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## **Ukrainian Political Emigration in the Second Polish Republic: Regional Aspects**

### **Abstract**

The study traces that the end of the Ukrainian Revolution and the rejection of Bolshevik rule, which had established itself in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and led to the emergence of Ukrainian interwar emigration, which was dispersed across European countries. Within the emigrant community, two main groups were distinguished – military and civilian. The reasons why the majority of emigrants from the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UNR) chose Poland, as an ally in the struggle according to the Warsaw Agreement, have been identified herein. The emigrants’ desire to settle in the eastern voivodeships was influenced by geographical, linguistic, ethnocultural, and other factors. It has been substantiated that difficult living conditions prompted some emigrants to re-emigrate, particularly to France, where they faced hard physical labor, and to Czechoslovakia, mainly for educational purposes. It is emphasized that the existence of Ukrainian political emigration was an irritant for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics authorities, who fought against the emigrants by various means. The study highlights the difficulties of adaptation,

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internal conflicts, and the return of some emigrants to Soviet Ukraine. It is proven that Ukrainian political emigration was able to adapt to the new ethnopolitical conditions and make a significant contribution to the development of various spheres of life in the host countries. Political emigrants were particularly active in social, cultural, and educational practices in the eastern voivodeships of Poland.

### **Keywords**

Ukrainian political emigration, Second Polish Republic, the internees, adaptation, public activities

### **Introduction**

The Great War, later called the First World War, catalyzed the fall of empires, the emergence of new states, activated social and national movements, caused a series of social and psychological problems, and triggered processes such as mass displacement and emigration. Studying the phenomenon of emigration, particularly political emigration, is important for a broader understanding of migration processes, especially since in contemporary Europe, in the context of the full-scale Russian aggression against Ukraine, the issues of emigration and displacement have become highly relevant.

As a result of the conclusion of the Ukrainian Revolution, tens of thousands of soldiers from the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) and civilian emigrants were forced to cross the Zbruch River, forming a massive interwar wave of Ukrainian political emigration. Since a significant portion of this emigration consisted of military personnel who were forced to retreat to the territories of neighboring states such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania, this emigration is also referred to as political-military. Based on Ukrainian political emigration during the interwar period, various groups formed in different countries (Piskun, 2006). The subject of our analysis will be the supporters of the State Center (sc) of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) in exile, who resided in the Second Polish Republic.

The works of Ihor Sribniak (Sribniak, 1997) and Zbigniew Karpus (Karpus, 1996) were significant for characterizing Ukrainian political emigration in Poland. These scholars thoroughly studied the position and activities of Ukrainian military personnel in internment camps in Poland, demonstrating that despite difficult living conditions and other challenges, educational and cultural life was established in the camps. A comprehensive analysis of the functioning of the State Center of the UNR was conducted by Jan Jacek Bruski. (Bruski, 2000). The circumstances of the emergence, activities, and commemoration of Ukrainian military emigrants in Poland are highlighted in the studies of Oleksandr Kolianchuk (Kolianchuk, 2003).

Volodymyr Troshchynskyi examined the interwar Ukrainian emigration in Europe comprehensively, as a historical phenomenon (Troshchynskyi, 1994). Valentyna Piskun studied the political choices of the leaders of Ukrainian political emigration in the 1920s, as well as the factors influencing the formation of the ideological basis of the emigrants (Piskun, 2006). The emergence of the Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) as the main institution representing the interests of UNR emigrants in Poland was thoroughly researched by Emilian Wiszka (Wiszka, 2004). Andrii Portnov focused on the scientific and educational activities of Ukrainian emigration in Poland in the context of Polish government policy (Portnov, 2008). Ruslana Davydiuk traced the main forms of social, political, and cultural practices of emigrants in the Vohlynia Voivodeship (Davydiuk, 2016; 2023), and also considered Ukrainian political emigration as a consequence of war and revolution (Davydiuk, 2018).

The primary sources for this article consist of archival documents and materials from the interwar periodical press.

### **Numbers, location, status**

Scattered across Europe, the emigrants encountered various political, economic, social, cultural, and mental conditions that influenced their adaptation process and the nature of their socio-political practices. The emigrant community comprised different social and socio-political strata of the population: "...among the emigrants are generals and soldiers, prime ministers and officials, diplomats and

peasants, artists and architects, writers and scholars, priests and teachers” (TSDIAL-2). Mostly, the emigrants did not know “foreign languages, had minimal knowledge about the cultural and political life of the West, and showed a low degree of political preparation” (Sadovskiy, 1928, p. 9). The process of differentiation and separation of the political emigration was very painstaking.

