

a similar way, the history of creation of Ukrainian emigration centres in Czechoslovakia³ with active participation of Ukrainian combatants has been actively elaborated over the last quarter of a century. This issue is being studied by Ukrainian researchers at present as well, which has resulted in publication of a number of contemporary articles.⁴

Unfortunately, despite the valuable facts synthesised in these articles by Oleksandr Danylenko and Andrij Yavorsky, attention should be paid to the blatant recklessness of these researchers in the interpretation and understanding of the concept of Russian helping action (Czech: *Ruská pomocná akce*), which for unknown reasons is given by them as “Russian...”. Such a perception is all the more surprising because the difference between the terms “Rus” and “Russia” (which are the root bases for the formation of the corresponding terms), since the mid-1990s this has been clear to every historian, but appeared to be somewhat problematic for esteemed researchers with high degrees.⁵

The historiography of the Ukrainian emigrants’ presence in France is represented rather well. The scholars focused primarily on various aspects of their social activities⁶ and adaptation to new living conditions.⁷ It also seems worth mentioning articles on the

red. nauk. I. Matiasz; oprac. W. Sobijański; tłum. z ukr. G. Pandel, Kijów, 2019, pp 108–126; M. Paljenko, I. Sribniak, “Życie codziennie internowanych żołnierzy Armii URL w Kaliszu w latach 1921–1924 (według materiałów z archiwów polskich i ukraińskich)”, *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 2020, t. 13, pp. 185–202.

³ Т.В. Бублик, *Наукова та культурно-освітня діяльність української еміграції в Чехословаччині та Німеччині в 20–30-ті роки ХХ століття*, дисертація кандидата історичних наук, Київ, 1997; А. Криськов, *Українська імміграція міжвоєнного періоду в Чехословаччині (1919–1939)*, автореферат дисертації кандидата історичних наук, Чернівці 1997.

⁴ О. Даниленко, “Українська еміграція в Чехословаччині (1920-і роки): соціокультурний аспект”, *Етнічна історія народів Європи* 2001, вип. 10, pp. 37–40; *idem*, “Роль Українського громадського комітету в соціальній адаптації емігрантів”, *Проблеми історії України: факти, судження, пошуки, міжвідомчий збірник наукових праць* 2003, вип. 9, pp. 278–295; А.А. Яворський, “Політика керівництва Чехословаччини щодо українських емігрантів та їх професійних об’єднань у 20–30-ті рр. ХХ ст.”, *Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету* 2016, вип. 46, pp. 178–182.

⁵ Я. Мартянова, “Українская эмиграция в Чехословакии, 1919–1939 гг. (историографический обзор)” [in:] *Człowiek, etnos, naród w historii świata – procesy państwowotwórcze na obszarze europejskim (od starożytności po współczesność)*. Monografia zbiorowa przygotowana z okazji 30-lecia działalności Studium Europy Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa–Paryż, 2020, p. 281.

⁶ В. Маруняк, *Олександр Бойків. Організатор українського життя у Франції*, Париж, 1986; Ж.-Б. Дюпон-Мельниченко, “Громадська діяльність міжвоєнної української еміграції у Франції”, *Українська діаспора* 1995, № 7, pp. 96–102; J.-B. Dupont-Melnyczenko, “Les réfugiés politiques ukrainiens en France entre les deux guerres”, *Matériaux pour l’histoire de notre temps* 1996, № 44, pp. 22–23; *idem*, “Les Ukrainiens en France avant la première guerre mondiale”, *L’Ukraine* 1998, № 251–252, pp. 20–36; В. Михальчук, *Українська бібліотека ім. Симона Петлюри в Парижі: Заснування, розвиток, діяльність (1926–1998)*, Київ, 1999; Я. Йосипишин, М. Палієнко, *Українська бібліотека імені Симона Петлюри в Парижі в світлі джерел та спогадів*, Київ–Париж, 2006; Я. Йосипишин, М. Палієнко, „Пам’ятник нерукотворний...” *Українська бібліотека імені Симона Петлюри в Парижі: до 90-ліття діяльності*, Київ–Черкаси, 2016.

⁷ С.І. Дорошенко, “Збільшення імміграційного простору як ознака французької демократії: українська політична еміграція в конституційному полі Третьої республіки”, *Українська національна ідея: реалії та перспективи розвитку* 2004, вип.15, pp. 66–74; *idem*, “Українська діаспора в структурах громадянського суспільства Франції Третьої республіки: осмислення досвіду консолідації суспільства”, *Українська національна ідея: реалії та перспективи розвитку* 2005, вип. 16, pp. 41–48; *idem*, “Осмислення західноєвропейського досвіду консолідації суспільства: рух громадських асоціацій у Франції Третьої республіки”, *Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету, серія: політологія, соціологія, філософія* 2006, вип. 3, pp. 42–53; *idem*, “Соціальний капітал української діаспори у Франції Третьої республіки (1875–1940)” *Українська національна ідея: реалії та перспективи розвитку* 2006, вип. 17, s. 41–49; Л. Купин, “Українська політична імміграція у Франції міжвоєнного періоду (1919–1939 рр.)”, *Мандрівець* 2013, вип. 1, pp. 31–38.

history of the Ukrainian student movement in exile, a large stratum of which consisted of former interned Ukrainian soldiers from Polish internment camps.⁸ Synthetic works of Ukrainian and Polish researchers are important for understanding the general tendencies of Ukrainian political emigration genesis.⁹

However, despite these historiographical developments, the process of transition of the Ukrainian military to civilian status, and in particular methods of leaving the camps by interned Ukrainians, as well as the process of choosing different strategies for their own adaptation to living abroad in a foreign environment and their further integration into a society of a new country of residence in a status of political emigrants, still remains an area for further research.

