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Main activities of representatives of Ukrainian political emigration in France during the interwar period

Abstract. After the defeat in the struggle for independence of Ukraine in 1917-1921, the Ukrainian people faced the question of defending their national interests and protecting their own identity. The events and phenomena that took place in the next 20 years after the Ukrainian revolution were crucial for both Ukrainian and pan-European statehood. The purpose of the study was to: determine the prerequisites, nature, and features of political emigration from Ukraine, in particular, to France, in the interwar period; outline the main activities of Ukrainian political emigrants at the end of the Third French Republic; analyse the main results and consequences of the activities of emigrants from Ukraine in the political and economic field of France and Europe. The main method of scientific knowledge that was used during the writing of this study is the historical-systematic method, by which, using the system principle, key facts, events, and phenomena that took place during the Ukrainian political emigration to France between the First and Second World Wars were identified and structured; the main consequences of the emigrant movement of Ukrainians for the political and social life of France and European countries were outlined and structured. The main results obtained in the course of the study of the presented subject are as follows: the prerequisites and reasons for the emigration of Ukrainians to France after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 were described, the key areas of activity of representatives of the Ukrainian political elite in Paris were identified, the main consequences and important events that played a historical role in the establishment of Ukrainian statehood during the time of the Third French Republic, as a component of a single European community, were formulated. The results of the study and the conclusions that were obtained during the examination of this issue can be used as a theoretical basis for further research in this area; in addition – for higher education institutions in history, political science, and country studies – as an example of one of the stages of the national struggle of the Ukrainian people for the right to create their own independent state; for scientists in the field of history, archaeology, documentary – as a subject of study to better understand the root causes and consequences of events on the scale of global geopolitical changes; for other scientists whose field of activity is related to the subject of the study

Keywords: Ukrainian revolution; Third French Republic; professional and cultural-educational organisations; information and propaganda activities; Ukrainian diaspora

Introduction

At all times, various reasons have forced people to leave their homes and go to other lands; persecution for political or religious beliefs, unsatisfactory social and economic situations, and military actions are among the main prerequisites for the emigration of the population to other regions and countries. The transition to a capitalist way of life in Ukraine and the approval of new rules for conducting political and economic relations led to a substantial deterioration in the general situation of the Ukrainian peasantry (Kliuchkovska, 2010). The situation was opposed by

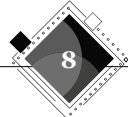
the most active representatives of local political thought: they called for overthrowing the existing system, recognition of national identity, and establishing Ukrainian statehood (Ruchko, 2017). Such actions could not go unnoticed and persecution began for political activists. Thus, one of the possible relatively safe ways out of this situation was to flee to other countries. The emigration of the Ukrainian population had several waves: from the so-called “labour migration” (late 19th century – early 20th century) (Drobko, 2006) to “forced relocation” (early 10 of the 21st century)

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(Jaroszewicz, 2016). The study focused on the second wave of emigration of Ukrainians, mainly to France, which occurred during the interwar period (1917-1939), the main reasons for which were socio-economic and political processes (Vlasenko, 2013).

The relevance of the study is due to the identification and summation of key historical events and phenomena related to the process of emigration of Ukrainians to Europe after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 (Vlasenko, 2020), as well as the determination of the nature of the main activities of the political intelligentsia from Ukraine on the territory of France; in addition, the need to establish and generalise the main consequences and important results of the activities of Ukrainian political emigrants in the French Republic in the interwar period.

The problems of the study were as follows: defining the prerequisites for the beginning of the process of emigration of Ukrainians abroad, in particular, to France; investigating the areas of social, political and cultural activities of intellectuals from Ukraine; determining the historical role of the Ukrainian segment in the political life of France and Europe in the 20-30s of the 20th century.

The originality of the study included coverage of the main activities of Ukrainian political emigrants in France, as well as determining the level of influence and results of their work on pan-European processes in the global dimension through the prism of modern events on the geopolitical map of the world.

The purpose of the study consisted of the following points: identification of the reasons, characteristics, and features of the emigration of Ukrainians to France on a political basis; classification and generalisation of the main areas of active work of intellectuals from Ukraine at the end of the period of the Third French Republic; determination of the general assessment and further impact of the results of the work of the Ukrainian community of political emigrants on the pan-European processes of the state.

Today, the question of areas and vectors of activity of representatives of Ukrainian political emigration in France in the interwar period has mostly been investigated sufficiently; the main reasons and key problems that prompted a new stage of emigration of Ukrainians in the 20-30s 20th century, as well as the essence, areas, and results of the activities of political refugees abroad, in particular, in France, have been widely investigated and now constitute an important basis for further investigation on the subject of general emigration of the population. Considering the trends of recent years, namely the emergence of new hotbeds of armed conflicts and the unstable economic and social situation, the further activation of the emigration of the Ukrainian population can be predicted.

Literature Review

The subject of various stages of emigration of the Ukrainian population was actively investigated by many scientists from Ukraine and European countries over the past years. Thus, general questions about the causes, areas, features, and nature of the course of emigration processes in Europe and the world were dealt with by such scientists as V. Vlasenko (Vlasenko, 2013), T. Plazova (Plazova, 2008),

O. Kurbet (Kurbet, 2019), I. Romanko (Vlasenko, 2020), and others. Despite the large-scale migration flows of Ukrainians to the eastern parts of the former Russian empire, the western direction, in particular, Europe and the New World, became the main vector and final point in the interwar period; according to the theses of the Ukrainian ethnographer V. Vlasenko, immigrants from the Western and Central parts of Ukraine felt a certain mental connection with European countries – that is why the movement there was quite intense (Vlasenko, 2013). Investigating the problem of Ukrainian emigration at the turn of the 19th-20th century, the historian T. Plazova noticed an interesting trend about all waves of resettlement: each new stage of large-scale movements first began for political or ideological reasons; later emigration acquired economic and social character (Plazova, 2008). The freedom of movement of the intellectual community of Ukraine was the reason for the beginning of emigration processes in the state – this opinion was expressed by economist and historian O. Kurbet; the author believed that the free access of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia created the basis for further processes and the possibility of establishing Ukrainian national movements in other states (Kurbet, 2019). According to the beliefs of the Ukrainian researcher I. Romanko, it was the French Republic that became the place where the real Ukrainian statehood appeared; grown on the principles of the constitutional system and in the democratic conditions of the Third French Republic, the national state of Ukrainians gathered the best French and world practices of that time (Vlasenko, 2020).

