

THE CULTURAL AND INTEGRATIVE ROLE OF THE POLISH AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE LEMKOS' ACTIVITY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

After the Second World War, the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church played a relevant role in the cultural-creation process as well as the integration of the Lemko population. This was true of both the Orthodox Lemkos resettled in 1947 as part of the "Vistula Operation" on the Recovered Territories, as well as those who returned to the Lemko region after 1956. Around the creation of Orthodox parishes, the organizational life of the Lemkos was resurrected after the resettlement. In the beginning, it took the form of parish meetings, involving the need to create new pastoral centers. Orthodox youth joined in cultural activities, which later took the form of the Orthodox Youth Society. An analogous process has been taking place since the second half of the 50s of the 20th century in the Lemko region.

Keywords: Lemkos, Operation "Vistula", Orthodox Church.

Introduction. Till the second half of the forties of the twentieth century Lemkos lived in the territory defined in Polish *Łemkowszczyzna* (Lemkivshchyna), and in *LemkoLemkiwszczyzna* or more *Lemkovyna*. It covered the northern and southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, lying in Poland and Slovakia. Relations between populations living on both sides of the mountains were strong. They concerned both language, and material and spiritual culture (15, p. 167-181). These considerations will apply only to Lemkovyna on the north side of the Carpathians. I identify the area with the territory, which is bounded by watersheds of the Oslawa and Laborca rivers and the line of the Poprad river. The length of the wedge is approx. 150 km, the width at the base of approx. 60 km. The furthest west situated Lemko village is Osturňa (southern Lemkovyna), on the north side farthest westernmost is called "SzlachtowskaRuś" which are the four villages in the Szczawnica area: BiałaWoda, CzarnaWoda, Jaworki and Szlachtowa (4, p. 7; 11, 39-47). Ending World War II was the beginning of an ordeal of the Lemko people. With the nascent communist system they were subjected to forced deportations, initially, on the grounds of the USSR (1944-1946), then as part of the Operation "Vistula" on the so-called Recovered Territories (1947)¹.

The aim of the article is to analyze the role of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the process of the integration of Lemkos after World War II, proving that till the fall of communist rule in Poland (1989) it was the only institution within which this population could shape identity or fulfill and develop its own culture. Apart from the cultural-forming element, the church fulfilled an important integrating role. Around the Orthodox parishes the organizational life of the Lemkos was developing after the resettlement to the so-called Recovered Territories as well as the partial return to Lemkovyna after 1956.

The role of the Orthodox Church in communist Poland. The resettlement operations in the years 1944-1947 led to disorganization of formed in the interwar period administrative structures of the Orthodox Church in Lemkovyna. The method of carrying out the evictions, the accompanying repressions and significant spread of the faithful contributed to the decrease of the number of believers (changing religion, secularization processes). In the material field the Church lost most of its property. It destroyed many, often historic temples. At the same time the clergy and the faithful were

forced to build up parish structures in the extreme conditions in new areas of settlement (13, p. 153,172).

After 1947 the Orthodox Church carried out the cultural and integration functions among Lemkos on the western territories and as a result of partial returns to Lemkovyna since 1956. The first Orthodox institutions created in the western territories were erected at the end of 1947 (e.g. Buczyzna, Jawor, Jelenia Góra, Studzionki and ZimnaWoda). Then Lemks co-created the parishes, among others, in Legnica, Lipiny, Koźuchów, Przemków, Rudna, Lubin, LesznoGórne, Ługi, Brzoza, Malczyce, Michałów, Torzym and ZielonaGóra. Administratively they were a part of the Diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin formed in September 1951².

The integration and cultural role of the Orthodox Church was huge in the initial period. Orthodox parishes with the newly established parish councils and church choirs became the first forms of organized activity among the Lemko population after the resettlement. They were focused on these issues primarily related to the maintenance and activity. They were also the site of the first attempts of organized cultural activities among the displaced. The square at the church building became a meeting place for the faithful. It fulfilled an important social and organizational function. It was just before and after the liturgy when the talks were held on the possibility of return to their homes, exchanging information about missing family members and the conditions of life in the new land. They discussed about the future. They also had the first plans for the construction of religious life in a new place of residence. Later, they also commented on the importance of socio-political and economic events taking place in the country. For most forcibly displaced Lemkos the Orthodox Church took on special significance. It became a mainstay of identity, primarily religious, but also cultural and ethnic one.