The source publications were of much importance for studying this very aspect – an illustrated album, which visualised various aspects of the internment camp and post-camp everyday life of war prisoners and interned soldiers (including Ukrainians) in the Strzałkowo camp,¹⁰ as well as a collection of documents edited by Volodymyr Morenets.¹¹ While preparing this article authors used documents stored in the fonds of the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (CDAVO of Ukraine), and the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris, as well as materials of camp and emigrant Ukrainian press.

The conceptualisation of circumstances of the internees' discharge from camps and their departure outside Poland requires this process to be divided into periods within the researched decade. During 1921, only a few Ukrainian soldiers from Dnieper Ukraine (Наддніпрянина) were released from the camps (in addition, all Galicians who got the opportunity to go to their pre-war places of residence within the Polish state were transferred to civilian status). After the Second Winter Campaign¹² failure, the UPR

⁸ E. Wiszka, „«Dancigierzy» – działalność ukraińskich organizacji studenckich na Politechnice Gdańskiej w latach 1922–1933”, *Rocznik Gdański* 2000, nr 1, s. 63–70; О. Дуднік, “Студентство як основна складова української політичної еміграції у 20-ті рр. ХХ ст.”, *Наукові записки Вінницького державного педагогічного університету імені М. Коцюбинського*, серія: історія 2002, вип. 4, pp. 97–101; *idem*, “Суспільно-політичне життя та громадянська позиція українських студентів-емігрантів у Чехословаччині в міжвоєнний період”, *Проблеми слов'язнознавства* 2003, вип. 53, р. 241–248; О. Гуменюк, “Українські студенти-емігранти в країнах Центрально-Східної Європи в 1920–1930-х роках”, *Етнічна історія народів Європи* 2008, вип. 27, pp. 99–105; *idem*, “Культурно-освітня діяльність української студентської еміграції в Польщі в 1920–1939 рр.”, *Наукові записки Національного університету „Острозька академія”: Історичні науки* 2013, вип. 21, pp. 55–60.

⁹ В. Трошинський, *Міжвоєнна українська еміграція в Європі як історичне і соціально-політичне явище*, Київ, 1994; J.J. Bruski, *Petlurowcy: Centrum Państwowe Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej na wychodźstwie, 1919–1924*, Kraków, 2004.

¹⁰ В. Czerniak, R.M. Czerniak, *Obóz jeńców wojennych i internowanych pod Strzałkowem 1914–1918, 1919–1924*, Strzałkowo, 2013.

¹¹ *Армія за дротами. Збірка документів*, редактор-упорядник В. Моренець, Кам'янець-Подільський, 2018.

¹² *Second Winter Campaign* (Ukr.: Другий Зимовий похід Армії УНР) – the raid of three insurgent groups of the UPR Army (Volyn, Podil and Bessarabian ones), formed from the interned Ukrainian soldiers who secretly crossed the Soviet-Polish and Soviet-Romanian borders (October–November 1921), and then began to advance into Ukrainian lands believing to provoke the beginning of a general anti-Bolshevik armed uprising in Ukraine. The raid ended in general failure, 359 of its participants (from the Volyn group) were captured and shot in the town of Bazar (Ukr.: Базар, now Korosten district of Zhytomyr region).

Supreme Bodies of Power and the Army command began to send for indefinite leave those officers having incomplete higher or full secondary education and wishing to enter and study at universities in Poland or Czechoslovakia. Some of the soldiers left internment camps without proper documents, but managed to reach the territory of Czechoslovakia in search of a better life. Thus, during 1922 until the first half of 1924, a significant number of soldiers went to study to the Czechoslovak Republic, taking advantage of the government's *Ruská pomocná akce*. The liquidation of camps in Kalisz and Szczypiorno caused the departure of the majority of campers to work throughout Poland. At the same time, some Ukrainian combatants took advantage of the labour shortage in France, and after signing contracts for future employment, moved there in 1924–1929.

It is also worth while mentioning various strategies of the campers chosen by them to leave the camps – in addition to the above-mentioned ones (discharge by the Polish authorities and obtaining indefinite study leave) a small number of soldiers got civilian status after marrying Polish and Ukrainian women in Poland, some abandoned camps wilfully (deserted), a significant number of soldiers believed in the announced Bolshevik amnesty and returned to Soviet Ukraine.

The purpose (research problem) of this article is to study the process of preparation and transition to civilian status of the most active categories of the interned Ukrainian military, who determined for themselves a life strategy aimed at the completion of their university studies in the Czechoslovak Republic or going to work in France – with further adaptation to the conditions of their stay abroad in a foreign-speaking environment and integration into society of the countries of residence with the status of political emigrants. As a rule, these two categories of soldiers remained in those countries for permanent residence, and their partial naturalisation did not mean their denationalisation, but rather the opposite – the vast majority of them remained loyal to Ukraine and managed to pass it on to their children.

To solve this research task, the co-authors of the article used problem-chronological, concrete-historical, and comparative-retrospective research methods, whose combination made it possible to reveal the specific life strategies of interned Ukrainian soldiers, which enabled them to find their proper place in the social and economic life of European countries.

At the same time, the writing of this paper made the authors think about the kind of creative method to be used by a historian of migration movements and diasporic communities. There is certainly no direct answer to this difficult question, although there is every reason to assert that no research method is universal and no method covers all the multidimensionality and complexity of such historical phenomenon as the abandonment of Ukraine by a part of its inhabitants, whose main motivating factor was their opposition to Bolshevism. Moreover, it can be concluded that the research into Ukrainian political emigration actualises the need for thorough interpretation of the empirical material.