The quantitative dimension of Ukrainian emigration remains an open question (Davydiuk, 2018). The newspaper *Dilo* wrote: “We will not soon have statistics on how many Ukrainians live abroad. We only know that there have never been more of them there than now” (*Pasyvnist nashoi emihratsii* [Passivity of our emigration], 1924, p. 1). Mykola Livytskyi claimed that “forty or fifty thousand military and civilians went to foreign countries, to two neighboring states with Ukraine, Poland and Romania (90% to Poland)” (Livytskyi, 1984, p. 10). Symon Petliura believed that “in Poland alone, our emigration from Great Ukraine is no less than 35 thousand” (Petliura, 1956, p. 300). Contemporary Ukrainian emigration researcher V. Troshchynskyi outlined the overall quantitative parameters at 43 thousand (Troshchynskyi, 1994). Polish scholar J. Bruski wrote that in November-December 1920, about 40–45 thousand people from Ukraine crossed the border of the Polish Republic (Bruski, 2000). Another Polish researcher, O. Wiszka, estimated a figure of 35 thousand Ukrainian emigrants by the end of 1920, while acknowledging the issue as debatable, given that the UCC, based on registration data from Polish authorities, recorded 43 thousand in 1920 (Wiszka, 2004). I agree with V. Piskun’s view that it is impossible to determine the exact number of Ukrainian emigrants in Poland due to the lack of clear registration and the transitory nature of their stay (Piskun, 2006).

The main wave of Ukrainian emigration was directed to Poland, in view of the Warsaw Agreement of 1920 (Davydiuk, 2018). According to O. Kolianchuk’s calculations, over 20,000 soldiers of the UNR Army were interned in Poland from November 1920 to January 20, 1921 (Kolianchuk, 2003). Approximately 90% of Ukrainian emigration in Poland consisted of individuals associated with the UNR, its state structures, and army (Wiszka, 2004). This was indirectly confirmed by the Bolshevik authorities, who characterized

the political sentiments of the Ukrainian emigration, considering them to be divided primarily into Petliurists and anti-Petliurists (TSDAHOU-1).

Most emigrants initially consolidated around official centers in Tarnów and Częstochowa. Military emigrants spent several years in special camps as internees and prisoners of war. By the end of 1921, there were five camps operating in Poland: in Wadowice, Aleksandrów Kujawski, Kalisz, Częstochowa, and Staszaków (Karpus, 1996). Initially, the camps were under military control, later being handed over to the Mixed Commission for Repatriation Affairs, and from April 1922, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Poland (MSW) (DARO-2). Living conditions in the camps were extremely difficult.

In a letter to H. Józewski on March 7, 1921, A. Livytskyi wrote:

It is painful to see how all hopes for a Polish-Ukrainian orientation are collapsing, and more and more reproaches about the Ukrainian-Polish agreement are being heard. I was the initiator and author of the orientation towards Poland's assistance, and this orientation has so far given us nothing but the constant dying out of our Cossacks and the starvation of our patriots. My political friends and I have not yet lost faith (TSDAVO-2).

Strengthening their will and faith, the soldiers engaged in active cultural and educational activities in the camps: they opened courses, founded drama clubs, published periodicals, and so on. The culmination of the cultural and educational work in the camps was the establishment of the Ukrainian National University in Łańcut, with Professor Vasyl Bidnov becoming its rector (Portnov, 2008).

By the end of 1921, the internees were granted the right to work outside their camp. As a result, they gradually began to settle across the entire territory of Poland, except for the eastern voivodeships. Camp authorities typically released the internees to a designated commune, which limited their movement and significantly complicated their job search. The care of civilians, who sometimes found themselves in even worse conditions than the military, was handled by the Central Refugee Bureau (СВВ), which began forming in the

second half of 1920 in Tarnów and was officially established in January 1921 (Wiszcza, 2004).

