

Operation “Zapad”: The Deportations of Ukrainians and Soviet Counterinsurgency

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Introduction

This research is dedicated to the deportation operation “Zapad” (“West”). On 21 of October 1947 on the territory of Western Ukraine began the biggest operation of forced eviction of local Ukrainian population. Three quarters of deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan were women and children under 15.

Deportations were actively used by Stalin regime and Soviet secret services as a method of work in order to guarantee the reaching of different aims. Depending from the goals to be reached by repressive organs of USSR, deportations could regard to different social groups, obtain different specific forms of realization and be used once or permanently.

The communist regime began to use deportations before the creation of the Soviet Union. The first forced eviction as a method of political repression was realized in 1920. It’s victims were Cossacks that lived in Northern Caucasus and were anticommunist minded. Since then deportations were used at first by class indication – against so called enemy element. In the 30-es to the class indication was added also the ethnical one.

During World War Two and after it deportations began to be used also as a method of struggling against the traitor nations (i.e. Crimean Tatars), wide anticommunist underground and as one of the elements to providing the accelerated Sovietization of new territories, in particular Western Ukraine.

Mass deportations on the territory of Western Ukraine began in 1940 and lasted with interruption during Nazi occupation till 1952. Goals that soviet power tried to achieve with a help of deportation method, groups that were in focus of forced evictions and their results were different.

The deportation with code name “Zapad” became the first mass forced eviction since the end of WW2 realized as an operation – described the period of time with goals, plan and expected result.

Chronologically deportation “Zapad” was the first after war mass operation realized by soviet secret services in order to fight against the anticommunist underground movement. Until the disclosure of archives in 2008-2010 there was very few information about it. Compared to the following deportation operations as “Vesna” (22-23 of May 1948), “Priboi” (25-28 of March 1949) or “Yug” (6-7 of July 1949), operation “Zapad” is little researched – as to Ukrainian and international historiography.

There is practically no special researches of operation “Zapad”. Articles as a rule describe the course of forced eviction. Here with without defining the research problematic and analyzing the deportation by mean of Stalin deportation policy.

At the same time the disclosure of the KGB archives in Ukraine gives the opportunity to provide a complex analysis of this deportation operation and try to give the answers on a range of research issues.

The historiography of the research of operation “Zapad”

The research of Stalin deportations actively developed during the end of 80-es and began 90-es of previous century. Gradual closure of access to the archival documents resulted that the appearance of new researches almost slowed down in the middle of 2000. When the process of disclosure of archives began in 2008-2010 and continued after 2015 the new researches began to appear.

There is no monograph about deportation “Zapad”. Directly about the operation only few research articles appeared lately and were written by several authors [Bazhan: 2012; Bazhan: 2013; Bazhan: 2014; Kohut: 2019; Musiienko: 2010].

In most monographs and articles that regard to deportations in after war period, operation of forced eviction of October 1947 is anyhow mentioned [Soroka: 2007]. Researches about deportations from Western Ukraine had a general tendency of accumulation the knowledge about the forced evictions and about operation “Zapad”. At the same time one may state that the researches of this deportation didn't reach the analytical level and most of them are performed in a descriptive manner.

In the archival editions the mentioning about the operation is fragmentary. Collected three volume edition “*Documents. Western lands of Ukraine during the end of 1930-ties – beginning of 50-ties*” [Slyvka: 1998] contains documents from archives of the Communist Party and the Ministry of Internal Affairs that were known at the period of 1998.

The collected volume “*Stalin deportations. 1928-1953*” [Iakovliev: 2005], that in fact is the final edition of known at the middle of 2000 archival evidences, also contains partly and incomplete information about the eviction of October 1947. Compilers didn't know the name of operation and its components showed as a two separate deportation operations [Iakovliev: 2005].

An extended research about deportations in the Soviet Union became the monograph of Pavlo Polian “*Against their will*”. Its results became the basis for edition of above mentioned extended collected volume, published by the fund of Iakovliev in 2005. An interesting thing that contents in Russian and English versions of the monograph of Polian the 1947 is missed. Right after the chapter “*Compensatory forced migrations in 1941-1946*” goes the chapter “*Ethnical and other deportations after the end of World War Two in 1949-1953*” [Polian: 2001; Polian: 2003].

The first extended work about deportations from Ukraine in 1920-1980-ties by Ihor Vynnychenko briefly and in general outline in two paragraphs mention about the operation of forced eviction of “*families and collaborators of OUN*” [Vynnychenko: 1994: 69]. Most elements of the operation were unknown for the author: the code name, time of the beginning etc. At the same time the quantity of deported the researcher pointed exactly.

The monograph of Yosyp Nadol's'kyy about deportation policy of Stalin regime in the Western regions of Ukraine dedicates to the operation “Zapad” the whole chapter, herewith calling it “*The October deportation operation*” [Nadol's'kyy: 2008]. In fact, that chapter extended all the known for that time information – the general quantity of deported, with fragmentary data about the goals, plans and the course of operation.

The historiography of post-war deportations from Western Ukraine, based on the archives of the Communist Party, first of all considered forced evictions as a method to speed up the collectivization, and later on as a method of counterinsurgency. In this way,

for example, operation “Zapad” is showed by Alexandr Statiev [Statiev: 2010: 177-178]. His monograph is a rare English research that mentions operation “Zapad”. Information about the deportation of October 1947 is given fragmentary, and its components showed as separate deportations.

More precisely analyzes the deportations Tamara Vron’ska. Monograph of the researcher regards the phenomenon of family hostage in the punitive practice of soviet power from 1917 to 1953. Main part of the book is dedicated to forced evictions and is practically the first analytical research of the theme of deportations. The researcher considers deportations of Ukrainian population from the territory of Western Ukraine during and right after the end of WW2 as an example of “pure” “family hostage” [Vron’ska: 2013: 430].

Under the term “family hostage” T. Vron’ska considers “*purposeful actions of state organs that are followed by an enforcement against actual and imaginary opponents, psychological influence over people (or groups of people), threatening to use repressions or discrimination of their relatives that pushes one to choosing one or another model of public behavior (execution of certain actions or inactivity)*” [Vron’ska: 2013: 19]. The beginning of repressions with a help of forced eviction the researcher considers spring of 1945. Public threatening to evict families of those who won’t appear by their own will the researcher characterizes as a tactic of hostage that regarded civil people [Vron’ska: 2013: 344].

The general peculiarity of the researches and published collected volumes is grounding as a rule on the materials of Communist Party at the time when archives of Ministry of Internal Affairs and organs of state security were used fragmentary.