From this point, it seems appropriate to use instruments of the so-called narrative methodology, which involves the description of a social phenomenon (in our case, the camp community of Ukrainian soldiers as a part of Ukrainian political emigration). In

a broad sense, narrative is both a method and a central characteristic of the object of the study, including cultural and interpretational, identity-focused aspect. It should be also emphasised that a historical narrative is primarily characterised by concentration on micro-processes, orientation to the event, temporality, linear dependence of the depicted phenomena and processes.

Other methods used by the authors of this paper also include military anthropology, with its focus on the study of world pictures, systems of signs, and fundamental forms of human behavior, mostly hidden and not clearly formulated. Such concealment requires its deciphering, penetration into the secret layers of consciousness of both the internees in general and their family members.

After general unsettled state of Ukrainian combatants at the beginning of their internment in the winter of 1920–1921, with warm spring coming, the life of the internees improved significantly, which, in particular, became apparent in considerable improvement of meals. The internees cherished hopes for returning home soon and continuing their struggle for the restoration of the UPR. At the same time, the number of deserters increased considerably, mostly trying to make their way to Germany, which at that time needed labour, paying workers much more than in Poland. This variant was chosen by those soldiers of the UPR Army who joined it due to the situation and did not have grounded patriotic ideals.

Such a decrease in the number of campers was also favoured by the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs, which in early May 1921 came to a decision to release from the camps all those soldiers whose families lived within the Polish state. At the same time, a large number of internees (as parts of workers' teams)¹³ left the camps for temporary jobs. In the end, vigorous measures by the UPR Supreme Bodies of Power and the command was able to stabilise the outflow of internees from the camps – in summer 1921, some of the internees were employed on private farms (although this also provoked protests from Polish workers, as Ukrainians were satisfied with lower wages for their work).

A large number of the UPR Army officers in 1921 hoped to be enrolled in Polish universities, and such an opportunity was considered both by those who had unfinished higher education in Ukraine, and those who had full (or incomplete) *matura* (secondary education). The latter sought to use the time of internment to their advantage and tried to work together to prepare for further education at higher educational establishments or obtain a secondary education. The aspiration of this category of soldiers for learning led to the foundation of student communities in the camps, whose members – among other things – carried out active civil supporting and educational activities in the camps. The command of the internee groups was aware of the urgent need to continue their interrupted studies, so this category of campers was given short-term leave to com-

¹³ В. Левицький, „В «союзницьких» таборах для полонених та інтернованих», *Свобода* 1934, № 231, р. 2.

plete all formalities for admission to Polish universities, as well as long-term leave for post-enrolment studies.

One of the first student communities (the Community of Ukrainian Riflemen Students), was founded in the Kalisz camp with the most favourable conditions of camp life. The organisation's task was to unite the "student element" and create favourable conditions to continue university studies in the nearest future. It included about 120 campers – former students from various universities.¹⁴ The leadership of the society (the Head Lieutenant Victor Osinsky) assisted by the most active members of the community organised a fundraiser for the needs of the consumptives in the camp and other humanitarian and educational events for the military.¹⁵

In May 1921, the student community was founded in the Aleksandrów Kujawski camp, uniting about 50 members of divisional student communities. The Charter of the organisation approved by the members defined the purpose of its activities as "completion of higher education in higher schools abroad, lively and energetic work on self-education within the camp, comprehensive assistance to cultural and educational organisations of the camp in their work".¹⁶ Among its immediate practical tasks, this student community set the "thorough learning" of the Ukrainian language and one foreign language, as well as writing essays and preparing lectures for internees in accordance with the future profession of each member of the community. While fulfilling the undertaken tasks, future students attended Polish and German language courses, and they also had a separate small book collection at their disposal.¹⁷

The purpose of another student community – in the *Strzałkowo* camp – was to properly train "national scientific personnel of the Ukrainian intelligentsia" from among the campers and provide them with material assistance (through the mutual aid fund) to enable their further education. As stated in the draft community Charter, this preparation could take various forms (compiling and delivering lectures and abstracts, publishing magazines and brochures, organizing their own "national-scientific libraries", various forms of cultural and artistic activities as "performances and traditional student concerts and parties", translations from different languages, both military professional textbooks and works of scientific content)¹⁸. From the very beginning, it was clear that implementation of even a part of such an extensive program of activities would require considerable effort and could hardly be implemented by students. The community was best able to hold parties, which took place in the "sports" barracks of a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)¹⁹ with a symbolic entrance fee²⁰.

¹⁴ Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine [CDAVO of Ukraine], fond 3525, descr. 1, file 1, sheet 14.

¹⁵ В. Левицький, В „союзницьких” таборах..., р. 2.

¹⁶ „Зірниця”, Олександрів, 1921, № 7, р. 25.

¹⁷ „Нове Життя”, Шипіорно, 1921, № 97, р. 4.

¹⁸ CDAVO of Ukraine, fond 3524, descr. 1, file 3, sheet 3.

¹⁹ *Young Men's Christian Association* (YMCA), an American charitable organisation that provided humanitarian assistance in European countries, and in particular in Polish camps to interned Ukrainian soldiers.

²⁰ CDAVO of Ukraine, fond 3524, descr.1, file 3, sheet 66.