The key areas of activity of Ukrainian emigrants in France in the 20-30s 20th century were considered in some papers (S. Narizhnyi (Narizhnyi, 1999), R. Davydiuk (Davydiuk, 2018), O. Ruchko (Ruchko, 2017), L. Bozhuk (Bozhuk, 2011), R. Tiutenko (Tiutenko, 2021), and others). The cultural and educational activity of Ukrainians in France, according to S. Narizhnyi (Narizhnyi, 1999) and R. Davydiuk (Davydiuk, 2018), was crucial for the establishment of not only modern Ukrainian statehood but also a free democratic France in the interwar period. Scientists O. Ruchko (Ruchko, 2017) and L. Bozhuk (Bozhuk, 2011) were convinced that based on the educational and professional activities of the Ukrainian diaspora in European countries, in particular, in France, a new generation of educated, highly intelligent people appeared, who was able to restore and qualitatively update the new democratic strategy of the world after the end of World War II. The phenomenon of military emigration as an integral component of any forced resettlement has become key for the second and third waves of Ukrainian emigration; Tiutenko concluded that representatives of the Ukrainian national army predictably became a powerful backbone of pro-Ukrainian political processes in France (Tiutenko, 2021).

The role and significance of individuals have always occupied an important place in the research of various historical events and processes. For example, the figure of O. Shulgin as a statesman and political figure was investigated by T. Stadniuk (Stadniuk, 2000); the historical importance of S. Petliura's activities, as a fighter for the national-state idea, architect of Ukrainian identity, military,

and state figure, was analysed by I. Koliada (Koliada, 2019); a biography of some outstanding figures of the interwar period and Ukrainian emigration to France (V. Prokopovych, L. Shumytskyi, O. Boykiv, and others) occupied a central place in the paper of V. Piskun (Piskun, 2015).

In modern European and global scientific literature, a small number of papers on the subject of Ukrainian emigration in the interwar period can be identified. Among the most notable authors of this issue are Yu. Bilan (Bilan, 2017), M. Hofmann and D. Reichel (Hofmann, & Reichel, 2011), and others. Thus, according to the Polish historian and ethnographer Yu. Bilan, the history of the Ukrainian emigrant movement goes back many hundreds of years; according to the author, the first cases of mass migration began long before the departure of the Cossacks and political leaders after the defeat in the Battle of Poltava (Bilan, 2017). The issue of the emigration of Ukrainians to other countries should be considered through the prism of the immigration of representatives of other states to Ukraine; this idea was stated by German scientists M. Hofmann and D. Reichel, who believed that the uncontrolled entry of other ethnic groups, often radically different from the Ukrainian one, and the “occupation” of their respective labour niches, was an indirect reason for the process of large-scale migration of the ancestors in the past centuries (Hofmann, & Reichel, 2011).

Materials and Methods

The main research methods that were used in writing a study are the following: historical-system and comparative-historical methods, as well as the periodisation and historical-typological methods. Through the historical and systematic method, the basic prerequisites and defining events and phenomena that caused the start of the process of Ukrainian political emigration to France in the early 20s 20th century are identified. Using the periodisation method, the main areas of the political activity of emigrants from Ukraine on the territory of France in the interwar period are determined; the key stages and characteristic features of the pro-Ukrainian movement during the Third French Republic after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 are outlined. By applying the comparative-historical and historical-typological methods, the fundamental consequences of Ukrainian political emigration to France after the defeat in the struggle for independence in 1921 are identified and analysed through the prism of modern political and other types of events that took place in the geopolitical dimension, in particular, the main socio-economic and socio-cultural consequences of the activities of the Ukrainian political elite in the post-war Europe of the 20-30s of the 20th century are summarised.

The main theoretical methods of cognition that were used during the writing of the paper include: analysis and synthesis (the main areas of the political struggle of representatives of the Ukrainian emigrant wave in France after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1921 were outlined and analysed); systematic approach (the key results of the activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in France in the period between the First and Second World Wars were identified, systematised, and presented; the influence and

role of political processes among Ukrainian emigrants on pan-European politics were evaluated).

Scientific papers, critical-analytical investigations, historical essays, and statistical and reference materials form the theoretical basis of the presented study. The basic concepts, phenomena, events, and personalities described in some scientific papers of Ukrainian and foreign authors were analysed, explained, and more widely investigated, in particular, this study focused on determining the specific features and vectors of the activities of organisations and unions created by Ukrainians in French emigration.

The study of the presented subject took place in three stages:

In the first stage of the study, the search, selection, analysis, and processing of information about the object of the study was conducted, namely: using the historical and systematic method, the main events and phenomena that marked the beginning of the political emigration of Ukrainians abroad, in particular, to France, were analysed.

In the second stage, using the method of periodisation and the method of analysis and synthesis, the priority areas and vectors of activity of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in exile during the Third French Republic were investigated.

In the third stage of the study, using comparative-historical, historical-typological, and systematic approach methods, the main historical results of the activities of Ukrainian political emigrants in France during the interwar period were identified and presented.

Results

Ethnicity and the issue of survival of the community as a separate ethnic group have always been of primary importance for representatives of all peoples without exception (Zubyk, 2019); this statement is true for the Ukrainian nation. Throughout their history, Ukrainians have fought and defended their national identity both at home and abroad (Zubyk, 2019). For some reasons (political, economic, religious, etc.), the driving forces and ideological inspirers of the national struggle were forced to emigrate to other countries to continue their liberation activities among the Ukrainian diaspora (Kliuchkovska, 2010). For centuries, the history of the Ukrainian people can be considered through the prism of the struggle for the survival of their national group not only as the state of Ukraine but also as an independent ethnic group inside and outside the country.