The source base of the research

The adoption of the decommunization package of laws on the 9th of April 2015 guaranteed an open access to the archives of repressive organs of the communist totalitarian regime [Verkhovna Rada: 2015], or how it is called in English historiography – the KGB archives. It gives a possibility to analyze unknown before documents and answer on the range of research questions as to operation “Zapad”.

The source basis of the research is the fonds of the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, known on the West under the general name “The KGB archives”. Generally, documents of soviet security services cover the whole period of activity of so called organs of state security of USSR from 1918 to 1991. In other words – Cheka, GPU, NKVD, MGB and KGB. These are not only criminal files but also orders, personal files of soviet security services workers, documents of different departments and lettering with other institutions, as a rule the Communist Party.

The fonds of GDA SBU contain information about the planning and realization of operation “Zapad” on republican, regional and district levels: orders, instructions, directions, reports, maps. Archive also contains reports about the public attitudes during and after the mass eviction, reached key and minor results. In addition, archival documents give an opportunity to analyze the deportation activity of soviet secret services before and after the operation “Zapad” and determine the place of the deportation of 1947 in the deportation policy of Stalin regime on the new western territories of USSR.

The most concentrated block of archival documents regarding deportations preserves in the fonds 2. “Department of struggling against banditry of NKVD, Department 2-N and the 4-th Department of NKVD-KGB UkrSSR, Kyiv (1943-1960)”. In other words, the same department that was responsible for the struggling against Ukrainian underground and used deportations as a method of counterinsurgency.

Exactly this fonds contains a range of files that give us a possibility to study the order and directive basis of the operation, protocols of meetings of repressive organs' chief staff, instructions, calculations regarding needed resources and personnel (including party and other organs of USSR), chief staff of operations and process clerical part of the operation:

- File # 673 “File of reports, operational plans of eviction of OUN-members’ families from the territory of Rivne region”,
- File # 674 “File of directions of MGB USSR and MGB UkrSSR of eviction of OUN-members’ families”,
- File # 675 “File of report, operational plans of eviction of OUN-members’ families from the territory of Rivne region” – in fact the third volume of Rivne file that contains reporting documentation,
- File # 676 “File of reports and accounts about the quantity of evicted OUN-members’ families from the territory of Chernivtsi, Ternopil and Lviv regions”,
- File # 677 “File of reports and accounts about the quantity of evicted OUN-members’ families from the territory of Chernivtsi, Ternopil and Lviv regions”,
- File # 727 “File with documents regarding operation “Zapad”.

Mentioned above files also contain accounting documents that witness about the course of operation “Zapad” in chronological perspective. Important component of these files is also reports about the reaction of local population on the preparation and realization of forced eviction.

Except of properly archival documents the fonds contains maps of planning the operation “Zapad” (File # 893) where borders of operational sectors, places of carloads, needed quantity of automobile transport and wagons, and also routs are pointed in detail. As to railway and automobile routs – most dangerous because of Ukrainian insurgents were indicated.

Except of properly maps of direct planning and realizing of operation “Zapad” important are also maps of UPA divisions’ activity. Exactly they give us an opportunity to visually rate the level of spreading of underground movement along the Western Ukraine regions.

Also fonds 2 contains a range of archival files with information about the deportation activity of soviet secret services before and after 1947.

An important lower level information is contained in fonds of regional offices of MGB:

- Fund 71 “UMGB-UKGB in Lviv and Drohobych regions”;
- Fund 72 “UNKVD-UKGB in Volyn region”;
- Fund 73 “UNKGB-UKGB in Ternopil region”.

Files in the fonds 2 where formed exactly on the basis of information from above mentioned fonds. Also these fonds contain instructions regarding activity of soviet secret services on the local level. Especially unique are the documents, preserved in the fonds 73. Exactly regarding the Ternopil region the most complete complex of documents about the deportation activity after 1944 and about the operation “Zapad” is preserved. Such data is discovered in 68 archival files.

Regulatory acts of soviet secret services are preserved in fonds 9. “Regulatory legal and administrative documents of VChK-KGB of USSR, VUChK-KGB of UkrSSR”. Directions and instructions that were used by chekists during the realization of the deportations are preserved in two inventories: inventory 1 – documents of the Soviet Union level and inventory 2 – documents of republican level. As chekists had a practice to duplicate all union regulatory acts in the lower level ones, the collection of documents published in Soviet Ukraine gives a wide possibility for the research. In this collection documents that

directly or indirectly regard the deportations from Western Ukraine are discovered in 45 archival files.

Fonds 16 “The secretariat of GPU-KGB” contains reports from the central office of soviet secret service to Moscow and to the leadership of the Communist Party, and also about the attitudes of local population.

An important source are archival-criminal files regarding the persons that were repressed for the taking part or membership to the Ukrainian anticommunist underground. Exactly during the operation “Zapad” the forced eviction was implemented first of all against this category – relatives of Ukrainian underground members and their families.

A separate complex of source are the trophy documents of the Ukrainian anticommunist movement: directions, informational letters, messages, reports and other documents. They were stitched by chekists into three separate many volume files and are preserved today in the fonds 13 “Printed editions of VChK-KGB of USSR, VuChK-KGB of UkrSSR (1917-1991)”. These are files under numbers 376, 372 and 398.

The source basis is wide and gives a possibility to thoroughly research the operation “Zapad”.

Research issues

The research issues of this paper first of all are based on the verification of the hypotheses that are already used in the historiography.

The rise of the deportation operation is one of the most important issues. Realization in 1947 of two mass operations of forced eviction of Ukrainian population from the eastern part of Polish National Republic (operation “Wisla”) and from western part of Soviet Ukraine (operation “Zapad”) raises a logical issue if these operations were connected with each other, and if so, then how.

The unique or typical nature of operation “Zapad”, and also its inclusion into wider context of deportation practices of soviet power on the territory of Western Ukraine is the next important issue that is inseparably connected with the previous one.

The main goals determined by soviet secret services during the realization of operation “Zapad” and their focus on either groups is the next important issue. If really the deportations were realized in order to strengthen the collectivization, or else the main goal was the counterinsurgency but the growth of the quantity of collective farms was an unexpected result?

Can we confirm the use of the principles of collective responsibility and family hostage for deportations? How documents of soviet secret services give the opportunity to confirm or disprove this hypothesis?

What are the theoretical methods to research deportations and how affective are they while analyzing deportations from Western Ukraine in October 1947 before and after the realization of operation “Zapad”.

This is only the range of research issues, raised in this research. Of course they don’t cover all the complex of problematic issues. The continuing of working with KGB records will let provide more complex analysis of operation “Zapad”.