In 1921, The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education (Polish: Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego) granted camp students with incomplete courses to enrol in the universities of Warsaw, Krakow, and Poznan, creating the legal basis for them to complete their university courses. In order to provide them with at least minimal conditions for their stay in Warsaw – the activities of the Ukrainian community in the suburbs of the capital, a boarding school for 100 people,²¹ was arranged where yesterday's campers could stay until they find another home. However, it soon became clear that while entering Polish universities, students had to rely solely on themselves. Meanwhile, most students had only minimal funds, which were not enough to provide for even the minimum acceptable living conditions in Warsaw.²²

In view of this, more and more internees (both former students and those who had completed secondary education and planned to obtain higher education) turned their attention to Czechoslovakia, whose government within the so-called *Ruská pomocná akce* provided significant financial assistance to emigrants from Slavic countries. Moreover, there were several Ukrainian higher educational establishments in Czechoslovakia. Mutual communication between the campers and their former friends, students of higher educational establishments in the Czechoslovak Republic, was also of great importance. Their letters had a significant impact on the mood of the campers, as evidenced by the letters of those who managed to happily get to Czechoslovakia and enter higher educational institutions in this country. As an example, it is worth citing excerpts from a letter of Opanas Nesterenko, a student of the Agricultural Academy in *Poděbrady* (dated 26 December 1922) to his compatriot Leontiy Yachny (the latter worked in the workshops of the 6th Technical Battalion of the 6th Sich Rifle Division²³).

In summer 1922, Nesterenko left the camp without permission, because he (like his colleagues) “suffered in the camp and no devil [was] interested in him”. At his own risk, he moved to Czechoslovakia without documents to study, after which his life “completely changed”, and now he is “dressed, [...] provided with shoes, having a piece of bread”, studying at the Academy.²⁴ In comparison with Poland, the Czechoslovak Republic had a completely different level of life, which, according to Nesterenko, could be correlated with tsarist times. A Ukrainian student received 600 Czechoslovak crowns (CZK) per month in Czechoslovakia, and although his stay in Czechoslovakia required significant expenses (400 CZK – to purchase a suit, 150–200 CZK – to rent an apartment, 5–6 CZK – the price of lunch), these were necessary expenses, because Ukrainian students could not afford to show up for school improperly dressed. So students had to take a loan and then repay the money in the following months.

While assessing the stay of Ukrainian emigrants in the Czechoslovak Republic, Nesterenko noted: “We are still doing a great job for our culture, for Ukraine. *Katsaps*

²¹ *Ibidem*, fond 2439, descr. 1, file 27, sheet 711–771 rev.

²² „Український інвалід”, Каліш, 1928, № 7–8, p. 28.

²³ The 6th Sich Rifle Division (Ukr.: 6-та Січова стрілецька дивізія) – one of the seven divisions of the UPR Army, whose soldiers were interned in the Aleksandrów Kujawski camp in December 1920, and later in Szczypiorno. The division included the 6th Technical Battalion, which is mentioned in the text of the article.

²⁴ CDAVO of Ukraine, fond 4007, descr. 1, file 15, sheet 4, 5–5 rev.

and *Malorossians* furiously argued in the Czech Republic that we had neither professors nor students, that we were all ignorant, and that the Czechs were wasting money on us in vain; but we have proved” to all that “even in the Czech Colleges our students are the first in knowledge and ability not only among emigrant students, but also among the Czechs. Ours are set as an example”.²⁵

Such letters obviously made the internees think over their future, because in Poland Ukrainian soldiers could not have such preferences. Many of the campers made decisions in favour of the Czechoslovak Republic, thus, in 1922, 2,255 UPR Army soldiers left Polish camps for the Czechoslovak Republic,²⁶ many of whom were enrolled in Ukrainian educational institutions.

Their departure was facilitated by the fact that in the camps they were taken care of by the Head of the Joint Cadet School, Major General Mykola Shapoval, who received a total of 5,000 CZK²⁷ from the Ukrainian Public Committee (UPC) in Prague to organise the departure of future students. Regardless of this, Ukrainian higher schools in the Czechoslovak Republic sponsored significant sums precisely to enable students to go to study. In fact, each of these prospective students received the amount needed to cover his travel expenses. Thus, in particular, on 19 July 1923, the Director of the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute named after Mykhailo Drahomanov in Prague, Professor Leonid Biletsky, sent General Shapoval 800 CZK in order to ensure organised study trips for the future students of this Institute.²⁸

The large-scale departure of internees to study in the Czechoslovak Republic is evidenced by the register lists (registers) of students from Kalisz and Szczypiorno who were to go there in 1923/1924 academic year. One of them, dated September 1923, (without signature and exact date) contained brief descriptions of the outlook of some of those soldiers who volunteered to leave for studies. Their conciseness, and, most importantly, content, deserve to be given, at least some of them.²⁹ From another “Register of students who were in the internment camps of Kalisz and Szczypiorno and had to go to study in Czechoslovakia in the 1923/1924 academic year” of 2 October 1923, we can learn that 19 persons from Kalisz and 21 persons from Szczypiorno had to leave for the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in *Poděbrady*; two more people from the same camp were to go to the Pedagogical Institute in Prague. A total of 48 people were in the list (some of the soldiers had wives who were also in the departure list), and only 23 people in this list were identified as Ukrainians.³⁰

Thus, if in 1921 the process of leaving camps for studying at the Universities was only a sporadic phenomenon, and this “privilege” could actually be used only by former students who had interrupted their studies earlier, then in 1922–1923 it became almost widespread, and the “centre of gravity” for the internees became a wide range of Universities

²⁵ *Ibidem*, fond 4007, descr. 1, file 15, sheet.7–7 rev.