The legal basis for the presence of Ukrainian political emigrants in Poland was a directive from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Polish Republic dated June 8, 1921. This document restricted the residence of Ukrainian emigrants to Eastern Galicia, Vohlynia, Polissia, major cities, and some other areas. The authorities feared the rise of the Ukrainian movement in their ethnic lands, compounded by the legal uncertainty of Eastern Galicia's status at the time. A special permit was required to live in these designated areas, and applications for such permits were submitted through the ucc to the relevant *starostwo*. Even for temporary entry into the eastern voivodeships or the border zone, a pass from the *starostwo* was needed (TSDIAL-3). Requests for permanent residence in the western Ukrainian lands were submitted by emigrants through the *starostwo* to the voivode, explaining their reasons. In certain cases, the ucc could obtain a permit through the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Visti ucc-4). If the administration deemed that the activities of foreigners were harmful to the interests of the state, the residence permit could be revoked (TSDIAL-4).

A significant problem was the frequent lack of documents and obstacles in obtaining citizenship. Having lost UNR citizenship and not having acquired Polish citizenship, emigrants often became stateless persons, which deepened their existing problems. The situation became somewhat more stable after the introduction of Nansen passports, which began to be issued in Poland on July 1, 1925 (Davydiuk, 2016).

After Józef Piłsudski returned to power in 1926, the situation of Ukrainian emigrants slightly improved. The ban on settlement in the eastern voivodeships was relaxed, and from January 1, 1927, it was no longer mandatory, at least formally. In the spring of 1927, the ucc managed to obtain permission for free movement and residence of Ukrainian military invalids in the eastern voivodeships (Wiszcza, 2004). Travel to these voivodeships was permitted by the authorities on a case-by-case basis. In cases of doubt about whether a person belonged to the political emigration, ucc certificates were consulted. Efforts to alleviate the situation of interned military and civilian

emigrants were made by UNR diplomatic missions abroad, the Ukrainian overseas diaspora, and charitable contributions from the church (Sribniak, 1997).

The closure of the camps in 1924 led to the dispersal of Ukrainian soldiers across the country and accelerated their emigration to other countries. In Kalisz, with the support of the Polish government, the “Ukrainian Station” was preserved, which aimed to provide material assistance and food to the neediest Ukrainian emigrants. The station was under the care of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, which provided subsidies through the UCC (DARO-2).

Harsh living conditions and high unemployment rates led to an increase in the number of Ukrainian emigrants wishing to leave Poland and seek refuge in other European countries or overseas. Emigration to France was driven by widespread agitation, and a moral incentive was the relocation of Symon Petliura and the UNR government there in 1924. From 1924 to 1926, 1,140 adult male Ukrainian emigrants moved to France (Visti UCC-11). In France, emigrants mostly worked in hard physical labor. Emigrants went to Czechoslovakia primarily for education, and by the end of 1923, there were more than two thousand Ukrainian scholarship holders there (Visty UCC-1). Thanks to cooperation with the League of Nations and the Ukrainian Economic Academy (UHA) in Poděbrady, the UTSK managed to send over 70 students from Poland for studies in Czechoslovakia, as well as in England, Belgium, and France, just in October 1923 (Visty UCC-2). Thus, “secondary emigration” became more active, primarily to Czechoslovakia (for education), to France (mainly for physical labor), or overseas, particularly to Brazil or Argentina. In the latter case, political migrants joined the labor emigration of Western Ukrainians who left Poland for economic reasons.

Since April 1921, all matters concerning Ukrainian emigration in Poland were managed by the UCC in Warsaw, as the activities of the UNR State Center were considered illegal after the signing of the Treaty of Riga. From the end of 1923, the permanent head of the UCC was M. Kovalskyi (Sadovskyi, 1954). Under the influence of the UCC in Warsaw, various organizations gradually emerged and operated, including student, women’s, and educational groups.

The ucc provided material and moral support to the interned, and later to all emigrants. From August 20 to October 20, 1923, the committee's efforts resulted in permission for 400 former UNR Army soldiers to go to work in the eastern voivodeships (Visty ucc-2). At the end of 1923, a group of Ukrainian soldiers, led by General Yevhen Biletskyi, arrived from the camps to work at the Babyn sugar factory near Rivne. They were noted for their organization and active cultural and educational work (Visty ucc-7).

In the second half of the 1920s, the Babyn labor colony dispersed. In 1926, some former soldiers left for France, including Viacheslav Lazarkevych, Leonid Bakhtin, Ivan Okhmak, Petro Yosypshyn, Serhii Redko, Petro Morozovskyi, and Mykola Lukomskyi. The following year, 1927, Leonid Skazheniuk emigrated to Belgium, and Mykola Vilchek went to Czechoslovakia. Yurii Ordanovskyi also left Babyn, joining the Polish military under contract (Yermolaev, 1973; HDA SBU, Rivne).