The research contains five chapters that cover above mentioned issues. In the first one an analysis of deportations from Western Ukraine from 1939 to 1952 is done. The second chapter regards the analysis and critics of the theoretical methods concerning the researching of forced evictions. The third one studies the phenomenon of hostage in Stalin

deportations in the framework of regulative acts of soviet secret services. In the fourth block analyzes the origin of operation “Zapad, and in the fifth one its main goals.

Deportations from the Western Ukraine before and after the operation “Zapad”

In September 1939 due to the pact of Molotov-Ribbentrop the Red Army crossed the border with Poland and after not numerous fights occupied Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia. The Sovietization of newly annexed territories expected among others the struggle against so called counterrevolutionary element. One of the methods of its neutralization became the deportations.

Deportations from the territory of Western Ukraine lasted from 1940 till 1952. The research examines only those forced evictions that were used as an instrument of repressions. The fact is that for Stalin era of that period mass resettlement of population inspired by soviet regime were pretty typical instrument of social engineering.

This research is also focused on deportations that were realized only on the territory of Western Ukraine or else the Western Ukraine was separately emphasized region where repressions planned to be realized through the forced evictions. That’s why such deportations as for example campaign of eviction of so called “nazi collaborators”, folksdeutsch, policemen, and Vlasov soldiers didn’t fall into focus of this research.

Deportations from Western Ukraine in 1940-1941

Generally during the first soviet occupation of Western Ukraine researchers already classically separate four deportation operations: against osadniks, against families of repressed, against refugees and against so called counterrevolutionary elements [Polian: 2003: 116]. However, except of these four operations on the territory of Western Ukraine one more forced eviction was realized – deportation of prostitutes.

The preparation for the first deportation began right after occupation of the territory of Western Ukraine and before the elections to National Assembly of Western Ukraine that had to make the decision about annexation of territories to UkrSSR and USSR (such meeting was held in 26-28 October). Due to the Directive # 793 from 10 October 1939, in other words in incomplete month after the beginning of occupation of Western Ukraine NKVD had to register all osadniks [Iakovliev: 2005: 108].

In two months, on 29 December 1939 the regulation of Council of National Commissars (SNK) USSR # 2122-617ss “About deportation of polish special resettlers-osadniks from western regions of Ukraine and Belorussia” [Slyvka: 1996: 55-58]. Operation of eviction of osadniks and foresters began on 10 February 1940 and finished on the next day – 11 February. Most of deported were poles. At the same time among them were ukrainians that made up 10 percent among foresters and little more of one percent among osadniks. In accordance to the data of NKVD from the territory of Western Ukraine were evicted 17 203 families of osadniks and foresters or 89 079 people [HDA SBU: 16:1:391: 159].

The main “crime” that was the reason of eviction of osadniks and foresters was that they “*are a serious base of counter-revolutionary activity*”.

The next three deportations of the first period of World War Two were planned practically at one time. On 2 March 1949 SNK of USSR came to a decision about forced eviction of three categories of people: (1) families of repressed polish officers, clerks, policemen,

representatives of different Polish administrative institutions and Polish and Ukrainian “counter-revolutionary” organizations; (2) refugees from occupied by Nazi territories and (3) prostitutes [Iakovliev: 2005: 138-139]. In five days was issued a Directive # 892/b by Narkom Lavrentiy Beria with instructions for preparation for future deportations. Herewith it was mentioned on the necessity to take into account the experience, gained during the forced eviction of osadniks and foresters [Iakovliev: 2005: 142-143]. Forced eviction during the three next deportations realized due to the Instruction that regulated deportation of families of repressed people and refugees [HDA SBU: 9:2:33: 231].

The second deportation operation became the eviction of prostitutes. That was the smallest operation in 1940-1941. Prostitutes were recognized as a socially dangerous element, they were registered and deported at night of 8 to 9 April 1940. Generally, 737 persons were driven out to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan [HDA SBU: 16:1:395: 124].

The third operation was more massive, its victims were families of repressed, emigrants and prisoners of war from the territories of former Poland. Deportation began at 3.30 a.m. on 13 April 1940 and at 10 a.m. was finished [HDA SBU: 16:1:395: 214]. In national composition of deported prevailed Poles – 75% of all evicted, on the second place were Ukrainians – 19,5%, on the third – 4,1% Jews [HDA SBU: 16:1:395: 214].

If in the first deportation operation the main accent was made towards Poles-colonists, in the second one on the social group, but in the third a clear motive becomes the membership in the social and political elite of the region. Generally, the circle of those who was exposed to repressions essentially enlarged.

Practically for the first time on the territory of Western Ukraine to the structure of the contingent of families that were planned to be driven out also were included Ukrainian counter-revolutionary organizations. For example, in the plan of realizing the operation in the Skalat district of Ternopil region among 53 families that were to be driven out, 10 families belong to OUN members and 2 – to members of UNDO [HDA SBU: 16:1:395: 405].

Into the focus of the fourth deportation operation fell refugees from the Nazi zone of occupation, as a rule of former Poland. The register of refugees that tried to leave the Soviet Union and were denied to receive by German party was made in parallel with register of families of repressed people.

The operation of deportation of refugees began on 28 June 1940. Only in Lviv region it began earlier, yet on 25 June and, taking into account that there lived the biggest quantity of refugees, lasted the longest period – till the 1 July 1940.

The eviction of refugees began after the German-Soviet commission for the population exchange finished its work. Before the finish of work of the German-Soviet commission, the vast majority of refugees met in Lviv. As a result of deportation realization it was driven out 24 700 families, among them 9 275 persons were single [HDA SBU: 16:1:460: 227-228]. Majority of them were Jews.

After the cleanup of Western Ukraine from so called Polish counter-revolutionary element communist services began more and more actively struggle against Ukrainian organizations and parties. One of the key enemies of NKVD becomes the OUN underground. During the first half of 1941 intensifies the work of communist secret services against so called illegals and active members of OUN. Except of the six regions of Western Ukraine in the normative documents of NKVD that regard the struggle against OUN also appears the Chernivtsi region.

In the second half of April 1941 the leadership of NKVD of Soviet Ukraine asked a permission from Moscow except of arrest operation of OUN members and illegals also

cleanup the “base of OUN” that means families of illegals, kulaks and repressed people [HDA SBU: 16:1:516: 247-250; Iakovliev: 2005: 189-190].

Already on 24 April 1941 a special Instruction was issued that regulated the order of eviction to the far northern regions of USSR of members of illegals’ families and repressed members of so called counter-revolutionary organizations of Ukrainian, Belorussian and Polish nationalists [Iakovliev: 2005: 191-193]. The instruction expected the appliance of repressions by exile not in the framework of operation but on the permanent basis. But in several weeks a special Instruction was issued by TsK VKP(b) and SNK of USSR that sanctioned realization of special deportation operation.