²⁶ М. Литвин, К. Науменко, *Історія ЗУНР*, Львів, 1995, p. 336.

²⁷ CDAMO of Ukraine, fond 4007, descr.1, file16, sheet 2.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, fond 4007, descr. 1, file 9, sheet 80.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, fond 4007, descr. 1, file 14a, sheet 11–11 rev.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, fond 4007, descr. 1, file 14a, sheet 10.

in Czechoslovakia. In this situation, the Polish government found itself in a somewhat ambiguous position – on the one hand, it did not officially object to the departure of the campers to the Czechoslovak Republic, because it enabled them to empty the camps and speed up the period of their final liquidation. But at the same time, the concentration of a large number of Ukrainian emigrants in this country, who failed to find a worthy application for themselves within Poland, and therefore believed that official Warsaw pursued a disloyal policy towards the UPR and its citizens, could not but cause Poland's concern.

However, the economic situation of Poland at that time was quite difficult, and therefore its government was constantly trying to minimise its expenses for maintenance of interned Ukrainian troops. Moreover, because of the political stabilisation in Central Europe, Poland was increasingly concerned with the political and economic expediency of the camps. As a result, the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs, to which the camps were subordinated, from time to time submitted plans for the final resolution of Kalisz and Szczypiorno.

At the same time, the projected process of liquidation of the camps of interned UPR troops was significantly prolonged in time in order to enable the interned soldiers to prepare as much as possible for their transition to civilian status. Moreover, the Polish authorities were ready to take into account the special needs of those Ukrainian soldiers who were unable to earn their living on their own. For this purpose the internees were divided into three categories (groups) by the order of the Inspector General of the UPR Army Oleksandr Udovychenko, dated 22 February 1923.³¹

The first of them included all those who could not work independently: the disabled, patients in hospitals (including consumptives), the elderly (from 60 years, both military and civilian), also women and children. This category also included officers and Cossacks of the headquarters of groups, divisions and brigades of the UPR Army. The Polish authorities undertook to continue to fully provide this category. The total number of soldiers included in the 1st group was 3116 people in both of the mentioned camps.

The second group (1313 people) included all those who worked in the camps – in bakeries, kitchens, electric stations, workshops established by the Polish government, and so on. In addition, it included employees of cultural and educational organisations: course instructors, school teachers, actors of camp theatres, workers of private workshops. This category of internees on preferential terms was provided by Polish authorities with necessary tools and premises for work, and in addition could count on limited financial assistance, but they had to pay for meals.

The third group (308 people) consisted of all those who were able to provide for themselves and their families with everything they needed, i.e. internees who had permanent jobs in Polish institutions, studied at higher educational establishments, as well as those who voluntarily worked outside the camp in private households. All of them received special “asylum cards” (temporary residence permit) with the right to move freely through Poland (except for Galicia, Volyn, border *powiats*, Warsaw and Lodz). In the future, internees belonging to this category had to work independently or create

³¹ *Ibidem*, fond 1078, descr. 2, file 158, sheet 367, 371, 483.

industrial cooperatives, to which the Polish authorities were ready to provide necessary initial assistance and preferential working conditions.³²

A comparison of the above-mentioned numerical quantities of the three groups of internees suggests that at that time there was no question of camps liquidation except that the Polish authorities might cherish plans to unite all groups of the internees in a single camp. In fact, they continued the process of encouraging all those able to work independently in Poland or abroad to be released from the camp and transfer to civil status. In turn, the group command made every effort to adapt and socialise the internees, creating conditions for them to obtain new professions, which would enable the internees in the future to provide themselves and their families with everything necessary for living in exile. At the same time, much attention was paid to meeting the cultural, national and educational needs of the internees, because only in such a way demoralisation of internees in the camps could be prevented.

The indirect expediency of further numerical reduction of internees was also proved by the fact that the interned UPR Army units had not yet ridded of a faulty element, as it is evident, in particular, in Inspector General of the UPR Army Udovychenko's Order No. 44 of 18 March 1923, which concerned the spread of such negative phenomena in the camps as "gambling cards, which resulted in great losses of money and expensive treasured things". The Order also mentioned the existence of "buyers and suppliers" groups in the camps, of which "the former buy from the internees packs, things and heating materials for half price, and the latter deliver essential goods to canteens above market prices, so the internees have to overpay much more than in the city *skleps* [shops – *authors*]". In order to eliminate such phenomena, the Inspector General instructed the commanders of the interned troops to take all possible measures to prevent them in the future.³³ But only a minimal percentage of internees were engaged in profiteering, because it required a significant amount of free funds and special abilities to do such "business".

The vast majority of internees were willing to work to earn at least minimal funds to improve their situation. This, in particular, was done by a group of campers (Lieutenant Colonel Oleksandr Petliura, Lieutenant Colonel Borys Barvinsky, cornet Plotnikov and others),³⁴ who on 11 November 1923 initiated the establishment of a "suitcase making workshop", the principles of which lay in "giving the workers of the workshop progressive top earnings using hand-made things while considering the decrease of the money value".³⁵

After the approval of its Charter, the workshop was a subject to "the general care of the UPR Army Inspectorate, which subsidises it with circulating capital".³⁶ In fact, the latter circumstance largely determined whether the newly established enterprise would have a chance to carry out profitable activities in the future or whether it would be doomed to close. It may be assumed that the workshop was able to develop its work, and its production was sold (taking into account constant departure of some internees from the

³² *Ibidem*, fond 1078, descr. 2, file 158, sheet 367; fond 4, descr. 1, file 613, sheet 16.