As a result of the resettlement the cultural life of Lemkos was drastically inhibited. The disappearance of rites and customs was often due to the hostile attitude of Polish society. "Merged into the places with the predominance of Polish settlers they eliminated those elements of their tradi-

¹ So-called Recovered Territories are the areas of Western and Northern lands given to Poland after the World War II.

² To 1951 the administrative structure of the Orthodox Church in the western territories was based on Administration for Orthodox Parishes in the Recovered Territories and the Diocese of Recovered Territories established on 15 July 1946. In 1948 deaneries of Wrocław and Szczecin were included in the newly erected diocese of Łódź and Wrocław. Most of the Lemko people lived in the deaneries of Wrocław and ZielonaGóra, see more: P. Gerent, *Prawosławieni Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945-1989*, Toruń 2007; S. Dudra, *Cerkiew w diasporze. Z dziejów prawosławnej diecezji wrocławsko-szczecińskiej*, Poznań 2009.

tional culture that expose them to ridicule new neighbors. At the same time they acquired local cultural patterns" (1, p. 313). Undoubtedly, folk tradition passed on in the form of songs, tales, customs, holidays linked very strongly with the Orthodox Church made it possible to preserve their autonomy and identity.

In the first period the cultural life of the Lemko people went primarily in the closed family circle. Singing songs of "those brought from the mountains" would keep the spirits. At the same time appearing all kinds of religious celebrations (weddings, baptisms and even funerals) became a social occasion for a joint "experiencing their own past" and an attempt to build and develop their own, often adapted to the new reality, culture in the new surroundings.

Parishes Church Committees played an important integrating role in the initial period of existence of the Orthodox. They together with clerics organized religious life in villages. Often called "committees of construction" they prepared the handed over temples to working condition (most sacred buildings were destroyed and required significant repairs). The question of the organization of places of worship was an important element in the functioning of the Church. In many cases, the first church services were celebrated in private homes, hospital and cemetery chapels. The entire parish communities were involved in renovations of the destroyed and devastated temples. Due to the lack of state aid the faithful themselves incurred the costs mostly. In special cases (costly overhauls, a small number of the faithful in the parish) metropolitan and diocesan collections were carried out. Measures were also undertaken to equip them properly (icons, liturgical books). Utensils necessary to celebrate Orthodox worships came from the areas where the Orthodox Lemko population had been displaced from, eg. in Ługi (deanery Zielona Góra) from the temple in Regetów (district Gorlice). Also icons adorning the walls of temples often came from the churches in Lemkovyna. They were for many years the only elements connecting Lemkos with their "little homeland".

In most cases, the creation of various Orthodox parishes was a grassroots initiative of Lemko people. The process of formation of the Orthodox church in Torzym was described by the newcomer from Florynka: "Lemko families settled here were a small community. There were about 85 people of us [...]. Greek Catholics somehow one by one, then more boldly, went to the Roman Catholic Church. The Orthodox had a better resistance. Banded together, they decided that in Torzym on the former German cemetery there is a small chapel, which can be done on the model of an Orthodox chapel [...]. It was repaired quickly. With houses They brought the icons carried from Florynka. This is how a small temple was created in the likeness of a small Orthodox church" (18, p. 49).

The first liturgies were a big event for the deported Orthodox community. "A lot of people gathered, because the news went to the area that Orthodox God's service will be in Torzym. People expected already long before the start of the service. They came, how they could, even from a distance of forty kilometers (from Glisno, Wielowieś, Łagów and many others). The God's service began, and with it sobbing and crying started. [...] People prayed and sang in their own way, as in the past on their land in Florynka [...]. Thus began the re-integration, or re-building of a community in exile" (18, p. 51).