The Regulation “About the exclusion of counter-revolutionary organizations in the western regions of USSR” # 1299-536ss from 14 October 1941 mentioned that it was necessary to continue arrests of OUN members, and also exile for 20 years with expropriation families of Ukrainian and Polish organizations’ members. In the end of Regulation there was a resolution to the secretary of TsK of Communist Party of Belorussia to examine the question of realization similar actions in Western Belorussia [Iakovliev: 2005: 193-194].

The operation began at 4 a.m. 22 May 1941 and finished on that day. As a result of operation 11 329 people were deported. Plans of realization of the operation expected three categories of exiled: (1) illegals, (2) condemned and (3) priests [HDA SBU: 42:1:55: 49].

As preserved documents witness regarding realization of operation and results in Volyn region, majority of deported were Ukrainians – 92,71% (families of illegals – 85,27%, repressed – 7,06% and priests – 0,37% of all deported), on the second place were Poles – 6,55% (families of illegals – 4,96% and repressed – 1,59%). The percentage of families of repressed Jews was little – 0,47%.

In the reference of NKVD about the results of struggle NKVD against “bandits in Western regions of USSR” it was mentioned that the usage of deportations supports surrendering with confession of active insurgents [HDA SBU: 16:1:509: 6]. So further on deportations were to be used in the permanent activity [HDA SBU: 9:2:43: 98]. That’s why finding and eviction of OUN members’ families continued till the beginning of Soviet-Nazi war in June 1941. The beginning of this war broke up the deportation activity of communist regime on the territory of Western Ukraine.

Deportations from Western Ukraine in 1944-1946

The next period of repressions’ realization in form of deportation comes in fact to the period of coming through the Western Ukraine front. At the time when still lasted fights for the territory of Western Ukraine between the Red Army and Wehrmacht, namely 31 March 1944, NKVD of USSR issued the Directive # 122 [HDA SBU: 2:1:674: 4-5]

Due to that direction began the campaign of forced eviction of families of Ukrainian underground members and supporters of the Ukrainian liberation movement. At that time began the deportation campaign in result of which from 1944 to 1946 were evicted 14 729 families or 36 609 persons [HDA SBU: 2:1:674: 4-10].

The analysis of normative acts that regulated the realization of forced evictions as repressions gives a possibility to research the peculiarity and dynamics of deportation campaign in 1944-1946.

In the result of analysis of fonds of the Branch State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine it is determined that during 1944-1946 were issued at least 29 normative acts of soviet

secret services that expected the usage of forced evictions as an everyday method of anti-insurgent struggle by means of repressions against families of insurgents and supporters of Ukrainian liberation movement.

These were both normative acts that directly expected the usage of deportations and documents of union and republican level that generally regarded to the counterinsurgency and at the same time mentioned the necessity of using the forced evictions as one of the elements of chekists work.

To deportations were subjected families of Ukrainian insurgents – those who were active in underground, already killed in guerilla combats and imprisoned. To repressions by eviction also were subjected those who supported Ukrainian anti-Soviet underground, and also kulaks. The last ones a priory were considered as supporters of anti-communist resistance movement.

Among the eight found for 1944 regulatory documents of communist secret services of both Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine, five directly regard the realizing of deportations. In three more acts as to counterinsurgency is mentioned about the necessity to use evictions as a method that has great importance for overcoming of anti-communist resistance movement.

Generally, in accordance to the statistical data of chekists, during 1944 were forcedly evicted 4 724 families or 12 762 persons. The large-scaled were deportations from Volyn, Rivne and Lviv regions [HDA SBU: 13:372:74: 165].

All thirteen found for 1945 decisions that directly regarded the usage of depositions or expected such method as one of the elements of counterinsurgency or operational activity of communist secret services, were issued on the republican level.

Eight of all found for 1945 acts directly regarded the realization of forced evictions, another five more or less expected the usage of deportations as a method of work of communist secret services on the territory of Western Ukraine. Three documents were issued because of failings in realization of deportations.

Generally, during the 1945 were evicted 7 393 families or 17 497 persons. The large-scaled were deportations from Stanislaviv, Volyn and Rivne region [HDA SBU: 2:1:285: 13].

Six of eight found for 1946 regulatory acts regarded failings and not of enough quality and large scale deportation work of soviet secret services on the territory of western regions of Ukraine. One of the explanations regarded the possibility of driving out people who appeared with confession to their evicted families and one more direction expected realization of forced evictions together with other methods of counterinsurgency.

The results of forced evictions in 1946 were less scaled than the previous two. Totally were deported 2 612 families or 6 350 persons. The most people were deported from Drohobych and Lviv regions. From Volyn region in 1946 accordingly to the statistical data of soviet secret services no families were evicted [HDA SBU: 13:372:74: 165].

The decrease of usage by chekists the forced evictions as a method of counterinsurgency in 1946 likely could be explained by predomination of chekists-military operations in the activity of soviet secret services. The quantity of such operations for three years grew 15 times. If in 1944 there were realized 6 495 chekist-military operations, then in 1945 – 33 294 operations and ambushes, and in 1946 – 97 903 [HDA SBU: 13:372:74: 336].

“Large blockades” of the end of 1945-1946, secure of elections (to Supreme Soviet of USSR and Supreme Rada of UkrSSR) and the change of tactics in chekist activity in autumn of 1946 [Patryliak: 2012: 500-508, 513] also likely influenced the possibility of soviet secret services workers to use in everyday work the deportations on the same level as it was demanded from the chief stuff.

Despite the slowing down of the temp of deportations, the leadership of republican and Union soviet secret services in the letter to Ministry of State Security of USSR positively rated the results of using the forced deportations of “OUN families”. In the document # 2179/os from 24 May 1947 the deputy Minister of State Security of USSR Ogoltsov and Ministry of State Security of UkrSSR Savchenko mentioned that “*the eviction of families of OUN members and bandits, as showed the experience, was pretty effective method of struggle against the OUN underground...*” [HDA SBU: 2:1:674: 2].

In the same letter both generals asked a permission to continue the usage of deportations in 1947. This letter is considered to be a ground for the beginning of operation “Zapad” – the most massive one-moment deportation operation of after war period from the territory of Western Ukraine.

Operation “Zapad of 21-26 October 1947

At 2 a.m. of 21 October 1947 in Lviv began the mass deportation operation of Ukrainians from the territory of Western Ukraine under the code name “Zapad”. The operation was planned to be realized during one day, but was delayed for several days because of the bad weather in the Carpathians.