Economic and social problems, as well as political changes that took place on the territory of Ukraine at different times, prompted certain layers of Ukrainians to leave their native lands and go outside the State (Drobko, 2006). The first officially documented case of emigration from the territory of Ukraine for political reasons was the mass departure of the population in 1709 – after the defeat of King Charles XII of Sweden and Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the Battle of Poltava (Pavlenko, 2014). Subsequently, there was another large-scale departure from the Ukrainian lands: after Catherine II banned the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775, a large number of Cossacks moved to Turkey near the city of Dobrudja along the Danube river (Kindiuk et al., 2019). In the 60s of the 19th century, there was the first mass departure of promising scientists, cultural figures, political, and

social leaders from Ukraine for fear of repression and persecution for their pro-Ukrainian positions (Tsivaty, 2020); very soon, this group was followed by ordinary peasants who could not survive in the conditions of tsarist capitalism of the late 19th-early 20th centuries. (Bozhuk, 2011). The interwar period and the era of the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) were also marked by regular outbreaks of mass emigration from Ukraine (Kliuchkovska, 2010).

To date, four waves of emigration of the Ukrainian population to different parts of Europe and the world have been identified and investigated:

1. from 1861 to 1914 – “labour” emigration;
2. early 20s – late 30s of the 20th century – “political” emigration;
3. late 40s – late 80s of the 20th century – emigration of the “intelligentsia”;
4. early 90s of the 20th century – 10s of the 21st century – “economic” emigration (Doroshenko, 2010).

At the turn of the 10-20s of the 21st century some scientists have identified the fifth, unofficial, wave of

Ukrainian emigration associated with the departure of talented young people, promising scientists, educated, and purposeful representatives of creative professions (Kuksa, 2021). However, with the Russian occupation of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014. (Bakalchuk, 2022) the time frame and content of the next stage of departure of Ukrainians from the state have changed; it is believed that it was in 2014 that the next, fifth wave of forced emigration of Ukrainians came, which is now the most massive compared to all previous ones (Kuksa, 2021). Waves of Ukrainian emigration had similar prerequisites for their occurrence: similar reasons (unsatisfactory political, economic, and social conditions), the same regions of migration (mainly Western Ukraine), endpoints – countries for life after leaving their native lands (the United States of America (USA), Canada, South American countries) (Hofmann, & Reichel, 2011), etc.

The main characteristics and qualitative and quantitative indicators of official waves of Ukrainian emigration are demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Indicators of official waves of emigration of the Ukrainian population

Waves of Ukrainian emigration	Reasons	Number of emigrants (by registers)	Regions of emigration	Qualitative composition of emigrants	Cells of the Ukrainian diaspora abroad
1861-1914 – “labour” emigration	overpopulation, lack of land for agriculture, unemployment	over 3 million	Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia)	farmers, loggers, miners	Canada, USA, Brazil, Argentina, Eastern borders of the Russian Empire
20s-30s of the 20 th century – “political” emigration	disagreement with the occupation of Ukrainian territories by other states, struggle for national identity	about 900 thousand	Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia)	workers, intellectuals, veterans of the army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UPR)	Germany, Canada, South America, Australia
40s-80s of the 20 th century – emigration of the “intelligentsia”	repressions of Soviet special services, persecution for political reasons	over 2 million	Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia). Central and Eastern Ukraine	people trafficked out of Ukraine during World War II to forced labour in Nazi Germany; veterans of the UPR army, veterans of the Ukrainian division “Galicia”, intellectuals, scientists	Germany, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom, USA
90s-10s of the 21 st century – “economic” emigration	difficult economic situation, unemployment, poverty	over 1.5 million	Western, Eastern, Central, and Southern Ukraine	relatives of emigrants of previous waves, representatives of various specialties and professions, intellectuals, scientists	Canada, USA, Western Europe

Source: compiled by the author according to Zubyk, A. (2019)

The second wave of Ukrainian emigration, which occurred in the period from the beginning of the 20s to the end of the 30s of the 20th century, was called “political” (Tiutenko, 2021); it was the first case of massive displacement in the European continent due to the political situation (Plazova, 2008). The main reason for the emigration of Ukrainians abroad was the defeat in the struggle for independence during the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 and the fear of persecution and repression of participants in national events (Vlasenko, 2020). The first stage of this

wave of migration was formed of former military personnel of the UPR and the West Ukrainian People’s Republic (WUPR), who settled mainly in Yugoslavia, Austria, and Germany (Tiutenko, 2021). Subsequently, they were joined by representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, political revolutionaries, and active public figures, moving to France, Belgium, and the United States (Piskun, 2015).

Since Ukrainian refugees did not have their own officially recognised state, the issue of their legal stay in the territories of other states could not be resolved through

the mediation of diplomatic missions in these states; Ukrainian emigrants received shelter and protection but had to obey the laws of the host country (Dzyra, 2015). Due to the increase in the number of political refugees in European countries, the problem of legislative resolution of their issue has arisen. Some agreements and treaties signed in different years (1922, 1924, 1928) partially outlined the rights of Ukrainian emigrants and defined them as stateless persons, which gave them the right to obtain citizenship of the host country (United Nation report..., 1949). The 1933 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons granted political refugees substantially expanded rights and privileges (Melnychuk, 2016); very soon, fearing to return to their homeland and using the paragraphs of this Convention, many political refugees from Ukraine became naturalised citizens in their countries of residence (Zubyk, 2019).

Notably, during the second emigration of the Ukrainian population, the geography of settlement expanded substantially – if at the end of the 19th century almost 90% of emigrants moved to The New World (Canada, USA, Latin America) (Kuksa, 2021), then in the interwar period, the final destinations of Ukrainian immigrants were European

countries (Austria, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Spain, etc.), as well as distant and exotic Australia and New Zealand (Atamanenko, 2019). Due to the mass and uncontrolled migration in these countries, the governments of some states, in particular, the United States and Canada, at the legislative level introduced various quotas and restrictions on entry, giving preference to certain groups of refugees (Bevz, 2006). It was the United States and Canada that became the countries that received the most migrants from Ukraine at that time (Zubyk, 2019); however, their ability to support new arrivals was limited and therefore the governments of these states “reoriented” emigrants to other regions. It is problematic to establish the exact number of Ukrainian emigrants; in the countries of destination, only the country of origin of emigrants was registered, so in the final documents of these registers, some Ukrainians were recorded as Austrians, Poles, Galicians, Rusyns, etc. (Zubyk, 2019). Subsequently, they tried to combine different registers into one; hence, there is a substantial difference in the number of emigrants. For more information, the number of Ukrainian emigrants in different countries of Europe and the world is displayed in Table 2.