Pastoral work was an important integration and at the same time culture-creating element of the Orthodox Church among young Lemko people. Basically, until 1989 it focused mainly on issues related to catechesis. The issue of the Orthodox religious education was important especially in the western territories. It became an important factor in

preserving their own identity. Often carried out in difficult conditions with unfavorable external conditions it was a carrier and an element of building a new life among the youngest generation of the Orthodox community.

Significant spread of the Lemko people, due to the nature and principles of the Operation "Vistula" ruled out in practice the teaching of religion at schools. Also, the church authorities were critical of the teaching of religion at schools in relation to diaspora posts, due to the extremely low level of interfaith tolerance (17, p. 282). An important factor was also the reluctance of parents and the children themselves to organized catechism classes at school (insults, threats, cases of fisticuffs were not separate phenomena). For these reasons, the teaching of religion was carried out at points in parishes and, especially in the first years after resettlement, in private homes, then, in the years 1956-1960 partly at schools. The lessons were taught by priests caring for a given parish. Since 1961, catechesis was carried out and flourished in catechetical centers located in parishes. In many cases, the return of religion to the points in parishes influenced on the greater interest of children and young people at learning it. This was due to various factors, among which less pressure exerted by the surroundings was the main factor. Classes were often held after Sunday liturgies, which facilitated the children, because of difficulties with transport, to take part in the classes. During the religious education children could freely outside the home, communicate in their own language. Also they often received extra lessons on the complex history of their ancestors. Since 1991, children and Lemko youth have got the teaching of religion in state schools. Besides religious education they also have had a series of catechetical meetings. They have been held in most Orthodox parishes. In addition to religious issues important social issues (including the problem of drug addiction, alcoholism, and secularization) have also been discussed.

The turning point, changing the form of participation of the Orthodox youth was the creation of the Brotherhood of Orthodox Youth (BMP) in 1981¹. In 1982, the first charter of the organization was approved. The main lines of action of the organization were involving more youth in the organized activity of the brotherhood and organization of central actions (including a pilgrimage to the monasteries at St. Mount Grabarka and St. Onufry in Jabłeczna), summer camps and winter quarters and establishing international contacts. In the first half of the 80s its structures were established also in the western territories (diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin). This was connected with vigorous activity, started already in the late 60s, by Dr. Jan Anchimiuk, later Diocese Bishop Jeremiasz (Anchimiuk). In 1984, officially Diocesan Youth Council began its work (the equivalent of the Brotherhood in the diocesan structure). Its task was to inspire and coordinate the work of the Brotherhood circles operating in its territory. It was also involved actively in actions to organize pilgrimages, summer and winter camps for children and youth. In 1987 there were three circles of Brotherhood on territory of the diocese. One of the activities was to organize retreat-pastoral conferences for the youth.

As a result of the partial liberalization in government policy towards national minorities after 1956 the gradual revival of the Orthodox religious life in Lemkovyna began.

¹ First it was called the Theologians Circle of Orthodox Theological Schools, Laity and Secular Youth. In 1982 the first charter was adopted. The guardian on behalf of St. Council of Bishops was Bishop Sawa, and the first president was elected Eugeniusz Czykwin. Under the Act on the Relation of the State to PAKP of 4 July 1991, The Brotherhood gained legal status in the church and found themselves in the organizational structure, about the genesis and activity of BMP.

This was due to the fact that part of the displaced people got the possibility of returning to their homeland. Returning Lemkos started to campaign for restoration of the parishes or creating new ones (8, p. 11). Already in 1956 they began the celebration of worship in Bartne and Wysowa. In 1957 the parish was established in Bodaki, and since 1958 they celebrated services in Blechnarka and Hańczowa. Then pastoral posts were erected, among others, in Bielanka, Gładyszów, Zagórz, Pielgrzymka, Morochów, Leszczyny, ZdyniaKonieczna, Regetów, Zydranowa, Rozdziele, Gorlice and Kwiatów. In 1983, the Lemko Orthodox parishes were incorporated into the newly created Diocese of Przemyśl-NowySącz. Joint work on the reconstruction and the restoration of temples re-integrated local communities. The first services "in the mountains" were an important event in the life of Lemkos. The Orthodox Church again became an important culture-creating element. Among others the reconstruction of the parish cemeteries began thanks to its organized activities. They recovered a lot of valuable and historic orthodox icons and accessories.