During six days from the Volyn, Drohobych, Lviv, Rivne, Stanislaviv (Ivano-Frankivsk), Ternopil and Chernivtsi regions were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan 26 332 families – 77 791 persons. A quarter of them were men – 18 866 persons. The rest were women – 35 685 persons and children under 15 – 23 240.

The realization of the operation was sanctioned by issued on 22 August 1947 in Moscow top secret order # 00430 “*About the eviction of families of imprisoned, killed and those who stay on the illegal position, active nationalists and bandits from the territory of Western regions of Ukraine*” signed by Minister of State Security Abakumov. The order included a range of addendums and direct instructions about mechanisms of realization the future operation [HDA SBU: 2:1:674: 12-19]. Document set up the time of deportation realization – from 10 to 20 October 1947 with guarantees of conspiracy of all preparation actions.

The realization of deportation was also supported with additional military forces of Internal troops of MGB and Saratov military college of MGB. In addition to this forces also joined divisions formed of three thousands of officers and sergeants of the corps and division of security on the railway and water transport [HDA SBU: 2:1:674: 14].

Apart of mentioned above three thousand operational officers of MGB from all Union were sent to Western Ukraine. Thus, in deportation of Ukrainians took part chekists from Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Chechnya, Dagestan, Rostov and other regions of Russia and rest of Ukraine [HDA SBU: 2:1:675: 188-233].

The realization of the operation was planned very detailed. It was determined the amount of resources, necessary for its realization: stuff, transport, special communication, transit points, commissions of valuation of property, forms of reports, monitoring of population’s mood etc.

The amount of deported was determined in “Stalin” traditions. The beginning quotes for eviction were increased. In case of impossibility to evict planned families, a necessary reserve was determined. In the result of realizing some of regional departments in the best communist traditions reported about being ahead of schedule – over limited eviction of Ukrainian families.

For example, UMGB in Rivne region planned at first to deport 3500 families. Then the quota was increased to 3810 families. In the result it was reported about the deportation of 3829 families. As a result of impossibility during the evictions find at home 320 families, 44 more families were selected in connection with operational desire and 8 more because of inflectional illness, in spite of them were evicted 391 families from the reserve [HDA SBU: 2:1:675: 2-3].

The first assessment of the results of operation “Zapad” were very optimistic: *“TsK KP(b)U emphasizes that in the result of realized by MGB of UkrSSR and Obkom (Regional Committee) KP(b)U of western regions of Ukraine activity, Ukrainian-German nationalists and armed bandit groups are liquidated”* [HDA SBU: 2:1:727: 69].

Chekists themselves admitted that this assessment was mistaken and that the deportation realization gave the opposite effect. On 9 December 1947 in the report to Khrushchev, deputy Minister of State Security of Soviet Ukraine Drozdov wrote about the struggle against Ukrainian insurgents, that *“after the eviction of families of bandits and nationalists from western regions of UkrSSR, Ukrainian-German nationalists suddenly intensified their bandit activity, aiming it generally at the failure of activity realizing by Party and government of collectivization and preparation to elections to the Council of Workmen’s Deputies”* [HDA SBU: 2:1:598: 38].

Totally liquidate Ukrainian underground through mass deportation operations was failed.

Deportations after operation “Zapad” – campaign of 1948-1952

Despite the fact that realization of operation “Zapad” result in reducing of support of Ukrainian anti-soviet armed resistance movement, they weren’t successful in complete liquidation. Eviction of families as a method of struggle against Ukrainian underground was decided to be continued. On the order about operation “Zapad” there was a pencil-written next order under # 00386 issued by MGB USSR from 10 October 1948 in Moscow [HDA SBU: 9:1:163-sp: 5-6]

The order mentioned that eviction must be realized in format of permanent chekist work in response to terrorist or diversionary activity of Ukrainian underground. The order obliged chekists to conduct permanent register of families that supported Ukrainian underground and whose members took direct part in OUN or UPA.

Deportations of Ukrainian population from the territory of Western Ukraine due to the order # 00386 had to be realized in the format of everyday work and in response to the activity of Ukrainian anti-soviet underground. At the same time, instruction about the sequence of forming the register files on deported families, that was added to the order, mentioned that district offices of MGB at the moment of realization the “terrorist and diversionary acts” already must have full register of all families that were subjected to eviction and must conduct for these families an agent control [HDA SBU: 9:1:163-sp: 7].

In the next addition to the order that is an Instruction about the order of eviction realizing from the 20 October 1948 was mentioned that on purpose that in time and successfully realize the eviction, regional divisions of MGB in advance find families of bandits, nationalists and bandit supporters-kulaks, form register files using all possibilities for their documentation” [HDA SBU: 9:1:163-sp: 12].

The quantity of families subjected to repressions by forced eviction in settlements where insurgents realized one or another act was determined due to the direction of the Ministry of State Security of UkrSSR or his deputy. In the settlements where insurgents placed

during the preparation or after the realization of the anti-soviet act, only families of close members or supporters were to be deported [HDA SBU: 9:1:163-sp: 12-13].

Information about the eviction of family in response to the activity of insurgents was announced at the moment of exile. Deportations of “OUN members’ families” during 1948-1952 were realized on the basis of specially created assembly points. Generally, due to the Order # 00386 during four years from the territory of Western Ukraine were deported 22 308 families or in other word 80 209 persons [HDA SBU: 2:1:1905: 389]. Deported included not only members of families of Ukrainian insurgents but also kulaks and generally those who stayed anti-soviet minded.

In the result of the deportation campaign from 1948 to 1952 it was deported 22 308 families or 80 209 persons. Over two thirds of them were women and children.

The deportation campaign of OUN members’ families in 1948-1952 was organized on the definitely new logistical level than the campaign of 1944-1946. In all of six Western-Ukrainian regions were created special assembly points. At first there were six of them: Lviv, Chortkiv, Drohobych, Rivne, Kolomyia and Kovel. Later, because the assembly points didn’t manage with a great amount of deported, there were created additional ones.

A separate category that was subjected to eviction were kulaks. Reach village families as I told above, were subjected as a dangerous element for the communist power automatically. Till 1948 their eviction continued as a rule in the framework of deportations of OUN members’ families and other anti-soviet minded groups of people [HDA SBU: 2:1:1464].

Since 1948 a separate register was adopted, due to which kulaks’ families certainly had to be registered in the soviet secret services. But till 1950 their eviction was realized in the framework of previous deportation campaign against OUN members that was also began in 1948 [HDA SBU: 2:1:1464: 26, 31, 36, 47].