Around two thousand people settled in the Polissia Voivodeship (including not only Ukrainians but also Russians). Most of them worked in forestry, forming large colonies, particularly in the Kosiv, Pinsk, Luninets, Pruzhany, and Brest counties. Administrative positions were often held by officers (GABO-1). Former soldiers of the UNR Army, released from the camps, mainly took up hard physical labor, often seasonal or temporary, such as logging, working at sawmills, cement factories, sugar refineries, estates, and on the construction of railroads and bridges.

In areas where interned soldiers were concentrated, ucc branches were established, and special representatives were appointed (Visty ucc-5). For example, in 1924, Petro Kholodnyi was appointed as the ucc representative in the Stanislaviv Voivodeship (DATO), Danylo Kovpanenko in the Vohlynia Voivodeship (Visty ucc-8), Volodymyr Zarudnyi in the Ternopil Voivodeship, Volodymyr Synkler in Boryslav (TSDIAL-1), Yakiv Vodyanyi in the Zbarazh County (TSDIAL-3), and others. The organizational work of the ucc branches was complicated by a lack of personnel, constant rotation of representatives, and strict government oversight.



### **Internal rivalries, Bolshevik challenges and responses**

The emigrant community was characterized by open or covert rivalry, which significantly harmed the collective Ukrainian cause. This rivalry stemmed from the

psychology of the emigrant and the psychology of a party leader without party masses. All these groups ... struggle with the difficulties of emigrant life, constantly quarrelling with one another. Perhaps no other emigration lived under the sign of such personal grievances as the Ukrainian political emigration. ... And in no other emigration was this so easily forgiven (ТСАНОУ-3).

Political disunity was exacerbated by personal flaws, bitterness, and an unwillingness to accept differing opinions.

The Bolsheviks actively sought to deepen the contradictions among different factions of the Ukrainian emigration, especially among the military. In the internment camps for soldiers of the UNR Army, Bolshevik representatives agitated for repatriation, promising amnesty and the restoration of civil rights. To further divide the emigrant community and neutralize its influence, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (VUTSVK) decided on November 30, 1921, to grant “full personal amnesty to workers and peasants of the Ukrainian SSR who were abroad and who had participated as ordinary soldiers in the armies of S. Petliura, P. Skoropadskyi, A. Denikin, P. Wranhel, S. Bulak-Balakhovych, and other enemies of the workers’ and peasants’ power” (Yeremenko, 1998). The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (ТСК КР(б)У) adopted a resolution on March 17, 1922, “On the amnesty of soldiers of the Wranhel and Petliura armies” (ТСАНОУ-2). At the same time, significant funds were allocated for efforts to undermine the Ukrainian emigration community.

Soviet propaganda and subversive activities within the emigrant community had some success, but the Bolsheviks ultimately failed to dismantle the political emigration associated with the UNR. Despite differences and contradictions, most emigrants consistently held an anti-Soviet stance (Lozytskyi, Bazhan, Vlasenko, Kentii, Eds.,

2008). Symon Petliura noted that “the anti-Bolshevik position unites the entire Ukrainian emigration regardless of political factions. The other cement that bonds them is the idea of Ukrainian statehood” (Symon Petliura pro ukrainsku spravu [Symon Petliura on the Ukrainian Case], 1923, p. 1-2).

The emigrants’ attitudes towards the Bolshevik regime were particularly evident in their reaction to the Holodomor of 1932–1933 in the Ukrainian SSR. Being mostly natives of the Dnipro Ukraine, which was devastated by the Holodomor, they were devastated by the tragic events, trying to help their compatriots as much as possible by creating aid committees and organizing protest and fundraising actions. The Ukrainian political emigration continuously monitored the international situation and attempted to declare their position and defend their interests. The exiled government of the UNR protested against the USSR’s admission to the League of Nations in 1935 and later submitted a note regarding the enactment of the Soviet constitution of 1936, which it viewed as “the forcible imposition of laws on Ukraine, in the development and adoption of which the Ukrainian people did not participate” (Troshchynskyi, 1994).

In the early days, Ukrainian political emigrants dreamed of a quick return to their homeland, pinning their hopes on a campaign into the Ukrainian SSR, where a widespread insurgent movement had erupted in the spring of 1921. To this end, the Partisan-Rebel Headquarters (PPSh) was established in Tarnów, led by General Yurko Tiutiunyk, and in June 1921, it was relocated to Lviv. The tragedy of the November campaign, the failure to spark a general uprising in the Ukrainian SSR, and the unfavorable international political climate crushed the emigrants’ hopes for a swift return (Verstiuk, Skalskyi, Faizulin, Eds., 2011; TSDAVO-1).