³³ *Ibidem*, fond 1078, descr. 2, file 316, sheet 75 rev.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, fond 3525, descr. 1, file 2, sheet 1, 2 rev.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, fond 3525, descr. 1, file 2, sheet 1.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, fond 3525, descr. 1, file 2, sheet 2–2 rev.

camps). However, due to the lack of relevant documents, it is impossible to draw the main conclusion of whether it had become self-sustaining and profitable.

Although the number of internees diminished significantly in early 1924, the existence of two camps (Kalisz and Szczypiorno) required certain expenditures from the Polish state treasury. Seeking to minimise them, the Polish government came to a conclusion that it was inexpedient to further maintain the interned Ukrainian soldiers, after which the Inspector General of the UPR troops (at that time Udovychenko) by his secret order № 3 of 28 March 1924, obliged division commanders and military units commanders to compile lists of “those officers who had to be left for the Army in the camps”, paying special attention to “their ability to organise work and their compliance with moral and national aspects”.

Udovychenko drew attention to the need of avoiding “duplication” – while compiling these lists, they should not include those officers who, according to their age, already had the right to stay in Kalisz, as well as disabled soldiers (recognised as such by the Polish Medical Commission) who also acquired such a right. The Inspector General also determined the quantitative norms of the officers who were to be included in the reduced staffs of the division headquarters (20–30 people).³⁷ The latter circumstance made it clear that the existence of the camps was coming to its end, and the campers did not have much time left to find a job and a new place of refuge in Poland. The final termination of the camps took place in August 1924, after which all their inhabitants were transferred to civil status obtaining the right of “asylum” (permanent residence in Poland).

It should be noted that by the mid-1920s, the development of the Polish economy was still marked by processes of stagnation. The country was unable and did not want to spend resources on the employment of Ukrainians, and therefore was interested in their departure abroad. In this situation, given the unfavourable economic situation in Poland, which significantly complicated the employment of Ukrainian emigrants, the Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) made every effort to create favourable opportunities for internees to leave for other European countries, France in particular.

Official Paris already had some experience of relations with representatives of the Slavic peoples from the former Russian Empire (including Ukrainians). The latter, however, although came from Ukraine, did not distinguish themselves from the all-Russian environment. According to the UPR Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimations, in 1920, up to 4.000 interned Ukrainian soldiers from the former Russian expeditionary corps in France were in the French camps – “very tired, exhausted, unable to do any kind of work, [...] [whose] living conditions did not differ from life in prisons”. As a result of such conditions and Bolshevik agitation in the camps, “almost all the prisoners were hostile to the French [...] and considered the Russian Bolsheviks to be their only defenders”.³⁸ In the same year, a large group of Ukrainians from the Volunteer Army arrived in Marseilles (via Tunisia). Another 900 Ukrainian soldiers from the Wrangel army were staying for some time on the island of Corsica.³⁹

³⁷ *Ibidem*, fond 1078, descr. 2, file 317, sheet 19; fond 1075, descr. 2, file 1036, sheet 2.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, fond 1075, descr. 2, file 203, sheet 4 rev.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, fond 1078, descr. 2, file 210, sheet 3.

In addition, in the early 1920s quite large groups of political emigrants flew to France – they were representatives of various Slavic peoples from the Balkans (and in particular – from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Bulgaria). Post-war France needed hands to restore the war-torn areas, so it even facilitated the relocation of emigrants at that time (on condition of prior employment contracts with employers).

Therefore, it is not surprising that it was to this country (with the coming termination of the camps in Poland) where it became possible for Ukrainian soldiers to leave Kalisz and Szczypiorno for. During 1924, with the UCC assistance, eight vehicles with Ukrainian veterans were directed to France (the first of them – with 57 Ukrainian soldiers – left on 12 February 1924), and in total in the first half of that year (before the termination of the camps) 229 people left for this country.⁴⁰ The first transports with Ukrainian soldiers to France were accompanied by Elizaveta Myshkivska, who knew French and was able to help newcomers in a foreign environment. After the third transport (July 1924), she decided to stay in this country as well, taking an active part in the life of the local Ukrainian community.⁴¹

This process was going on – on 15 August 1924, together with a group of 64 people, General Udovychenko left for France (Homécourt department in Lorraine). In autumn of the same year, the UCC organized three more transports of former campers (81 people). In addition, Ukrainians went to France without the UCC registration, using instead the services of Poznan department of the International Labour Office (the latter organised two transports, on 28 August and 10 October 1924), which moved another 80 former campers to France. The relocation of emigrants from the Ukrainian Army and members of their families to France continued the following year – then 173 Ukrainian soldiers left Poland, in 1926 – another 426 veterans of the UPR Army went to France for permanent residence.⁴²

Along with the veterans, members of their families – women and children, also went to France. The arrival in France of former campers and Ukrainian civilian emigrants from Poland significantly increased Ukrainian representation in this country – according to Jean-Bernard Dupont-Melnyczenko,⁴³ their total number in the mid-1920s reached five thousand people, and the largest part consisted of former soldiers of the UPR Army from Polish internment camps.

The vast majority of yesterday's internees did not have enough money to move, so they were forced to accept conditional financial assistance from the League of Nations (emigrants returned it after receiving first wages). Some used the services of the International Labour Office (and in particular its departments in Poland), or advance payments from French entrepreneurs interested in attracting workers to their enterprises. Representative of the International Labour Office, Commissioner of the League of Nations J. Charpentier, was particularly active in the relocation of Ukrainians at that time.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris, archival department, fond 24.3.