Until 1989, the Orthodox Church, despite the limited ability to act under the policy of state authorities, was an important factor integrating Lemkos and at the same time an important culture-creating element in the history of this community. An Orthodox church was the only one of the few places where apart the liturgy, they could hear the sermon and singing in "their language". In churches and presbyteries they sang traditional Christmas Orthodox carols. This enabled them to survive the difficult period in which the government policy was not conducive to the development of national minorities.

Cultural and integration role of the Orthodox Church after 1989. As a result of the democratic changes taking place in Poland after 1989 the Orthodox Church began a new period in its activities. In addition to the integration elements, due to the emerging opportunities, it could fulfill a wider range of its culture-creating function. This concerned both the western territories and Lemkovyna as well. Temples and presbyteries became the site of numerous speeches and lectures devoted to the history and culture of Lemkos and Lemkovyna. They focused mainly on those elements that, because of the political situation and censorship, were in the postwar period outside the mainstream circuit (including UPA activity on Lemkovyna, causes of the Operation "Vistula", the matter of the camp in Jaworzno).

On the western territories the intensified activity of The Brotherhood of Orthodox Youth of the Diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin, which Lemko youth formed the backbone of, was conducted since mid-80s. Its functioning was extended, among others, with programs: ecumenical, ecological, foreign language courses, learning to write icons and retreat activities (2, p. 33; 10, p. 46). Lemko youth movement actively participated in the pilgrimage movement. They were also involved in church charity¹. In January 1990 the Orthodox Association of St. St. Piotr and Paweł at Wrocław Cathedral parish began its activity. In the framework of the Association the science and education, catechesis, charity, international cooperation and publishing sections were established. Also its branch offices work in Szczecin and Lubin. The organization's activity is focused on educational issues (symposia in Cieplce, Thursday meetings in Wrocław), charitable and youth work (organization of summer and winter camps). Furthermore, it is the organizer of "Eve" for Singles, pilgrimages (domestic and foreign) and

ecumenical meetings. Holiday stays for pensioners held at a resort in Cieplce have become very popular (16, p. 26-28).

The Orthodox Church Nursing Home of St. Stefanin Cieplce has held Broad range of culture-creating activities since 1991. It directs its activities primarily towards children and young people. Besides resting (winter and summer holidays) its program includes the Orthodox religious education, church singing lessons, games and competitions helping understand the history and traditions of the Orthodox Church. Foreign language courses have also been organized there, among others, by representatives of the World Student Christian Federation. The funds were provided by the World Council of Churches and the Orthodox Youth Federation "Syndesmos". Many initiatives were directed also to adults. Conferences dedicated to the history of Christianity, discussion meetings on current life problems of the Church in Poland became an indelible part of the calendar of activities of the resort.

In the last two decades the Nursing Home in Cieplce has been, among others, the place of: conferences of representatives of the clergy and laity of the diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin, conventions of diocesan brotherhoods of the Brotherhood of Orthodox Youth and theological courses for members of parish councils. The resort has also hosted foreign delegations (including the Orthodox Church in Kenya, children and youth from Ukraine and Belarus in the framework of the "Czernobyl" action). The Singing School of the Orthodox Diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin also has its headquarters in the resort. Cieplce has become an institution that meets an important role, both religious as well as cultural and educational in the life of the faithful of the diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin and the entire Orthodox community in Poland. It has also become an important center for integrating diasporal Orthodox community in the western Poland.