Table 2. Ratio of the number of Ukrainian emigrants and the country of destination in the period 1917-1939 (according to registers)

Destination country	Number of emigrants
USA	15000-94385
Canada	60000-70000
Brazil	9000
Argentina	20000-70000
Germany	10000-200000
Austria	3000-50000
France	3000-40000
Poland	30000-50000
Czech Republic	1000-15000
Belgium	300
Italy	100000
Kazakhstan	2.3.
Turkmenistan	21800
Uzbekistan	25800-48000
Azerbaijan	18200
Total	397100-866685

Source: compiled by the author according to Zubyk, A. (2019)

As given in Table 2, one of the centres of Ukrainian political emigration to Europe in the interwar period was France (Zubyk, 2019). The history of Ukraine and France has many common milestones; in 1051, the French King Henry I married the daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kyiv, Anna (Chemerys, 2016). The name of Anna Yaroslavna is associated with many fateful historical events that defined modern France: on the Gospel that the princess brought with her, the French kings swore an oath before the revolution of 1789 (France, 2020), the

foundation of the monastery and Church of St. Vincent in Senlis (near Paris) on Anna’s idea (Prominent Ukrainians in France, 2020), etc.

After the Battle of Poltava in 1709 (Pavlenko, 2014) and the defeat of the Cossacks in it, some of the soldiers moved to France: among them was the son of the Ukrainian Hetman in exile of Philip Orlik – Hryhor (Prominent Ukrainians in France, 2020). He was a member of the Royal Secret Council, and it is due to his activities within this structure that some high-profile French victories on

the diplomatic front are connected (Ukraine during the..., 2022). The departure of part of the Cossacks to the territory of France is called the first emigration of Ukrainians to this country (Assembly history and..., 2010); the next stage of this phenomenon occurred in the period after the end of the revolution in the Russian empire in 1905-1907, the main mass of emigrants during which were refugees for political beliefs (Thatcher, 2021). With their assistance, the first group lessons on the Ukrainian language began to open in Paris, pamphlets about Ukraine were published (Bozhuk, 2011), etc.

The reserve, which was created by political emigrants in France at the beginning of the 20th century, became the basis for the next wave of Ukrainian emigration to this country, which occurred between the First and Second World Wars (Mavrin, 2010). Among the Ukrainian political emigrants of the interwar period were ordinary workers and artisans (mainly Ukrainian emigrants from Western Ukraine, Poland, and Romania) (Antonenko, 2015), representatives of the intelligentsia, scientists, army veterans, and prominent political figures of the UPR, in particular, S. Petliura, V. Prokopovych, and O. Shulhyn (Gilley, 2017).

Through a substantial number of educated and highly intelligent representatives of the Ukrainian people who moved to French cities in the interwar times, separate cells and centres of Ukrainian national thought were formed in different regions, cities, and communities, where active work was conducted to develop and consolidate the Ukrainian national identity as an independent ethnic group with the right to its independent state (Ruchko, 2017). Ukrainians actively created various national organisations, circles, associations, scientific societies, and communities (Kurbet, 2019). The activities of the Ukrainian political emigration of that period in France can be divided into three main groups: state-political, professional, cultural, and educational. Further, each group is considered in more detail.

State and political activities of Ukrainian emigrants in France

Since the beginning of the February Revolution of 1917, which resulted in the fall of the monarchical regime in the Russian empire, the French government has closely monitored the activities of the Central Rada (CR) of Ukraine (Nikolaieva, 2015). It was believed that it was this structure that could become a strong ally of Paris in the future in the confrontation with Bolshevism (Nikolaieva, 2015); That is why diplomatic missions and delegations began to visit Kyiv to form a positive public opinion among Ukrainians about France and relations with it (Blavatsky, 2018). A bold step in this direction was the proposal of V. Vinnichenko – head of the general secretariat of the central bank – to provide substantial financial and technical assistance in exchange for supporting all French initiatives and Ukraine's refusal of any bilateral agreements with other leading European states (Davydiuk, 2018). Subsequently, with the appointment of the commissar of the French Republic to the government of the UPR on January 3, 1918, France officially recognised Ukrainian statehood (Narizhnyi, 1999).

Further strengthening of relations slowed down due to the active anti-Ukrainian activities of the Bolsheviks among the Entente member countries, in which France played a key role (Assembly history and..., 2010). However, the general high spirits of the French population in support of the struggle of Ukrainians for their independence became a strong support for the further evolution of Ukrainian-French relations and the activities of Ukrainian political emigrants there.

After the failure at the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921, many patriotic Ukrainians were in danger because of their position (Vlasenko, 2020). They were forced to hide, lead an underground lifestyle, or continue to build a free and independent Ukraine, but for now, outside the national state.

Since the 20s of the 20th century, various groups of political refugees and activists began to arrive in France, which were very different from each other (Vlasenko, 2013). Almost immediately, emigrants began to organise themselves into political circles, organisations, and trade unions. In 1924, the Ukrainian community was founded, which included representatives of all political movements of the then emigrant movement of Ukrainians (Bilan, 2017); subsequently, the organisation was divided into some smaller but very active cells. The most prominent political unions of that time in France were the Union of Ukrainian emigration organisations, created in 1926 under the leadership of supporters of the exiled government of the UPR (L. Shumytskyi, I. Kosenko, M. Kowalski) (Trofymovych, & Martyniuk, 2015); the Ukrainian National Unity in France, founded in 1925 under the leadership of I. Kowalski, Borshchak, T. Halip, O. Sevryuk (Nikolaieva, 2015); Ukrainian people's Union (1932) with the leadership represented by nationalists O. Boykiv, L. Huzar, M. Kapustianskyi (Vovk, 2021), and others. The number of political unions increased, and their ideological orientation was somewhat different; there was an urgent need to unite all pro-Ukrainian cells, including opposition ones, into a single national structure.