⁴¹ "Пані Єлисавета Прокопович", *Інформаційний Бюлетень Української Бібліотеки імені С.Петлюри в Парижі*, 1964, ч. 9 (12), р. 1.

⁴² Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris, archival department, fond 24.3.

⁴³ Ж.-Б. Дюпон-Мельниченко, "Громадська діяльність...", pp. 96–97.

⁴⁴ Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris, archival department, fond 24.3.

At the new place people obviously faced new problems. The point was that some Russian emigrants tried to prove their “superiority” in front of representatives of other Slavic peoples, even in conditions of emigration. It caused conflict situations to arise between the Russians and the Ukrainians, because the latter always were repulsed by Russian chauvinists. On 23 July 1925, an incident that occurred after the arrival of the 15th transport with Ukrainian emigrants to one of the French enterprises in Terre Rouge, demonstrated utterly confrontational nature of communication between Ukrainian and Russian political emigrants. As reported in the UCC letter to the Ukrainian General Council in Paris (№ 1626 of 1 August 1925), on the first day of their stay at the factory there was “a fight between the emigrants, which led to a knife massacre” and to stop it, the administration of the plant had to appeal to a local military unit.

The UCC letter suggested that this conflict could have occurred between Russians and newly arrived Ukrainians, because after this incident, the management of this French company flatly refused to hire the latter. The UCC was also convinced that the riots had been initiated by the Russians, and the Committee asked the Ukrainian General Council to “hold an inquiry into this case”⁴⁵ to obtain more information. Unfortunately, because of the lack of documents it is hardly possible to assert who was guilty in starting a fight, but in any case it is difficult to imagine that the Ukrainians on the first day at the factory began to “introduce their rules” there, so the conflict was likely to have been initiated by Russian emigrants.

In the late 1920s, the number of Ukrainians leaving for France decreased significantly, both due to the adaptation of Ukrainian political emigrants to living conditions in Poland and due to the dissemination of detailed information about the difficult working conditions in France among Ukrainians. At that time, as the “Ukrainian Emigrant” Lviv magazine reported, former soldiers of the UPR Army were “scattered all over France”. They were working “in mines, factories, in various commercial enterprises in cities and industries. Long years of emigrant need and poverty have taught them to respect hard work and adapt [get used to it – *authors*] to new living conditions”. And only some of them managed to “get to more responsible positions, which was largely due to the knowledge of the French language”⁴⁶.

The author of the article also analysed a possible income and expenses of a Ukrainian emigrant in France. The most profitable (albeit burdensome) work was in the mines for 35–55 francs per day, field work was paid at lower rates (22–40 francs). To rent an apartment required from 30 to 100 francs monthly (depending on its comfort), 10–15 francs daily was necessary to spend on food. This ratio enabled an emigrant to save money, but if he got to “an entrepreneur who used him and did not want to pay as much as he paid a French worker”, the situation became conflicting. The greatest problem was that Ukrainian emigrants did not know how to “defend their rights because they did not know French, nor the laws, nor did they belong to any professional organisation”, and therefore might “fall victim” to the dictates of the employer.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, fond 24.3.

⁴⁶ “Українська еміграція у Франції”, *Український емігрант* 1929, № 20, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

Despite such warnings of the mentioned magazine, the process of relocation of Ukrainians from the Dnieper region to France was going on, although in much smaller extent (in particular, in spring 1930, 33 people came to France for agricultural work),⁴⁸ and it may be assumed that at least some of them stayed there for permanent residence having found employment at French factories after concluding a contract with their owners.

Together with the adaptation to local socio-cultural and living conditions, the process of self-organisation of Ukrainian political emigration in France was ongoing. Ukrainian veterans were perhaps most active in this aspect, having united in the *Society of Former Soldiers of the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic* headed by General Udovychenko. The most important trends of the Society's activities were the consolidation of the UPR Army veterans, as well as moral support and material assistance to those who injured their health in the struggle for Ukrainian statehood. The activities of the Society members resulted in the foundation of a special relief fund to support the disabled, where money was directed by donations, lotteries, parties, etc. In order to increase receipts to the said fund, the Society began publishing its own magazine "Military Affairs" (all entries from the sale were used for material support of the disabled).⁴⁹

At the same time, the publication of the magazine partially satisfied the needs of the Society members for special literature, because it contained materials covering the history and military path of the UPR Army, the course of military campaigns of armies of other states; reviews and chronicles of the Society of Former Soldiers of the Ukrainian People's Republic were published. To get acquainted with the latest news of political and social life of European states, the Society subscribed to several military periodicals and purchased a number of professional books.

After Symon Petliura was fatally shot in Rue Racine by the Bolshevik agent Shalom Schwartzbard (May, 1926), one of the primary activities of Ukrainian veterans in France, including Society members, became the support of the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library development in Paris. In the structure of the Library, in particular, a Military Department was created, to which newspapers, books and magazines subscribed to and purchased by the Society, were transferred. In this way, the Society members tried to perpetuate the name of the Commander-in-Chief, whose figure became a symbol of unity of the part of Ukrainian political emigrant community that remained faithful to the UPR ideals, uniting around the State Centre of the UPR in exile led by Andriy Livytskyi.

Thus, almost from the very beginning of their stay in the camps in Poland, some internees were clearly aware of the need to continue their studies, and in particular to obtain higher education in European Universities, which enabled them to get a certain status in their new countries. Former students who did not complete their studies in Ukraine

⁴⁸ Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris, archival department, fond 24.3; Українська політична імміграція у Франції..., р. 3.