After 1989, many Orthodox parishes have also joined the activities of a cultural nature. In November 1992 at the initiative of Fr. Artur Graban (parish priest in Ługi and Brzoza – deanery Szczecin) the Association of Lovers of Lemko Culture in Ługi was formed. Its aim is to nurture, develop and disseminate Lemko spiritual and material culture, integration of Lemko people regardless of religious views and beliefs and shaping youth social and cultural elites. The objectives of the above are implemented, among others, by organizing cultural and educational activities (performances and ensembles meetings, concerts, theater performances, lectures, seminars), conducting classes for children and youth with the knowledge of the history and culture of the Lemko people, the creation of artistic groups and centers to promote Lemko culture and art (clubs, libraries, museum and ethnographic chambers) and issuing their own magazines and books².

A music band "Chwylyna" works at the Association, an outdoor event "LemkoWatra in Ługi" is also organized. In 2003, the Association received its own premises in an old, disused water tower (the building was called the "Lemko Tower"). This building was renovated till mid-2006, but at the same time the meetings, exhibitions and shows of bands and choirs took place there. The Association also conducts ensembles, publishing activity and is the executor of several cultural and educational projects, including "Spicy house" – trips for children and youth to Lemkovyna and "encounters" with contemporary Lemko culture; "Autumn in the Carpathians" – preparation and presentation in the Lemko language of a play by Piotr Trochanowski; "Summer School of Lemko culture" – a project carried out

¹ Charitable activities were carried out within the framework of Orthodox Charity Center "Eleos" of Diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin founded in 2001.

² The charter of the Association of Lovers of Lemko Culture in Ługi (in author's archives).

in collaboration with the *Society Lemkiwszczyna and Young Lemkiwszczyna* from Ukraine); "From Nikifor to Warhol" – creative and educational workshops, the school of writing icons, photography and theater and music workshops; "Rus twilight" – poetry readings and Lemko songs, and "Our Book" – a project for collecting and compiling of memoirs of Lemko residents of district Strzelce-Drezdenko (9, p. 109-111; 11. p. 476). In 2011, Fr. Artur Graban was awarded by President Bronisław Komorowski with Silver Cross of Merit for his contribution to the protection, preservation and development of cultural identity of Lemkos.

On a smaller scale cultural activities are also conducted in other centers. Among others the orthodox parish of the Holy Trinity in Lubin hosts regular workshops of writing icons for children and adolescents. They are led by iconographer Jan Grigoruk, a graduate of School of Iconography in BielskPodlaski. Moreover, with a division of the Association of Orthodox St. Piotr and Paweł in Lubin is also the organizer of outdoor integration event "Lemko welcome summer". Among others concerts Lemko youth teams, recitation competitions and sporting events take place during its course. Workshops devoted to the writing of Easter eggs are very popular. In many ways, they refer to the tradition of Lemkovyna. In addition, workshops of painting icons were organized (parish Świdnica), "Nativity Christmas play" (Rudna, Ługi) and popular St. Nicholas and Christmas meetings (Legnica, Przemków, Szczecin, Zielona Góra). Many parishes have joined cyclical actions of lectures on the history and culture of the Orthodox Church and the role of Lemkos in the life of the Church. In some of the institutions teaching of the Lemko language is also held. It is conducted, among others, by Orthodox clergy in Brzoza, Lubin, Ługi and Zielona Góra.

The Orthodox Sports Organization of the Republic of Poland established in 1994 plays an important role in the integration and activating process of Lemko Orthodox youth (5, p. 289). The development of competitive sports, recreation, tourism and the organization of youth camps were outlined as the main tasks. In 1995 its structures were formed in the Diocese of Wrocław and Szczecin. In addition to organizing many sports and recreation events, it has been co-organizer together with the Lutheran Sports Organization of "Ecumenical rally" on the route Sokołowsko-Wałbrzych since 1999. Its participants are involved in numerous church services and visit the temples of various faiths on the way. Tourist Hiking Tours are also very popular (including Sokołowsko-Rock City in the Czech Republic) and a regular sports and recreation event for children and youth "All together in sport and recreation", organized during the Lemko "Watra" in Michałów.