Thus, in 1998, S. Petliura (1879-1926), former secretary general for military affairs of the UPR, in the first days of his stay in Paris, called for the cooperation of all Ukrainian emigrants of France under a "united front" to create an influential cell of the UPR state centre (Koliada, 2019). In his opinion, the most effective tool for positive propaganda and interpretation of the ideas of Ukrainian national identity is the printed word (1879 – Symon Petliura..., 2019). For this purpose, at the beginning of 1925, S. Petliura, as well as his associates – V. Prokopovych and P. Chyzhevskyi – created a magazine called "Tryzub", which became one of the leading socio-political publications of Ukrainian emigration (Mavrin, 2010). The magazine was primarily a representative of the UPR State centre in exile, which introduced Ukrainian emigration to its ideological and political foundations and main goals of activity (Mavrin, 2010). It is worth adding that under the authorship of S. Petliura, many publications for "Tryzub" were published; the figure prepared many papers on the subjects of socio-political, and cultural life, the national liberation of Ukraine, wrote reflections on the Ukrainian

revolution, and consolidation of political emigration (1879 – Symon Petliura..., 2019).

Professional activity of Ukrainian emigrants in France

The French public began to take an interest in history and everything related to Ukraine at the turn of the first and second millennia when Princess Anna became the wife of French King Henry I (Chemerys, 2016). There were periods of tension in Ukrainian-French relations, but the general interest never subsided (Dupont-Melnyczenko, 2016). The events that took place after the end of the First World War of 1914-1918 and the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 – the anti-democratic actions of the Russian Bolsheviks in the occupied territory of Ukraine, the repressive policy of the new leadership of Russia – caused widespread condemnation among representatives of the French intelligentsia (Narizhnyi, 1999). However, due to the lack of an appropriate level of political knowledge, local authorities could not build a clear pro-Ukrainian state position. However, due to the strong support of representatives of Paris classical diplomacy and carriers of democratic European values, the French government was forced to take decisive measures to prevent Bolshevik influence on the local population and organise strong support for Ukrainian emigrants in various fields of life (Dupont-Melnyczenko, 2016).

Many European and French historians claim that due to young, ambitious, highly educated, politically savvy representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in exile, the leadership of the French Republic managed to solve many important problems, for example, the post-war reconstruction of cities, the restoration of the economy and enterprises, etc. (Maftyn, 2019). As soon as they arrived in France, Ukrainians began to look for work, even agreeing to low-paid work. Thus, in a relatively short period, the French authorities managed to partially restore the pre-war infrastructure and economic indicators of the state at the expense of cheap labour from Ukraine (Maftyn, 2019). Subsequently, Ukrainian workers began to unite in various trade unions and institutions that protected their rights and delineated their duties (Antonenko, 2015).

Among the most famous such entities is the Union of Ukrainian engineers of France, which was founded in 1924 in Paris (Assembly history and..., 2010); the purpose of its activity was to unite Ukrainian workers around a single pro-Ukrainian centre for further consolidation of efforts in establishing life and mutual assistance (Assembly history and..., 2010). Notably, the union included not only engineers by profession, but also representatives of other working professions – builders, machinists, drivers, etc. (Assembly history and..., 2010). It was the first organisation in history that brought together a large number of representatives of the working class of the Ukrainian community in France; in addition to professional and social issues, problems of a national nature were discussed and resolved there – the future of Ukraine, the struggle for state independence, rights and freedoms (Ruchko, 2017).

Along with the labour activity of the Ukrainian diaspora, an important place was occupied by intellectual work aimed at restoring scientific thought in Ukraine

and strengthening its research and intellectual potential. Thus, during the second wave of emigration of Ukrainians to France, a large number of scientific organisations, institutions, and alliances were founded in this country (Vovk, 2021). The most famous among them were the Paris library named after S. Petliura, which opened on May 25, 1929 (contains a list of valuable ancient manuscripts, historical interwar chronicles, pre-revolutionary descriptions, and documents on the census of the population of different periods) (Koliada, 2019); French branch of the scientific society named after T. Shevchenko, created at the end of the 19th century and gradually reorganised in the 20-30s of the 20th century in France (the main national treasure of the department – philosophical, natural, and historical papers of figures of Ukraine, as well as France, Germany, Switzerland, etc.) (Kushnir, & Feloniuk, 2019); historical archives on the stages of Ukrainian emigration to France (the central institution was founded in 1949, but the work on collecting and analysing materials on the activities of the Ukrainian authorities in emigration began with the departure of the first political leaders from Ukraine) (Rudling, 2019).

Cultural and educational activities of Ukrainian emigrants in France

As mentioned above, representatives of the political elites of France were rather ambivalent about the national community of Ukrainians who emigrated to the country after the end of the First World War (Blavatsky, 2018). However, the fact of active support and a keen interest in Ukraine and its citizens on the part of the local population forced official Paris to create quite comfortable conditions for the life and activities of cells of the Ukrainian diaspora in the Republic.

The newly arrived refugees settled throughout France, gradually adopting its way of life, principles, and rules of existence in a democratic Europe. Notably, with relative assimilation, Ukrainian citizens did not forget what their true homeland was; aspects of life and features of the national worldview of Ukrainians quickly entered the information space of ordinary French people, creating a wonderful symbiosis of Ukrainian-French coexistence. Given that the official French authorities did not have sufficient information about the internal life and everyday life of the Ukrainian people, the local diaspora of Ukrainians undertook to solve the issue of familiarising the French with the specific features of the Ukrainian ethnic group independently (Hagen, 2013). First of all, the goal was to completely change the opinion of the French regarding the essence of the “Ukrainian question”, the content of which was completely distorted by the Bolshevik authorities and therefore not accepted in Paris (Hagen, 2013).