⁴⁹ „Військова Справа” 1927, № 1, р. 5.

or elsewhere were the first to prepare for further studies. In a short period of time they were joined by a numerous group of junior officers of the UPR Army (who had completed secondary education), who began to go to study in the Czechoslovak Republic with authorisation (receiving long vacations) and without authorisation (actually becoming deserters). On the one hand, it was a positive phenomenon, because it enabled officers to acquire new professions and thus find their place in life, getting a well-paid job. At the same time, from the military point of view, the Army was losing its base, because the lack of officers could not be compensated.

However, for the internees a long stay in the camps without the opportunity to get a real education would have been a road leading nowhere. Therefore, from 1922, the UPR Army command did not restrict the internees in their desire to go abroad to study. Nevertheless, it did not have any opportunity to provide them with even minimal financial assistance to facilitate their adaptation to the new place. In this situation, this function was partly performed by various public and supporting organisations and in particular by the Relief Society for Ukrainian Schooling Youth in the Camps of the Interned in Poland. Significant organisational assistance to the internees, especially since September 1923, was provided by the UCC of the new convocation. Trying to raise funds for the needs of the internees it began collecting the so-called "national tax".

It was the UCC actions that enabled the prolongation of the process of termination of the Kalisz and Szczypiorno camps (until August 1924), which gave it a gradual character and made it possible for Ukrainian veterans to develop adaptation mechanisms and adapt to independent existence as political emigrants in Poland. In the new environment, the former internees did not stop communicating among themselves, forming public and combat organisations. Their consolidation was also facilitated by the fact that the State Centre of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile continued its activities, coordinating actions of the Ukrainian political emigration through its structures in Poland.

At the same time, a significant part of the former did not see further prospects while staying in Poland and preferred to realise themselves in other European countries. Meeting their wishes, the UCC took care of organising their departure to France, where Ukrainians found themselves in a completely foreign environment, sometimes quite unfavourable, but in case they successfully passed the period of adaptation and mastery of the French language, at least at the initial level, it opened for Ukrainian emigrants long-term prospects, especially if they set out to stay in France permanently.

The point is that in the war-torn areas of France there was a constant demand for hands, and large French companies were experiencing a labour shortage at this time. Despite all post-war difficulties, France maintained positive dynamics of economic development at this time, which in turn allowed the French to provide workers of national enterprises with relatively high wages. The high level of cultural and civilisational development of France and its territorial remoteness from Bolshevik Russia, which even in peacetime continued to pose a mortal threat to the European world with its democratic values, were also of great significance for the emigrants.

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The Process of Transition of the UPR Army Soldiers Interned in Poland to Civil Status and their Emigration to Czechoslovakia and France in the 1920s

The article reveals the peculiarities of the Process of Transition of the UPR Army soldiers interned in Poland, to civil status and their departure to Czechoslovakia and France during the 1920s. Because of the numerical reduction of internment camps, Ukrainian combatants faced the need to adapt to living conditions in their civil status and further socialise. Most of the UPR Army junior officers were well aware of the need to continue their studies, and in particular to obtain higher education in European universities, which enabled them to have a certain status in their host countries.

In an effort to prepare to enter the higher schools of European countries, this category of the former military united into camp student communities. During 1922–1923, many of their members managed to enter Polish universities or go to study in Czechoslovakia, which opened up prospects for acquiring new professions and thus finding their place in life, getting well-paid jobs. Some Ukrainian public and charitable organisations functioning in Poland and Czechoslovakia rendered them significant assistance.

The process of the camps' termination in Kalisz and Szczypiorno was quite long, which afforded Ukrainian veterans an opportunity to develop adaptation mechanisms and adapt to independent life as political emigrants in Poland. In the new environment, the former internees did not stop communicating among themselves, forming public and combatant organisations. At the same time, a significant part of the former internees did not see further prospects while staying in Poland and preferred to relocate themselves in other European countries. Meeting their wishes, the Ukrainian Central Committee in Poland took care of organising their departure to France, which was used by a large part of the former internees.

KEYWORDS

interned Ukrainian soldiers, camp, emigration, combatants, the UPR Army, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France

Proces demobilizacji internowanych w Polsce żołnierzy Armii URL i ich emigracja do Czechosłowacji i Francji, lata dwudzieste XX wieku

Autorzy artykułu analizują proces przygotowania do demobilizacji najaktywniejszych kategorii internowanych żołnierzy Armii Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej, którzy wybrali jako strategię życiową studia wyższe w Czechosłowacji lub wyjazd do pracy we Francji. Do rozwiązania tego zadania autorzy wykorzystali metody badawcze: problemowo-

-chronologiczną, konkretno-historyczną i porównawczo-retrospektywną. Ponadto wykorzystali tzw. metodologię narracyjną i antropologię wojskową.

Autorzy doszli do wniosku, że przemieszczanie się kombatantów ukraińskich do Czechosłowacji i Francji miało charakter łączony: do Czechosłowacji podróżowali oni prywatnie, otrzymując w tym celu niewielkie kwoty pieniężne od ukraińskich organizacji publicznych, natomiast do Francji przenosili się w sposób zorganizowany, z pomocą międzynarodowych i krajowych organizacji zatrudniających pracowników. Po przybyciu do tych krajów emigranci ukraińscy stawali się częścią społeczeństwa krajów przyjmujących, jednak ich częściowa naturalizacja nie oznaczała wynarodowienia, wręcz przeciwnie, większość z nich zachowała poczucie związku z URL.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

internowani żołnierze ukraińscy, obóz, emigracja, kombatanci, Armia URL, Polska, Czechosłowacja, Francja

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