But in 1950 the issue of deportation of kulak families became the key for the Moscow, so chekists on the territory of Western Ukraine began to separate this category and conduct a separate register regarding evicted families.

In this way till the 1 April 1951 there were registered 8 206 families among which 4529 were evicted. 3677 families remained to be evicted. Part of them were surely deported in the framework of the next and last deportation operation [HDA SBU: 2:1:1464: 85].

The last deportation operation realized on the territory of Western Ukraine was named “Troika”. The code name of operation likely comes because of the three groups subjected to be deported – families of kulaks, Jehovah’s witnesses and Anders’ army soldiers that returned to live in the Soviet Ukraine [HDA SBU: 42:1:129: 3-4]. The deportation began at 4 a.m. of 8 April 1951 and was over till the 6 p.m. of that day [HDA SBU: 42:1:129: 258].

Deportation had to cover western regions of UkrSSR: Volyn, Drohobych, Trans Carpathian, Lviv, Rivne, Stanislaviv, Ternopil and Chernivtsi. In result it was decided not to realize eviction in Trans Carpathian region. In such a way in the result of operation 2487 families were deported – 8 984 persons: 2 704 men, 3 664 women and 2 616 children [HDA SBU: 42:1:129: 259].

The results of deportations from Western Ukraine in 1940-1952.

The Soviet Union actively used deportations during the first period of war, when it was a Nazi ally, and also during the final period of World War Two. Deportations of civil

population from the territory of Western Ukraine continued when the war continued after the end of the war – guerilla war of Ukrainian insurgents.

Deportations from Western Ukraine lasted during 10 years. During the first two years – 1940-1941 there were deported 216 428 people and during the rest eight years from 1944 to 1952 there were 203 593 people more deported.

The key groups of the deported were all those who were subjected to so called counterrevolutionary or anti-soviet element by the Soviet Union: the local political, civil and religious elite, businessmen, polish colonists, reach farmers and generally nationally conscious Ukrainians, Poles and Jews.

During that 10 years it was realized on the territory of Western Ukraine seven deportation operations and one deportation campaign of Ukrainians who supported the anti-soviet resistance movement. This campaign lasted with a breakup for the Nazi occupation for nine years.

In the result of Stalin deportations from the Western Ukraine at least 420 021 people were evicted. This data is determined on the basis of the statistics of the soviet secret services. It is worth to mention that this is likely the minimum quantity of deported people, as the statistics of separate categories was pretty chaotic.

Theoretical approach for research the Stalin deportations

Theoretical approach of research of Stalin deportations were worked out by Russian historian Pavel Polian [Polian: 2003; Polian: 2005]. He distinguishes two main types of actions – operations and campaigns. Eviction of strictly fixed contingent of people that was realized in fixed terms and on the limited territory by means of violence or enforcement due to the preconceived scenario or plan and as a rule legalized in official regulative acts of state or party institutions, the historian suggests to consider a deportation operation. Under deportation campaign Polian understands the transparent unity of deportation operations, united by the community of deported contingent, sometimes divided in time and territory [Polian: 2005: 11].

However, the suggested classification doesn't take into account the discovered practice of usage of forced evictions from Western Ukraine during 1944-1946 and 1948-1952. Analyzed regulatory acts of NKVD-MGB (in detail about it in chapter 5.2 and 5.4.) witness that during that period it was not the question about realizing a special deportation operation or operations.

Equally with operational-investigative, chekist-military and other types of chekist work, deportations were a part of everyday work of soviet secret services, first of all counterinsurgency oriented and wider – to Sovietization of western regions of Soviet Ukraine.

Thereafter it is necessarily to add to the suggested by Polian scheme one more element of Stalin policy, namely the deportation work.

The beginning of usage of forced evictions as an everyday deportation work of chekists as a rule was one or another regulatory document of secret services, that described the subjected contingent and situations when it was necessary to use together with other types of everyday activity.

The analysis of deportations of so-called “families of OUN members” from Western Ukraine gives the reason to consider that deportation operations and everyday usage of forced evictions were the element of deportation campaigns. Herewith confirms the thesis

of Polian that deportation campaigns could last for a pretty long period of time and herewith even be broken up in time. For example, the campaigns of eviction of Ukrainian nationalists' families began in 1941 and lasted till 1952 with a break during Nazi occupation of Western Ukraine.

Civil hostage

The phenomenon of hostage is one of important research perspectives that let us more precisely and in detail study the nature and character of communist repressions including deportations [Vron'ska: 2013].

The analysis of fonds of Branch State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine let determine that during 1944-1946 were issued at least 29 regulatory acts of soviet secret services that provided the usage of forced deportations as a method of counterinsurgency by means of repressions of insurgents' families and supporters of Ukrainian liberation movement.

Almost one third of discovered regulatory acts, 8 of 29 documents, contain elements that are directly connected with the phenomenon of hostage. All of them were issued on the republican level. Two regulatory acts regulate the usage of deportation practices by the soviet secret services. In other six ones – forced deportations is one of the elements of counterinsurgency.

Chronologically the first regulatory act that directly fix the principle of hostage is the Directive # 2027/sh, issued in 28 August 1944 in Lviv. It was sent to chiefs of UNKVD of Western regions Ukraine in order to fasten the overcome of OUN underground and insurgent movement. The act together with operational-investigative work, chekist-military operations, creations of legend-combat groups to liquidate the chief stuff of OUN and UPA also suggested to pay a special heed to usage methods of demoralization (“disorganization actions”) [HDA SBU: 2:1:392: 22].

With this purpose the Directive demanded that chekists register all families which members stayed on the illegal status or took part in the insurgent struggle. NKVD had to collect all registered families and make them a suggestion under hand receipt. Families were ought to influence their intimates (“father, brother, husband”) and make them in 5-10 days come back from forest, or else they will be repressed – evicted to Siberia with property confiscation.

20 of May 1945 is dated a public order of NKVD UkrSSR signed by chief Vasiliy Riasnoy, where the last deadline of surrender by own will and appearance with confession for Ukrainian insurgents was defined till 20 July 1945 [HDA SBU: 2:1:533: 11]. The order in Ukrainian was copied in 7000 leaflets and 5000 banners for just the Stanislaviv region [HDA SBU: 2:1:198: 142]. Mentioned order was published in local soviet press of regional and district level, and also published in other regional printing offices of Western Ukraine [HDA SBU: 2:1:198: 87, 121].

In the clauses 4 and 5 of the public order that regarded to insurgents and their supporters who won't appear by their own to “organs of Soviet power”, it was mentioned that in addition to the arrest of Ukrainian insurgents also repressions against their families will be applied, namely the eviction.

