UDC 355.425.4(44):725.945(=161.2) DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159188

### Anatoliy FILINYUK

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of Department of Ukraine's History of Ivan Ogienko Kamianets-Podilskyi National University, 61 Ivan Ogienko Street, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ukraine, postal code 32300, (afilinyuk@ukr.net)

**ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2659-114X **ResearcherID:** B-5874-2019 (http://www.researcherid.com/rid/B-5874-2019)

#### Yurii KLIMCHUK

postgraduate student of Department of Ukraine's History of Ivan Ogienko Kamianets-Podilskyi National University, 61 Ivan Ogienko Street, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ukraine, postal code 32300 (dm2006fan@ukr.net)

**ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7078-7035 **ResearcherID:** B-2899-2019 (http://www.researcherid.com/rid/B-2899-2019)

## Анатолій ФІЛІНЮК

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри історії України Кам'янець-Подільського національного університету імені Івана Огієнка, вул. І. Огієнка, 61, м. Кам'янець-Подільський, Ukraine, 32300 (afilinyuk@ukr.net)

#### Юрій КЛІМЧУК

аспірант кафедри історії України Кам'янець-Подільського національного університету імені Івана Огієнка, вул. І. Огієнка, 61, м. Кам'янець-Подільський, Ukraine, 32300 (dm2006fan@ukr.net)

**Бібліографічний опис статті**: Filinyuk, A. & Klimchuk, Y. (2019). Sites of memory of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French resistance during the Second World War. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 10, 161–170. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.10.159188

# SITES OF MEMORY OF THE ETHNIC UKRAINIANS PARTICIPATION IN THE FRENCH RESISTANCE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Summary. In the article, an attempt has been made to investigate the problem of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance during the Second World War on the basis of analysis of documents, scientific literature and sites of memory characteristics as important sources that allow us to understand the role and significance of Ukrainians in defeating Hitler's Germany. The purpose of the research is to reveal an importance of the sites of memory as sources for clarification the question of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance during the Second World War. The research Methodology. During the research, the following principles of historical research were used: historicism, objectivity and consistency. Special historical methods were used: historical and comparative, terminological, chronological, retrospective, and the method of actualization. The research is described in the problem systematic sequence. The scientific novelty. For the first time in the national historical science using concrete actual material, it has been proven that sites of memory are an im-

portant historical source and means of scientific research, which has a wide range of possibilities for revealing and elucidating motives and internal behavior logic of concrete participants of the French Resistance from Ukraine. It is substantiated that the study of the sites of memory in France and Ukraine not only helps to establish the historical truth about the combat community of Ukrainians with citizens of other countries who were not voluntarily on French territory in the struggle against Nazi invaders within the framework of the Resistance movement but may also act as an effective method of developing the prospects of mutual understanding between peoples and uniting efforts to preserve peace and security at the present stage. Conclusions. The investigated problem has a theoretical and practical significance, since success in defending the territorial integrity of Ukraine in the war with Russian intervention largely depends on the comprehension and consideration of historical lessons on the nature, features and extent of participation of Ukrainians in the French Resistance.

**Key words:** sites of memory, ethnic people, Ukrainians, Ukraine, Resistance movement, France, camp committees, prisoners, partisans, detachments, groupings.

## МІСЦЯ ПАМ'ЯТІ ПРО УЧАСТЬ ВИХІДЦІВ З УКРАЇНИ У ФРАНЦУЗЬКОМУ РУСІ ОПОРУ В РОКИ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

Анотація. У статті зроблено спробу дослідити проблему участі вихідців з України у французькому Русі Опору в період Другої світової війни на основі аналізу документів, наукової літератури та характеристики місць пам'яті як важливих джерел, котрі дозволяють осмислити роль і значення українців у розгромі гітлерівської Німеччини. Мета роботи – розкрити значення місць пам'яті як джерел з'ясування питання про участь вихідців з України у французькому Русі Опору в період Другої світової війни. Методологія дослідження. При написанні роботи нами використано такі принципи проведення історичного дослідження: історизму, об'єктивності і системності. Зі спеціально-історичних методів використані: історико-порівняльний, термінологічний, хронологічний, ретроспективний і метод актуалізації. Дослідження викладено в проблемно-систематичній послідовності. Наукова новизна. Вперше у вітчизняній історичній науці на конкретному фактичному матеріалі доведено, що місця пам'яті є важливим історичним джерелом і засобом наукового пошуку, яке володіє широким спектром можливостей для виявлення та з'ясування мотивів і внутрішньої логіки поведінки конкретних учасників Руху Опору Франції з України. Обтрунтовано, що вивчення місць пам'яті в Франції та Україні не тільки допомагає утверджувати історичну правду про бойову співдружність українців із громадянами інших країн, які опинилися не зі своєї волі на французькій землі, у боротьбі з гітлерівськими окупантами в рамках Руху Опору, а й може виступати ефективним методом вироблення перспектив взаєморозуміння між народами і об'єднання зусиль у збереженні миру та безпеки на сучасному етапі. Висновки. Досліджувана проблема має теоретичне і практичне значення, позаяк успіх у відстоюванні територіальної цілісності України у війні з російською інтервенцією значною мірою залежить від осмислення і врахування історичних уроків про суть, характер, особливості та масштаби участі українців у французькому Русі Опору.