The political changes in Poland after 1989 also contributed to the recovery in activity of Lemkos in the Diocese of Przemyśl-Nowy Sącz. Since 1992 the Brotherhood of Orthodox Youth of the Diocese of Przemyśl-Nowy Sącz has been working. It has, among others, organized cycling tours on the routes of: "The Destroyed churches" and "St. Maksym Gorlicki" and pilgrimages to St. Mount Jawor and to the monastery in Ujkowice. It has also been actively involved in actions to organize summer and winter camps for children and youth. Similarly, as in the case of the western territories, the Diocesan Sports Organization created in 1996 enjoys great popularity among the youngest Lemko. The diocesan events were organized as part of its activities. In 2001 the Orthodox Student Sports Club "Karpaty" was founded, which functions at the parish in Gładyszów. Fr. Arkadiusz Barańczuk serves as the president. According to the assumptions the club is to specialize in several sports and tourism disciplines (table tennis, chess and horse riding).

In 2000, the Diocesan Centre of Orthodox Culture "Elpis" was created in Gorlice. Its mission is to spread Orthodox culture through the religious and educational upbringing activities. As part of the centre there are specialized departments: Department of Catechesis, the Diocesan Library, the Diocesan Museum and the Carpathian Archives. They also continue publishing activity. The editors of the quarterly "Antyfon" and "Almanach Diecezjalny" are located in its headquarters¹. Lemko issues are presented on their pages. The periodic National Competition for Recitation of Lemko Poetry is also carried out in The Orthodox Cultural Center building in Gorlice. The participants are young Lemkos (students of primary and secondary schools), representing the institutions and the teaching points of the Lemko language from the whole Poland. The Diocesan Centre of Orthodox Culture "Elpis" was also the initiator of inventory and restoration of Lemko cemeteries. The first works started in 2001 in the commune Sękowa in district Gorlice within the project "Memory stronger than death". Among others, cemeteries in the non-existent villages in Radocyna, Długie, Lipna and Hyrowa were renewed. The activity is ecumenical, young people of different faiths and nationalities (Poles, Lemkos, Slovaks, and Ukrainians) were involved in the work. These are, among others, cleaning crosses, plumbing the inclined monuments, tacking broken and cracked parts and general restoration work. There are plans to restore further post-Lemko cemeteries and roadside crosses.

Major secular Lemko organizations: Lemko Association (formed in 1989) and Union of Lemkos (1990) also started collaboration with Orthodox parishes. An important element of integration are Lemko "Watra" (Zdynia, Michałów, Ługi). Although it is a secular initiative it received the support of the Orthodox hierarchy and clergy who actively participate in this "festival of Lemko culture". "Watras" meet the important culture-creating and cognitive elements: the popularization of culture and art, numerous contests on history of Lemkos and Lemkovyna. In a similar context *kermesse* must also be placed – the patron saint's day of a Lemko Orthodox church, referring to the traditional celebration of patronal feasts on the interwar Lemkovyna. They have religious, cultural and ecumenical dimensions. During these meetings, outside the liturgical part, many cultural events are held (performances of Lemko ensembles, exhibitions of photography and painting, presentation of regional products).

An important culture-creating and at the same time integration role plays the mentioned earlier cult of St. Maksym Gorlicki among the Orthodox Lemkos, both in the western territories and in Lemkovyna. The priest-martyr Maksym Gorlicki is today a symbol of martyrdom of Lemkos ongoing with their traditions and the Orthodox faith of their forefathers. One of the tangible manifestations of the cult among Lemkos are icons with his image found in many churches Lemko and temples dedicated to him. The parish feasts are celebrated with due ceremony on the day of the patron.

In 2007, the Orthodox Church was the organizer of nationwide celebrations for the 60th anniversary of the Operation "Vistula". The main celebration was held in the parish Przemków (province Dolny Śląsk). This had symbolic importance because it was created by people displaced from Lemkovyna (among others from the Bieliczna, Florynka, Piorunka, Stawisza), and the town itself due to the significant concentration of this community was called "the capital of Lemkos".

¹ The first issue of "Antyfon" (no 1-2) was in 1997, and the first volume of "Almanach Diecezjalny" in 2005.