Of great importance for understanding the phenomenon of hostage is the joint Directive of NKVD and NKGB of UkrSSR # 48/d/31 from 24 May 1945, that is preserved in several copies [HDA SBU: 2:1:213: 49-50; HDA SBU: 9:2:80: 31-32; HDA SBU: 9:2:88: 149-150]. Despite the focusing of the document on counterinsurgency, the key method that chekists had to use were the forced eviction of civil population. The usage of this method was foreseen in three of five clauses of the direction.

This directive points directly on the need to immediate usage of eviction of insurgents' families and their supporters in response to insurgent activity. In fact, it means the usage of the practice of hostage when in response to realized by insurgents' activities it was necessarily not only to find and arrest the insurgents, but also immediately, in 3-5 days' term repress their families.

Together with repressions against families of directly involved members of diversionary or combat actions of Ukrainian underground, chekists had to arrest also so called accomplices, imprison them and evict their families.

If it was impossible to find the directly involved in insurgent activity, in the settlement where the insurgent action was realized would be arrested the anti-Soviet and nationalist element known by agent report. In this case families of convicted were also subjected to immediate eviction. About the realized arrests organs of NKVD-NKGB had to inform publicly the local population.

Five more regulative acts of NKVD UkrSSR that were issued from July to November 1945 regulated the interdependence of appearance with confession and eviction of families of active Ukrainian insurgents [HDA SBU: 2:1:213: 99; HDA SBU: 2:1:213: 113; HDA SBU: 2:1:213: 114], demanded to use repressions against insurgents that stayed on agent register [HDA SBU: 9:2:80: 118-126] or expected usage of forced evictions of families as a repression in case of impossibility to punish the certain person [HDA SBU: 2:1:392: 214].

During 1946-1947 despite not only continuing of deportation campaign but also realization of special operation of deportation "Zapad", no direct linking to the direct usage of principle of hostage was found in the discovered regulatory acts.

Regulatory acts from the realization of operation "Zapad" did not include direct elements of civil hostage. At the same time the operation itself had to make an impression of recompense actions of soviet secret services against civil population that supported or was loyal to Ukrainian liberation movement.

The reaction of local population as to the operation "Zapad" affirms that the deportation was foreseen as a revenge for the activity of Ukrainian insurgents. For example, organs fixed the talk of associate scientific worker of Ethnographic museum of Lviv subsidiary of Academy of Sciences Danylo Figol, where he stated that "*if Soviets are displeased with banderovtsi then let they go to forests, capture them and crush, it will be in order, but they come at night to disarmed people, unprotected old and drive them out*" [HDA SBU: 2:1:676: 158].

Similarly, Ukrainian insurgents considered deportations as a revenge actions, moreover they directly connected forced evictions with the principle of hostage. For example, the chief of SB OUN of city Drohobych announced that "*because of me the Soviet power drives out many families from village Truskavets to Siberia. Many people from that village asked me to appear with confession, but I didn't do it, because Soviet power will never forgive me and will execute*" [HDA SBU: 2:1:677: 101-102].

The order of MGB USSR # 00386 from 20 October 1948 "About the eviction from the territory of Western regions of Ukrainian SSR of families of bandits, nationalists and bandits' supporters in response to realized by bandits diversionary terrorist actions" [HDA SBU: 9:1:163-sp: 5-6] became the key continuation of the deportation campaign of "OUN-members' families" in 1948-1952 and almost completely was based on the principles of civil hostage. Deportations that were realized in accordance to it had undoubted character of repressions by the means of collective responsibility.

The international legislation clearly defines the prohibition of usage the principle of collective responsibility of population for the actions of separate persons. In particular, it

is mentioned directly in article 50 of Convention about “Laws and Customs of War on the Land”, carried out in Hague in 19 October 1907. The “Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War”, renewed in 27 July 1949 in article 3 also prohibits capturing the hostages among persons that don’t actively take part in the armed conflict.

So it is possible to prove the usage of principle of collective (solidary) responsibility by soviet secret services against civil population of Western Ukraine. The usage of deportations as a method of repressions and “actions in response” that were directed against local population may be defined as a civil hostage.

The beginning of the operation “Zapad”

The discussion if the operation “Wisla” had influence on the realization of operation “Zapad” still lasts. Polish researcher Ryszard Torzecki supposed that the decision about the realization of operation “Wisla” was taken in Moscow in February 1947 and also that directly in its planning took part general Savchenko – one of future chiefs of operation “Zapad” [Bohunov: 2006: 32]. Archival documents that could approve this version are not yet found.

It’s worth to mention that the first code name of operation “Wisla” was “Wschód” (“East”). Just so was the name of operation of mass eviction of Ukrainians to the western and northern regions of PNR in the project of organization of the deportation [Bohunov: 2006: 66]. So the question if both deportations were planned in one center – Moscow, or still all that forced evictions were planned and realized independently one of another is quite natural.

The first mention about operation “Wisla” found for today in Kyiv archives of soviet secret services is dated for 12 April 1947. In the message # 1/1/970 of the chief of the 1-st department of MGB of UkrSSR to the Ministry of MGB of UkrSSR was mentioned that in accordance with available data, the Polish Headquarter planned a massive operation against Ukrainians that lived in Poland on the grounds of the slaying the Deputy Minister of Defense of Poland general Karol Swierczewski [HDA SBU: 2:1:595: 24]. The document mentions that in the framework of operation it is planned to resettle all Ukrainians and all mixed Ukrainian-Polish families to the west of Poland or to the Soviet Union.

The first normative document that regulated the realization of deportations of Western Ukrainian population in 1947 and was signed by Savchenko on 14 May – is the Directive # 50 [HDA SBU: 9:2:124: 28-29]. It was issued in half of month after the beginning of the operation “Wisla” and practically at the same time with the end of its first stage.

During the next two months three more directions were issued. All of them regarded to the necessity of intensification of work over planning the future deportation. Reports of the regional departments of MGB witness that the point was about the preparation of operation but not the continuation of evictions as an everyday work. For example, since the 10 July in the everyday reports “*About the course of struggle against the OUN underground and banditism in Ternopil region*” for the first time appears the chapter “*IV. Results of work on eviction of families*” [HDA SBU: 73:1:158: 65]. This chapter is not about the deported families but about the preparation of files on the eviction. How many received from district divisions, how many were already processed and how many sent to MGB of Soviet Ukraine.

Confirmation that exactly Directive # 50 became the key document in accordance to which was launched the operation “Zapad” is the fact that even later, after 22 August 1947 when was issued the Order of MGB of USSR # 00430 about the operation “Zapad”, direction continued to be mentioned in chekist’s documents as a basic regulatory document.