Some emigrants hoped that Soviet Ukraine might transform into a national Ukraine. However, the issue of Ukrainian political emigrants returning to the Ukrainian SSR should not be reduced to the ideology of “Change of signposts” (*Smenovekhovtstvo*), which emerged and spread among the Russian emigration in the first half of the 1920s. The Russian *Smenovekhovtsy* believed that the Bolsheviks had created a great Russia, and therefore they supported the new regime. For Ukrainians, a similar “Change of signposts”

was impossible. For instance, Mykhailo Hrushevskiy interpreted internationalism not as a means to “restore a united and indivisible Russia,” but as the idea of equality for all nations, the realization of which required granting cultural and economic autonomy to the Soviet republics (Yefymenko, 2005). Since Mykhailo Hrushevskiy did not abandon the idea of a national Ukrainian state, he was not a *Smenovekhovets* but a “*Povorotnyk*” (a returner). It is believed that the actions of Ukrainian emigrants who moved to the Ukrainian SSR were more accurately characterized by the term “*Povorotnyks*” (the return movement).

It is important to remember that during the interwar period, the Polish-Soviet border, stretching 1,412 kilometers (Razyhrayev, 2012), was a frontline of clashing worldviews and different political systems – Soviet and Western. Thus, the borderlands were at the center of Polish-Soviet confrontation. In the first half of the 1920s, Bolshevik intelligence services intensified their activities here. Alongside the State Political Directorate (ДПУ) of the Ukrainian SSR, the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Zakordot) and other pro-communist organizations were established. The pro-Bolshevik partisan movement, which gained significant momentum in the summer and autumn of 1924, posed a serious threat to Poland.

A significant irritant in Polish-Soviet relations was the political emigrants of the UNR, whose activities were closely monitored by the Bolsheviks. On their part, the emigrants did not cease their struggle against the Bolshevik regime; they continued to organize insurgent groups, engage in intelligence activities, and conduct illegal operations in Soviet Ukraine.

The resumption of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation policies following Józef Piłsudski’s return to power caused particular concern for the Soviet regime. The ДПУ reported that “the activities of the UNR’s intelligence in Ukraine have been increasing every year since Piłsudski’s May coup. ... In 1929, the activity of Ukrainian counter-revolutionary elements and the *kulaks* reached such acute forms that in some instances it bordered on a direct insurgent movement” (HDA SZRU). The ДПУ noted that “the Petliurists systematically send agents [to Soviet Ukraine – R.D.] to create insurgent

and sabotage groups, distribute leaflets, and conduct intelligence operations” (HDA SZRU).

In the Volhynian borderlands, UNR’s intelligence services became more active, establishing Ukrainian intelligence posts funded by the Polish government, specifically the Second Department of the Polish General Staff, which coordinated all information and intelligence services (offense and defense). These services had military intelligence tasks, such as investigating political and economic conditions, gathering information, and conducting propaganda and informational work among the population of the Ukrainian SSR (Zhyviuk, 2008). Most military emigrants collaborated with Colonel Ivan Lytvynenko, who in June 1927, under the alias Ivan Danylovych Morozenko, headed an intelligence post in Mohyliany near Ostroh, and from autumn 1928 to 1935, a control-intelligence post in Rivne (HDA SBU, Kyiv). He was in charge of all the control and reconnaissance points of the Vohlynia-Polissia border, the location of which changed periodically.

Along with its successes, the UNR intelligence had many failures. The work was complicated by the recruitment of agents, insufficient adherence to the rules of secrecy, internal contradictions, and the good training of Soviet special services, which often worked ahead of the curve (Sidak and Vronska, 2003). Under such conditions, the UNR intelligence stood no chance. However, reflecting on the goals of his work, I. Lytvynenko said: “... we open Europe’s eyes to the Bolshevik reality, [and] support the national spirit of the people on this and the other side of the border to some extent” (HDA SBU, Kyiv).

