forces of Ukraine. Divergence between politicians which represent interests of different ethno-cultural regions of Ukraine has prevented from forming of the concerted foreign-policy of Ukraine which harms to the international image of the state and its to national interests. This points at the necessity of consolidating policy on all levels for overcoming the split and intensifying the process of forming of political nation.

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# Витман К.Н. Волынская трагедия как индикатор этнокультурного раскола Украины. – Статья.

**Аннотация.** Изучаются актуальные проблемы этнонациональной политики - формирования гражданской идентичности на фоне этнокультурного раскола и политической деконсолидации. Доказано, что отсутствие консолидированной внешнеполитической позиции Украины в этнополитическом конфликте вокруг Волынской трагедии является следствием действия этих факторов. Это указывает на необходимость проведения политики консолидации для преодоления раскола и интенсификации процесса формирования политической нации.

**Ключевые слова:** этнокультурный раскол, консолидация, гражданская идентичность.

# Вітман К.М. Волинська трагедія як індикатор етнокультурного розколу України. – Стаття.

**Анотація.** Вивчаються актуальні проблеми етнонаціональної політики - формування громадянської ідентичності на тлі етнокультурного розколу та політичної деконсолідації. Доведено, що відсутність консолідованої зовнішньополітичної позиції України в етнополітичному конфлікті навколо Волинської трагедії є наслідком дії цих чинників. Це вказує на необхідність проведення політики консолідації для подолання розколу та інтенсифікації процесу формування політичної нації.

**Ключові слова:** етнокультурний розкол, консолідація, громадянська ідентичність.