Conclusions. In conclusion, the Orthodox Church has played an important culture-creating and integration role among Lemkos. As Michał Lesiów emphasized, writing about the culture-creating role of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church: religion is an important part of the culture of the nation. Form and content of religion comes often into the national consciousness, it contributes greatly to the development of national culture, or at least should support this development (14, p. 11). In the case of Lemkos the issue was complex. This is because they belong to two churches: the Greek Catholic and Orthodox. In addition to differences of identity: part of Lemkos identifies with the Ukrainian people, while some rejects the Ukrainian national consciousness. The Orthodox Church is of the primacy of faith in relation to the diversity of nationalities and national situation of believers, they do not differentiate them ethnically (3, p. 12). Although it has not become a base for social or political minorities who create it (including Belarusians and Ukrainians) it has played an important role in the culture-creating and integration process of Lemkos. It has played a positive role in the development of their language and cultural identity. In many churches sermons were (and still are) said in the Lemko language. They are also a place where you can buy newspapers and publications devoted to this group of people.

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КУЛЬТУРНА ТА ІНТЕГРАТИВНА РОЛЬ ПОЛЬСЬКОЇ АВТОКЕФАЛЬНОЇ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЇ У РОЗВИТКУ ЛЕМКІВ ПІСЛЯ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ ЦЕРКВИ

Після Другої світової війни Польська Автокефальна Православна Церква відіграла важливу роль в процесах культуротворення та асиміляції лемківського населення. Дана теза справедлива щодо двох груп православних лемків: переселених у 1947 році внаслідок операції "Вісла" та тих, хто після 1956 року повернувся у лемківський регіон. Навкопостворених православних парафій було відновлено окремі форми організації життя Лемків. На початку, це відбувалося у вигляді парафіяльних зібрань, що зумовило появу нових пасторських центрів. Православна молодь об'єднувалася з метою здійснення культурної діяльності. Такі об'єднання пізніше призвели до появи Товариства православної молоді. Аналогічний процес мав місце в другій половині п'ятдесятих років XX століття у лемківському регіоні.

Ключові слова: лемки, операція "Вісла", Православна церква.

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ЛЕГІТИМНІСТЬ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ВЛАДИ: СПЕЦИФІКА СУЧАСНОГО ОСМИСЛЕННЯ

Дослідження присвячене аналізу сучасного розуміння легітимності політичної влади. Розкривається взаємозв'язок між насиллям та владою, легітимністю і довірою, покором та підтримкою. Доводиться, що сучасне розуміння влади протиставляє її насиллю та акцентує її комунікативно-символічну природу. Процес легітимізації включає в себе як необхідні, рівноправні моменти довіри та недовіри. Таким чином, сама потреба в процедурах легітимізації влади обумовлюється недовірою до існуючих політичних структур.

Ключові слова: влада, політика, легітимність, довіра, недовіра, підтримка, символ, комунікація.

Постановка проблеми у загальному вигляді. Сучасний світ описується у наукових дослідженнях і як "плинна сучасність" (З. Бауман), і як "суспільство ризику" (У. Бек), і як "постіндустріальне суспільство" (Д. Белл), і як "ера пустоти" (Ж. Ліповецькі). Спільним для всіх залишається визнання прискорених трансформацій, що відбуваються в оточуючому нас світі, наслідком яких постає руйнування сталих нормативно-ціннісних орієнтирів людської життєдіяльності. Потужну роль у даному процесі відіграють представники постмодернізму, котрі здійснили всебічну критику так званих "великих наративів", в межах якої відбувається

деконструкція традиції, ідеалів, цінностей та ієрархій класичної культури. Всі вони потрапили під підозру у приховуванні владних зазіхань, в результаті чого сфери суспільного існування опиняються в перманентній кризі легітимності.

Особливо гостро дана проблема постає в контексті політики, котра безпосередньо пов'язана з боротьбою за державну владу. В межах вітчизняного суспільства дана проблема поглиблюється процесом державотворення, що потребує потужної мобілізації засобів легітимізації політичної системи новостворених політичних інститутів. В епоху руйнування усіх авторитетів наше