Relations between Ukrainian political emigration and Russian (White Guard) emigration were confrontational. The Ukrainian emigration was distinguished from the Russian one by its national-state principles, since there was “not a single Moscow group in the emigration that sincerely and openly recognized the right to existence of a free Ukraine” (Shliakhy ukrainskoi derzhavnosti [Following the Ukrainian Statehood], 1927, p. 1). Speaking about this confrontation, Oleksandr Lototskyi noted: “if the Russians are fighting for the restoration of the empire, the Ukrainians are fighting for the development of their own national state” (Lototskyi, 1938, p. 62–63). The essence and purpose of Russian emigration was

clearly defined by the author of Lviv's *Dilo*: "...the Russian emigration, both democratic and monarchical, does not want to accept that every nation has the right to live and develop on its own free will without Moscow's tutelage" (Rosiiska emihratsia [Russian Emigration], 1925, p. 3).

Although Ukrainian emigration from Dnipro Ukraine was characterized by territorial affinity with Russian emigration, it had completely different goals and objectives. For the Ukrainian emigration, the national factor was a priority, so its character can be defined as national-political with a strong ideological aspect (Lysianskyi, 1935, p. 6). Andrii Livytskyi said that "political emigration should fight against any Moscow - red, white, or black" (Derzhavnyi Ukrainskyi Tsentri [Ukrainian State Center], 1928, p. 3).

Relations between Ukrainian and Belarusian political emigrants were better, as they understood each other's mentality well, as they went through a complex process of social adaptation in the recipient countries. At the same time, in terms of national identity, the Belarusian population in the interwar period was less advanced than the Ukrainian population (Davydiuk, 2018).

Relations with other emigrant communities were better, an important factor in this was the ideology of "Prometheism". It was formed by the Warsaw club Prometei, which united emigrants from Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, the Kuban, Crimea, the Caucasus, and Turkestan (Komar, 2011). The *Visty ucc v Polshchy* magazine emphasized that Ukraine could resist Russia only in an alliance with Poland, the Kuban, the North Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Romania (*Visty ucc-9*).

### **Social, Cultural, and Educational Activities**

A large emigrant diaspora, including officials of Ukrainian governmental institutions, and the best scholars concentrated in Warsaw. With their participation, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (UNI) was opened in 1930, headed by Oleksandr Lototskyi and later Andrii Yakovliv, was opened, with Ivan Ohienko, Vasyl Bidnov, Dmytro Doroshenko, and others joining the work (Portnov, 2008). A commission for the translation of the Holy Scriptures and liturgical books into

Ukrainian was established at the UNI in Warsaw. Within this commission were two subcommittees: one for the Lutsk region, headed by Bishop Polikarp, and one for Kremenets, chaired by Archbishop Oleksii (Davydiuk, 2016).

Many organizations uniting Ukrainian political emigrants emerged in Warsaw, such as the Society of Soldiers of the UNR Army, the M. Lysenko Ukrainian National Choir, the Ukrainian School in Exile Society, the Law Society, the “Spokii” Art Circle, and others. An important component of the Ukrainian political emigration in Poland was the publication of periodicals: in 1930, there was one emigrant magazine per thousand emigrants. These publications were mostly anti-Soviet in nature, and some of them showed loyalty to the Polish authorities, receiving financial support from them (Wisicka, 2002).

Starting from the mid-1930s, Przemyśl became a kind of educational center for emigrants. There was the S. Petliura Boarding School, a state gymnasium with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, a women’s gymnasium of the Ukrainian Institute, the 7-grade Shashkevych state school, the 6-grade school of the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas, a vocational school, and a sewing school of the Ukrainian Women’s Union. An icon painting workshop in Przemyśl was opened by Colonel Borys Neilo, and Pavlo Kovzhun, Yurii Krykh, and others worked there (Shkurat, 1961).

The UNR emigrants associated their activities with the name of Symon Petliura, whose death was a great blow to them. Demonstrating their loyalty to the ideas of the Chief Ataman, ucc branches systematically organized memorial services in his memory, dedicating lectures and celebrations to him. After the assassination of Symon Petliura, the Symon Petliura Society was established in Warsaw.

Its task was to formulate and express its own position on the murder of the Ataman, to show respect for his struggle and to honor his memory (*Visty ucc-6*). Branches of this society were formed where ucc departments existed.

For Ukrainian emigrants who settled in Poland, the existence of an almost 5-million-strong Western Ukrainian community within the state was of great importance. A significant number of emigrants

from Dnipro Ukraine sought to settle in Western Vohlynia for several reasons. The Vohlynia Voivodeship was a border province, and this was important because the emigrants from Dnipro Ukraine were homesick and hoped to return home soon. In the national structure of the province, the majority of the population was Ukrainian. Vohlynia attracted emigrants because there it provided an opportunity to be among Orthodox Ukrainians. Another important fact was that before the First World War, Vohlynia and Dnipro Ukraine were part of the Russian Empire, which created similarities in their mentality (Davydiuk, 2016).