According to many responsible representatives of the Ukrainian emigration community, it was possible to solve this problem by actively publishing printed materials and conducting information-agitating events (Atamanenko, 2019). Since the 20s of the 20th century, mass printing of Ukrainian periodicals began in France, among which there were historically popular materials (bulletin “Prometheus” (1924) (Vovk, 2021), the above-mentioned

magazine "Tryzub" (1925) (Mavrin, 2010), magazines "Ukrainian news" (1926) and "Ukrainian worker" (1928) (Narizhnyi, 1999), etc.). All these materials clearly and precisely introduced French readers to the history, traditions, and outstanding events in the life of Ukraine and Ukrainians. These publications raised no interest among the local population (Vovk, 2021).

The key role in the establishment of Ukrainian independence and statehood was played by the Ukrainian language, as an independent unit and a sign of Ukrainian national identity (Zubyk, 2019). In the 30s, on the initiative of O. Shulgin (1889-1960) – public and political figure, historian, and publicist, one of the leaders of the French branch of the scientific society named after T. Shevchenko in Paris – the Department of Ukrainian Studies was opened at the Institute of National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations at the Sorbonne; this was an extremely important moment in the history of the Ukrainian language and culture in Europe (Stadniuk, 2000).

In addition to the printed word, the Ukrainian song had a special power (Doroshenko, 2010). National groups with the support of local communities organised regular evenings, traditional concerts, and festive dinners with the obligatory performance of Ukrainian folk songs and patriotic anthems. Especially popular during this period were dance ensembles and academic choirs, such as the groups "Hopak", "Zaporozhtsi", the first Ukrainian theater group in Paris, as well as novice amateurs – "Prosvit", "Ridna khata", etc. (Doroshenko, 2010). Opera singers are also famous – Zaritska, M. Skala-Staritskyi, and others (Vlasenko, 2020).

Along with song activity, local artists and creators of monumental art made a substantial contribution to the development of Ukrainian statehood and informed about national identity. Famous sculptors (M. Boychuk (Notable Sculptors of..., 2022), S. Levytska (Notable Sculptors of..., 2022), M. Paraschuk (Humennyi, 2017)) created in their style, producing beautiful examples of sculptural art. It is worth mentioning the famous Ukrainian artists of the so-called School of Paris the concept of which arose at the turn of the 19th-20th century (Doroshenko, 2010). The school was a conditional self-name for artists and sculptors of predominantly Jewish origin who lived and worked in Paris between the 1900s and 1960s. A substantial part of the artists of the Paris School were Ukrainian creators; in the first 30 years of the 20th century, about 100 representatives from Ukraine came to the school to create. Among them were the following: O. Arkhyenko, M. Andriienko, O. Hryshchenko, S. Levytska (Prominent Ukrainians in France, 2020), and others.

Like now, in the interwar period, sports also united countries and their populations. Thus, with the assistance of Ukrainian and local activists, at the end of 1926, the first semi-amateur football team was created on the outskirts of Paris; later, in the southern regions, in particular, in the city of Toulouse, the Ukrainian swimming team started its sports activity, which took the first positions in local tournaments (Borsiak, 2020).

The Parisian intelligentsia also actively cooperated in communicating the truth about the Ukrainian people.

Thus, the French historian R. Tisserand in the research paper "The Life of one people. Ukrainians" described in detail the key features, ideological principles, and rules of life of representatives of this ethnic group; in his study, the researcher used the achievements of such outstanding Ukrainians as T. Shevchenko (concept of sovereign Ukrainian statehood), M. Kostomarov (the idea of Christian socialism), H. Skovoroda (humanistic concept of politics), P. Orlyk (theory of the constitutional and democratic structure of the state) (Kravets, 2021).

Consequences of Ukrainian emigration to Ukraine and France on a global scale

All waves of emigration of Ukrainians to one degree or another had a substantial impact on the social and democratic development of the population of Ukraine (Bevz, 2006). Migration processes from the territory of the state at the turn of the 19th-20th century in a certain way corresponded to the general European trends of that time, but in the interwar period, they became spontaneous and directly dependent on international and national legislation. Migrations of that period continued in two directions: to the East (remote regions of the former Russian empire) and the West (to Europe and the New World); however, the most noticeable imprint on the long-term perspective was migration towards Western countries. The departure of representatives of different segments of the population of Ukraine in the interwar period was initially political and ideological in nature (the defeat in the Russo-Ukrainian War of Independence of 1917-1921 (Vlasenko, 2020)); subsequently, these processes led to the beginning of the so-called emigration for economic reasons (as a result of the Second World War (1939-1945 (Tiutenko, 2021))).

The main and key consequence of Ukrainian emigration to France was the preservation of the lives of all displaced persons; the then Bolshevik system, which included persecution for political views and ideas, arrests, and tortures, did not give a chance for a peaceful life to all participants in the revolutionary events of the early 20th century without exception. The Ukrainian diaspora joined the creation of a national state through active activities in the educational, ideological, defence, economic, cultural, and other fields of life. The Ukrainian intelligentsia in France had a unique opportunity to act in the legal field of this country during the Third Republic, and therefore, all historical events and decisions took place within the framework of the constitutional regime of the Republic based on the most democratic system of the world at that time. Acting in French society, Ukrainian political activists launched a large-scale information campaign to convey the truth about Ukraine, its history, and everyday public life; thus, the "Ukrainian" theme practically did not disappear from the French information space, purposefully influencing the public opinion of the intellectual elite of France.

As mentioned above, Ukrainian emigrants in France were engaged in various types of activities – educational, cultural, and political (Blavatsky, 2018); in each area of their activity, Ukrainians used best practices to create conditions for the ideal collective existence of the nation as a single political entity. Based on the general democratic

principles of the Third French Republic, Ukrainian activists were able to substantiate and develop their ideas on the creation of the state, and its evolution in the field of economy, defence, science, and other branches of the state. All the activity of representatives of Ukrainian emigration in France testifies to the ability of the Ukrainian people to think and work in the development and modernisation of national political thought; due to the foundations of the French constitutional culture, the achievements of the Ukrainian diaspora, the results of its professional, scientific, educational activities allowed emigrants from Ukraine to join the solution of urgent pan-European and French issues of that period of history.