The preserved documentation about the planning, course and reporting about its results in Ternopil region give the possibility to analyze to which document referenced chekists on the lower level – the direction or the order. Yes, for example, final reports of district divisions of MGB in Ternopil region about the finalization of operation “Zapad” [HDA SBU: 73:1:561: 23-158] in cases when was mentioned the document in accordance to which was realized the deportation operation, mostly were referenced to the Directive # 50. Thus, it was mentioned in the first lines of the 12 divisions. In four district reports two documents were mentioned – the direction of MGB of UkrSSR and the order of MGB of USSR. Two more districts split up the regulatory documents [HDA SBU: 73:1:561: 24, 46] and only 5 district divisions mentioned that the operation was realized in accordance to the Order # 00430.

On 5 October 1947 all district divisions of MGB in Ternopil region had confirmed “Plans of operational actions for realization the order of MGB of USSR # 00430” [HDA SBU: 73:1:527; HDA SBU: 73:1:536]. In other words, the local district leadership was explained which document is the key regulatory act, in accordance to which deportation operation should be realized. But most chekists on the lower level, as one may see, considered the Directive # 50 for such document.

If to agree with opinions of historians [Bohunov: 2006: 32, Pisulinski: 2017: 121], that operation “Wisla” began earlier than it was planned, still been named by cryptonym “East”, then one may suppose that the hypothesis about interconnection between two deportation operations may be right, and the issue of the Directive # 50 was a try to “catch up with” the launch of deportation operation in Poland at least on the level of Soviet Ukraine.

The goals of deportations from the Western Ukraine and operation “Zapad”

Before enclosure of KGB Archives, the realization of operation “Zapad” researchers connected with the necessity of mass collectivization on the territory of Western Ukraine. Yes, for example, it is mentioned by Alexandr Statiev [Statiev: 2010: 177] and Yuriy Soroka [Soroka: 2007: 124]. Indeed, in the reports about the results of realization of operation “Zapad” chekists mention about positive influence of deportation for creating new collective farms [HDA SBU: 2:1:677: 348].

From the documents of soviet secret services directly follows that western Ukrainian peasants tried in this way to secure themselves from possible eviction to Siberia and Central Asia [HDA SBU: 2:1:673: 170].

At the same time, analysis of normative acts of soviet secret services that regulated realization of deportations as a method of repressions practically with one mind witness that the main goal of deportations was the struggle against Ukrainian armed resistance movement.

From March 1944 to 22 August 1947 when the order about operation “Zapad” realization was issued, in Archive of SBU were found 34 such normative acts. Practically all of them determine the struggle against OUN underground as a main goal because of which forced evictions of Ukrainian families were realized. For the mentioned period was found only one normative act that regarded the question of corn storage and collectivization and herewith expected the realization of deportations.

This is Directive # 80 that was issued on 2 August 1947 by Savchenko [HDA SBU: 9:2:125: 27-31]. Document determines 12 tasks that had to be carried out in order to secure corn storage and “*actions of Party and government, that are realized in village*”. In one of the clauses under # 5 it is mentioned about the necessity to use forced evictions against

families of all insurgents and kulaks, that realize “anti-Soviet activity” [HDA SBU: 9:2:125: 30].

The main emphasis in the Directive # 80 after all is made on the necessity of execution of the order # 00207 from 22 April 1947 that expected liquidation of Ukrainian underground first of all using military methods – in other words realizing military-chekist operations of OUN groups liquidation.

At the same time the clause 5 of Directive # 80 expected only finding and preparation to the eviction but not the direct realization of deportations. One may suggest that the mention of the instrument of forced evictions in this normative act appeared in the result of durable preparation to the future deportation operation.

Intermediate conclusions and further research issues.

In the framework of the research of operation “Zapad” on the basis of archival documents it turned out well to verify a range of hypotheses and try to suggest answers on some research issues.

First of all, archival documents verify that the moment of the beginning of the launching of operation quite possible to suggest the 14 May 1947 when it was issued the Directive of MGB of Ukrainian SSR # 50. This is an important argument in favor of the hypothesis about the interconnection between two deportations of Ukrainians on the territories where continued its activity the Ukrainian insurgent movement – Zakerzonia (operation “Wisla”) and Western Ukraine (operation “Zapad”).

At the same time operation “Zapad” was based on the soviet experience of realizing the Stalin deportations and was the second most massive operation after 22 March 1941. It was realized in the framework of wider deportation campaign of so called “OUN members’ families” that lasted till 1952. Deportation of October 1947 became peculiar peak of this nine-years campaign.

Let us assume that the success of operation realization influenced the change of deportation policy of communist regime and promoted the transformation of the deportation campaign. The new deportation campaign of 1948-1953 was organized in the structural and logistical plans on the permanent basis. Unplanned result of the operation became the increase of collectivization.

The main goal of operation “Zapad” as also deportation campaign generally was the struggle against Ukrainian insurgent movement. The forced evictions became one of the instruments of this counterinsurgency.

Determination and registration of people that were subjected to be repressed by deportations was realized among the civil population and regarded only families of Ukrainian insurgents or persons that directly took part in the anti-soviet resistance. These actions were realized by soviet secret services as a permanent everyday chekist activity. The circle of people that could be repressed in response to the actions of Ukrainian insurgents was determined in advance, before the moment of realization of such anti-soviet actions.

The cumulative actions of the soviet secret services, namely the use of the principle of solidary (collective) responsibility, repressive pressure against civil population with the aim to make members of Ukrainian liberation movement to lay down arms and stop anti-communist resistance together with usage by chekists deportations of civil population as actions in response, may be determined as a civil hostage.

At the same time a range of questions need further analysis and will be researched in future in the framework of this research.

How the experience gained by chekists in course of realization of operation “Zapad” was taken into account and used later in deportation operations in Moldova and Baltic states.

In what extent the mechanism of deportation realization of October 1947 is the continuation or development of Stalin deportations of prewar period and the first period of World War Two.

Who were the executors of deportations, if they were chekists that had experience of the Great terror or rather officers that began their career after the cleanup of the Great terror executors.

What was the attitudes of local population on the realization of operation “Zapad”, how soviet secret services realized the representativeness of civic opinion and how their analysis was influenced by ideology.

Why Ukrainian nationalists underground didn't realize actions against deportation operation? What was the relation of forces and staff of MGB organs and other joined soviet divisions and the Ukrainian underground?

How operation “Zapad” influenced the support of Ukrainian liberation movement by local population of Western Ukraine?

These are the research issues that will be under the focus of further research of deportation operation “Zapad”.

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