Ukrainian political emigrants became promoters of Ukrainian national life, especially in the eastern voivodeships, where a significant number of local Ukrainians lived. Despite the difficulties, they worked as doctors, teachers, lawyers, and cooperators. The branches of the UCC established on the territory of western Ukrainian lands, without opposing the Polish authorities, tried to spread national ideas, celebrate their holidays, and honor their heroes. The newspaper *Volynske Slovo* noted: "The Dnipro Ukrainians, having settled in Vohlynia, organically entered local life. They founded cooperatives, conducted cooperative economic courses, gave lectures in 'Prosvita', organized national holidays, in short, plunged into public work" (Baliabo, 1937, p. 4).

Cultural, educational, and awareness-raising work became a crucial condition for emigrants' adaptation and self-organization. On March 23, 1923, at the initiative of Vasyly Dmytriuk, the Polissia Voivodeship Administration registered the Ukrainian Society for Enlightenment in Brest. Subsequently, under the name "Prosvita na Polissi", the society organized reading libraries, choirs, and drama groups throughout the province, in particular in the Brest, Kobryn, Pinsk, Drohiczyn, and Sarny districts. In 1929, the Prosvita na Polissi society had 127 reading rooms and 1,754 members (Mysyiuk, 2007, p. 238). In 1924, Ukrainians managed to get a private seven-grade Ukrainian school named after the writer Oleksa Storozhenko, who lived and was buried in Brest, and the school offered courses for adults (Hnoiovyi, 1962).

Emigrants participated in the work of all eight county Prosvita centers that operated in the Vohlynia Voivodeship at the end of 1927,

as well as their branches in villages. After the Polish authorities closed Prosvita in the Vohlynia Voivodeship, some emigrants joined pro-government cultural, educational, and charitable organizations, which emphasized the emergence of a new factor in Ukrainian social life, based on the principles of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation, loyalty to the government, and marked by dependence on the administration of Henryk Józefski. In implementing the “Vohlynia experiment,” the voivode relied on a group of emigrants who consolidated around the newspaper *Ukrainska Nyva*, which moved from Warsaw to Lutsk.

The differentiation of political forces in Volhynia and the determination of the positions of Ukrainian political emigration were catalyzed by the 1928 parliamentary elections. On the eve of these elections, a group of political emigrants intensified cooperation with the voivodeship administration, laying the groundwork for the emergence of a new pro-government Ukrainian group. On the initiative of Petro Pevnyi, Serhii Tymoshenko, Stepan Skrypnyk, and others close to the voivode, a pro-government regional party, the Vohlynia Ukrainian Association (VUO), and a number of related pro-government cultural, educational, and civic organizations were organized in June 1931. The main cultural centers created to replace the banned “Prosvita” became “Prosvityanski khaty” in villages and “Ridni Khaty” in cities (Kucherepa and Davydiuk, 2001).

In the 1930s, representatives of the UNR political emigration who were willing to cooperate with the Polish authorities became members of the Polish Parliament from the Vohlynia Voivodeship (elections of 1930, 1935, and 1938). The practice of Ukrainian ambassadors and senators was important because they gained experience in parliamentary activities and the use of legal methods of work. Among the parliamentarians were natives of Dnipro Ukraine, participants in the Ukrainian Revolution, in particular: Serhii Tymoshenko (Ambassador of the IV, Senator of the V cadences), Petro Pevnyi (Ambassador of the III, IV cadences), Stepan Skrypnyk (Ambassador of the III, IV, V cadences), Martyn Volkov (Ambassador of the IV cadence), Yevhen Bohuslavskyi (Ambassador of the I and II cadences), Mykhailo Telyezhynskyi (Ambassador of the III cadence), Mykola Maslov (Senator of the III and IV cadences), and others (Szumiło, 2020; Davydiuk, 2023). All of the above ambassadors



were members of the VUO. Ukrainian political emigrants who settled in the Vohlynia Voivodeship became active fighters for the Ukrainization of the Orthodox Church in Poland. In the 1920s, these were both newly ordained priests and chaplains of the UNR Army who, after the closure of internment camps, received parishes in the Vohlynia Voivodeship. Despite the opposition of the church hierarchy, which remained pro-Russian, they held services in Ukrainian, performed memorial services for their dead and deceased comrades, raised funds for the needs of emigrants and their families, and initiated the formation of the Metropolitan Petro Mohyla Society and its branches (Davydiuk, 2016).