Discussion

Investigating the background and nature of the political emigration of the Ukrainian population from the territory of the state to France in the interwar period, as well as determining the main areas and results of the activities of emigrants from Ukraine through the prism of pan-European processes, it is worth noting: in the Ukrainian segment of scientific literature on the subject of the presented study, there are a substantial number of papers that are aimed at investigating and analysing the phenomenon of emigration of Ukrainians to France after the First World War. However, among European and international scientists, the issue of migration movements from the territory of Ukraine is not fully investigated; in particular, there is practically no detailed information about the activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in France in the 20-30s of the 20th century. This situation can be partly explained by the general intensity of events on the European continent at that time and the inability to investigate the issues of the emigration of Ukrainians to other countries, in particular, the French Republic, without being distracted by events and phenomena of a different nature. However, summarising all of the above, it can be concluded that the theoretical basis of the presented study formed a solid basis for conducting this investigation, largely due to papers in the area of this study, which were presented by Ukrainian search researchers and specialists.

The results of the study were obtained in the process of investigating primary sources and original texts, including unique documentary references to witnesses of those events and processes. For example, the fundamental concepts, principles, and main characteristics of Ukrainian emigration to European countries, in particular, to the French Republic, in the period between the First and Second World Wars, were isolated and used from the study of S. Narizhnyi "Ukrainian Emigration. Cultural Work of the Ukrainian Emigration 1919-1939" (Narizhnyi, 1999). The historian and researcher introduced the main milestones of the migration process of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, workers, peasantry, military, and political leaders in the interwar period; gave a brief description of the main directions of emigration, calling such a Western vector, namely, Romania, Poland, Austria, France, etc.

The theses on the leading role of educational associations in the environment of the Ukrainian diaspora in

France in defending the interests of independent Ukraine and communicating the truth about it to the general public, voiced in the presented study, were built based on interesting assumptions by T. Borsiak in the study "The Role of the Ukrainian Emigration Sports Movement in the Formation of National Identity" (Borsiak, 2020). The paper presented the role of sports organisations – teams, clubs, alliances – as a leading source of information about Ukrainian specificity and history in the French environment.

The specific features of the process of assimilation and rooting among the French population of representatives of Ukrainian emigration, along with the phenomenon of "Ukrainisation", were considered in the context of their long-term stay abroad; the main theses for this area of study were borrowed from the conclusions made by T. Bevz in the paper "Ukrainian Emigration in the Context of Indigenization Policy" (Bevz, 2006), in which the researcher compared the concepts of "emigration" and "Ukrainisation" as two components of an integral process of attempts at the democratic transformation of the political system.

Mass media, mainly printed publications (newspapers, booklets, informational messages) were considered in the presented study as one of the main sources of informing society about the specific features, culture, and habitual life of an ordinary Ukrainian of that period. The main ideas and key concepts regarding this part of the study were identified and analysed based on the provisions stated by O. Vovk in the paper "The Press of the Ukrainian Emigration as a Source for Studying the Culture, Education and Everyday Life of Ukrainians (1920s)" (Vovk, 2021), which analysed many printed periodicals of the time (the magazine "Tryzub", the magazine "Ukrainian news", the bulletin "Prometheus", etc.), as a source of information about the customs and rituals of Ukrainians.

This work was based on the claims that the Ukrainian migration began at the end of the 19th century and had four official waves; this thesis was presented by I. Kliuchkovska in the paper "The Ukrainian Diaspora in the Lens of Modernity is a National-Political and Spiritual-Cultural Phenomenon" (Kliuchkovska, 2010). However, the author also claimed that all the movements of Ukrainians – the peasantry, representatives of the Cossacks and nobility, political and religious leaders – were not mass and had nothing to do with the phenomenon of emigration and were caused solely by personal reasons and certain events of those times.

The study considered the main areas of activity of political emigrants from Ukraine on the territory of France, namely, educational, professional, and, in fact, state-political, based on the conclusions made by A. Zubyk in the paper "Ukrainian Diaspora: Socio-Geographical Study" (Zubyk, 2019). However, the author noted that the activity of the Ukrainian diaspora in the French Republic was not decisive for the processes of development of the national consciousness of the then Ukrainians and the formation of their identity.

Representatives of the intelligentsia and ordinary workers and peasants, while in exile, actively created various public organisations that dealt with issues of education, culture, and general awareness raising through the prism of communicating the situation and political

situation of Ukraine in the world. This thesis was proposed and demonstrated in the presented study, based on the beliefs justified by V. Antonenko in the study “Documents of the CSAPA of Ukraine on the Activities of Ukrainian Public Organizations in Emigration” (Antonenko, 2015). However, according to the researcher, in France at that time, there were also such associations that tried not to express their political views about the situation and the territory of the former Russian empire.

The results of investigating the presented subject in the context of the role and influence of individuals on the course of the subject under study were formed in the course of familiarisation with the theses by A. Atamanenko in the study “The Role of Foreign Ukrainians in Ukrainian Public and Cultural Diplomacy: Historical and Modern Aspects” (Atamanenko, 2019), in which the author believed that the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians of the diaspora, in particular, in France, had a decisive voice in resolving various aspects of the life structure of both the Ukrainian people and the national state in general. Therewith, the researcher was not inclined to believe that the reputation and image of some historical figures played a key role in certain events and situations that were directly related to certain decisions.

French researcher of Ukrainian origin J.-B. Dupont-Melnyczenko in the paper “Centenary of Ukrainian emigration to France” identified four waves of a general migration from Ukraine, and also identified three peaks of the mass departure of Ukrainians to France, where they are firmly established and now form an integral part of the French community (Dupont-Melnyczenko, 2016). This information became the basis for developing other conclusions and recommendations in the presented research paper. Therewith, the author argued that the vast majority of settled Ukrainians, especially those who emigrated in the early and mid-20th century, do not have both a special connection with Ukraine and a desire to return to their homeland.