Emigrants initiated the organization of cooperative institutions in Vohlynia and Polissia. As a result of their efforts, bookstores, banks, and workshops began to operate; they worked behind store counters, at dairies, and as agronomists. The development of the Ukrainian movement was evidenced by the opening of Ukrainian cooperative banks in 1925. Ukrainian cooperative banks were opened in Brest and Kobryn, and later a banking department in Kamianets-Lytovsk (GABO-2). As a result of the joint efforts of emigrants and the local population, five county cooperative unions were operating in the Vohlynia Voivodeship as of the fall of 1923—in Dubno, Rivne, Ostroh, Zdolbuniv, and Kremenets (Nashi povitovi soiuzy [Our County Associations], 1923). In Vohlynian cooperative institutions, Ukrainian emigrants accounted for about 25% of the employees, and 40% of emigrants were among their organizers (Visty UCC-10).

Possessing the artistic experience gained in internment camps, Ukrainian political emigrants intensified theatrical life by creating a number of traveling theater groups. With their participation, the Circle of Ukrainian Art Workers (HDUM) operated in Lviv from 1922 to 1927, bringing together artists, writers, and architects led by Petro Kholodnyi. Pavlo Kovzhun was engaged in book graphics, painting, theater decorations, and was the editor and author of art criticism and the satirical and humorous magazine *Hedz* (Holubets, 1939). Under the direction of Mykola Pevnyi, the Vohlynian Ukrainian Theater operated in Lutsk from 1928, supported by the Vohlynian Ukrainian Theater Society, headed by the emigrant Mykola Maslov (Volynske Ukrainske Teatralne Tovarystvo, 1932). Simon Narizhnyi

wrote that in 1937 there were 18 emigrant theaters in Poland (Narizhnyi, 1999).

The Ukrainian song was disseminated by the choir of Dmytro Kotko, a former curator of brass bands of the UNR Army and head of a choir group in an internment camp. From 1925, the O. O. Koshyts Ukrainian Dniprian Choir was touring all over Poland (Z kontsertovoi sali [From the Concert Hall], 1925, p. 2). The artistic life of the emigration was influenced by Vasyl Avramenko's Ukrainian Folk Dance Company, which combined ballet, music, theater, and choral singing (DARO-1). At the same time, the government controlled the activities of theater artists, conductors, and singers, as well as their repertoire, trying to use the artistic sphere to implement plans to spread pro-government ideology.

### Conclusions

The First World War and the liberation struggle caused a massive Ukrainian political emigration that dispersed to all European countries, with a significant part of it ending up in the Second Polish Republic. The emigration consisted of citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic (military, state, and civilian officials, public figures) who left their homeland because they rejected the Bolshevik regime and the threat to their lives and freedom, i.e., for political reasons. The emigrants, who were divided into two main groups, military and civilian, differed in status, financial situation, and educational level. The existence of Ukrainian political emigration was an irritant for the USSR authorities, who used various means to combat it. However, for the UNR emigration, the cementing idea was the desire to gain a Ukrainian state by overcoming the Bolshevik regime across the Zbruch. The self-organization of Ukrainian political emigrants was linked to the activities of the UCC, which created local branches and appointed specially authorized persons.

The most difficult problem was the unresolved legal status of Ukrainian political emigrants in Poland, restrictions on their residence in western Ukraine, in large cities, etc. Some improvement occurred after Józef Piłsudski returned to power in 1926. The formation of the Ukrainian Polonophile movement, which was based on

emigrants from Dnipro Ukraine, was inspired by the “Vohlynia experiment” of voivode H. Józewski.

Despite the difficulties of adaptation, internal contradictions, “the return movement” to Soviet Ukraine, and new emigration to other countries, Ukrainian political emigrants during the 20<sup>th</sup> century interwar period were able not only to adapt to the new ethnic-political conditions but also to contribute to the development of various spheres of life. Social, cultural, and educational work became crucial during their stay in interwar Poland.

With the outbreak of World War II, after the annexation of western Ukraine by the Bolshevik authorities, the arrests of emigrants began, accusing them of being “Petliurists” (synonymous with “enemy of the people”). As a result of the dramatic change in the social situation and the spread of Stalin’s repressive system, Ukrainian political emigration disappeared as a phenomenon.

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