Thus, having analysed the prerequisites and features of the process of emigration of the Ukrainian population to France during the interwar period, as well as highlighting and summarising the key characteristics, main areas, and global consequences of the political activity of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the Third French Republic, it can be clearly stated that the intensity and quality of involvement of members of the Ukrainian diaspora in France in the issues of the state of a general nature had a decisive influence on the history of both France and Ukraine. Quite predictable was the fact that the emigration of Ukrainians in the 20-30s of the 20th century was the most “productive” stage in the history of the country in terms of obtaining fundamental concepts of democracy, constitutional law, civil liberties, and national identity. However, due to the biased attitude of some foreign, in particular, Soviet, scientists toward certain historical figures of that period and the deliberate distortion of some facts and processes, the issue of investigating Ukrainian emigration in the interwar period has quite a lot of insufficiently investigated areas, especially in terms of a detailed description of the activities of political associations and unions in different parts of France.

Summarising the above, it can be noted: when determining the prerequisites and nature of the interwar emigration of the Ukrainian population to France, the main reasons were the political and ideological beliefs of some representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia; tracking the basic fields of activity of emigrants from Ukraine, the key vectors can be called educational, cultural, and informational orientation, the basic unifying factor of which was the political and ideological nature of the activity; the fundamental and determining result of the “French” period in the history of Ukrainian emigration is to determine the education of the generation of Ukrainians on the principles of democracy on the example of the classical constitutional model, which was France from the time of the Third Republic. These conclusions are supported by an array of processing information, which is contained, in particular, in the papers of modern Ukrainian scientists and documentary evidence of those events.

Conclusions

During the preparation of this study, a sufficient number of scientific literature and primary sources were identified, analysed, and investigated, which were available for in-depth examination; in the course of the research paper, substantial results were obtained, based on which subject conclusions and recommendations on the specific features of investigating this subject were presented.

To achieve this goal – identifying the key causes, features, and factors of political emigration of the Ukrainian population to the French Republic in the interwar period, tracking the basic vectors of the most active activity of the Ukrainian diaspora in France and bringing the defining results and consequences of mass migration of Ukrainians and their life in the Republic – the most noticeable elements and components of the migration process of the population of Ukraine to European states in the 20-30s of the 20th century were investigated. In the course of the study, the features that characterise the prerequisites and determine the reasons for the beginning of various stages of emigration of Ukrainians outside their country were established. In particular, it was identified that among the factors that prompted Ukrainians to leave their homes and go abroad were overpopulation, lack of land for agriculture, unemployment, poverty, disagreement with the occupation of Ukrainian territories, repression, persecution, etc. The study showed that being in a foreign territory, very often in a difficult situation and without a vision of their future, representatives of both the Ukrainian intelligentsia and ordinary workers and peasants, united in collectives, the main mission of which was to actively inform the local population about the whole truth about Ukrainians, their daily life, problems, traditions, and customs; such information-educational activities were conducted within the framework of some, first of all, political, as well as educational, scientific, theatrical, sports, and other kinds of platforms. Based on the work conducted, considering the conclusions obtained regarding the prerequisites and root causes of migration of the Ukrainian population, it can be assumed that there are great chances for the continuation of the surge of Ukrainian emigration to other countries,

caused mainly by the military aggression of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine and, as a result, the unfavourable economic and social situation of citizens.

Thus, analysing all of the above, to obtain more accurate and correct results and to further update the presented conclusions and recommendations on the subject of this paper, for subsequent study, it is advisable to focus on the study of foreign, in particular, French sources – papers, information reviews, analytical reports, monographs, etc. – regarding Ukrainian emigration to France in the 20–30s of the 20th

century. This vector of research is a very productive area in the context of clarifying poorly investigated facts and undetected aspects of the emigration of Ukrainians in the interwar period from the standpoint of French contemporaries.

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Conflict of interest

None.

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Основні напрями діяльності представників української політичної еміграції у Франції в міжвоєнний період

Анотація. Після поразки у боротьбі за незалежність України у 1917-1921 рр. перед українським народом постало питання відстоювання своїх національних інтересів та захисту власної ідентичності. Події та явища, які відбувалися у наступні 20 років після Української революції, мали вирішальне значення як для української, так і для загальноєвропейської державності. Метою наукової роботи було: визначити передумови, характер та особливості політичної еміграції з України, зокрема, до Франції, у міжвоєнний період; окреслити основні напрями діяльності українських політичних емігрантів наприкінці Третьої Французької Республіки; проаналізувати головні результати та наслідки діяльності емігрантів з України у політичній та економічній сфері Франції та Європи. Основним методом наукового пізнання, який був використаний під час написання даної статті, є історично-системний метод, за допомогою якого, використовуючи системний принцип, були виявлені та досліджені ключові факти, події та явища, які мали місце під час української політичної еміграції до Франції між Першою та Другою світовими війнами; окреслені та структуровані головні наслідки емігрантського руху українців для політичного та суспільного життя Франції та країн Європи. Головні результати, які були отримані в ході дослідження представленої тематики, наступні: охарактеризовані передумови та причини еміграції українців до Франції після закінчення Української революції 1917-1921 рр., визначені ключові напрями діяльності представників української політичної еліти у Парижі, сформульовані головні наслідки та важливі події, які відіграли історичну роль у становленні української державності у часи Третьої Французької Республіки, як складової єдиної європейської спільноти. Результати наукової роботи, а також висновки, які були отримані під час вивчення цієї проблематики, можуть бути використані як теоретична основа для подальших досліджень за вказаним напрямом; крім того – для закладів вищої освіти за спеціальністю історія, політологія, країнознавство – як приклад одного із етапів національної боротьби українського народу за право створити власну незалежну державу; для дослідників у сфері історії, археології, документалістики – як предмет вивчення з метою глибшого розуміння першопричин та наслідків події у масштабі світових геополітичних змін; для інших науковців, сфера діяльності яких суміжна з тематикою статті

Ключові слова: Українська революція; Третя Французька Республіка; професійні та культурно-просвітницькі організації; інформаційно-агітаційна діяльність; українська діаспора