**Ключові слова**: місця пам'яті, вихідці, українці, Україна, Рух Опору, Франція, табірні комітети, в'язні, партизани, загони, угрупування.

Statement of the problem. In the context of rethinking the national historical past in Ukraine, a special place belongs to the areas of scientific research that are intended to serve the development and ensuring national interests of the state at the present stage of development. It allows exploring comprehensively both the deep origins of national foundations and their correspondence with the international course of events, in particular during the Second World War. After all, the successful advancement of the chosen way depends entirely on the real unity of the world community on the preservation and consolidation of peace. Ukraine is extremely interested in reproducing historical truth about its role in that war and its place in world historical memory. Actually, not only because of the enormous losses recognition, but also due to the significant contribution of Ukraine to the victory over the Hitler coalition

during the Second World War, the USSR acted as one of the founders of the United Nations (Kudriachenko, 1999, pp. 14–16). In addition, the problem of Ukrainian patriots participation in Resistance movement in general, and in particular in the French Resistance, remains insufficiently highlighted in scientific literature, since the prohibition on its study by professional historians was removed only at the dawn of the state independence of Ukraine.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The research source was formed by the fonds documents and materials of the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine in Kyiv, the State Archives of Vinnytsia Region, the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, the National Museum of Ukrainian History in the Second World War, Lviv Historical Museum, Kamianets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum Reserve, the documentary publication *The Second World War in the Historical Memory of Ukraine* of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, as well as the actual material from the memories of the Resistance movement participants and the scientific works of domestic and foreign authors.

The problem of «historical sites» about the participation of ethnic Ukrainians in the European Resistance movement during the Second World War, and in particular in the French Resistance, was not specifically studied in a complex way, but some of its aspects were reflected in the studies of V. Bondarchuk, D. Viedienieiev, V. Viatrovych, A. Havryshchuk, L. Herasymenko, O. Hryhorenko, V. Hrynevych, T. Katorhina, Yu. Klimchuk, M. Koval, K. Kolybanova, B. Kolodnyi, V. Korol, O. Lysenko, T. Matsenko, A. Morozova, I. Mukovskyi, I. Patryliak, R. Pyliavets, T. Pidlasko, A. Filiniuk and other researchers and ethnographers. In particular, the scientific literature focuses on the ways in which the representatives of Ukraine replenished the ranks of the European Resistance movement; it submits forms of their participation in the struggle against Hitler's enslavement in labor and concentration camps, underground organizations and military formations, specifies names and facts of heroic struggle, places of death, burial, perpetuating memory in the countries of Europe and Ukraine, etc. However, the chosen subject has not become an object of independent coverage in the Ukrainian historical literature yet. So, it is worth continuing this work, paying attention to aspects that have not been studied yet.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the sites of memory significance in understanding the extent of ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance during the Second World War and justifying the need to find and preserve sites of memory of these events in France and Ukraine on the basis of archival and published sources, involving a complex of actual material from scientific works.

Statement of the basic material. It is known that for Ukrainians the memory of the Second World War was essentially created in Moscow as a truncated interpretative system. Therefore, both «the Ukrainians who attempted to conquer the independence of their own country from the Stalinist Empire, turning to the side of their powerful enemy» (Hrynevych, 2012, p. 45) and the participants of the European Resistance movement were excluded from its narrative. On the other hand, «many participants of the foreign Resistance movement were forced to hide their accomplishments and fought against the Nazis under fictitious names, as in the homeland, under the conditions of the Stalin regime, captivity was associated with treason» (Herasymenko, Pyliavets, 2010, p. 207). In this regard, there is an increasing need for a thorough study of the sites of memory of the joint efforts and the price that Ukrainians and other peoples have put on the altar of victory over Hitler's Germany. The current social and political situation caused by the war in the east, Russia's annexation of the Crimea and the need for confrontation in the information psychological warfare only exacerbates the tendency to update the sites of memory research in the system of a symbolic and discursive

series of narrative memories of the Second World War and the contribution of Ukraine in victory over Nazi fascism, as well as in dissolving the myth of the «great» victory in the Great Patriotic War (Kasianov, 2018, p. 296).

We share Pierre Nora's opinion that sites of memory are any significant phenomenon, whether material or immaterial in nature, which, from the human's will or under the influence of time, have become a symbol of the memorial legacy of a community. By studying sites of memory, historians turn to the past as to its representation, encoded in monuments, symbols, discourses, etc. (Nora, 1994, p. 189). According to the American scientist P. Hutton, they deal with «images of the past» as forms of representation of the past (Hutton, 1993, pp. 17–22). The need for the «sites of memory» creation is due to the disappearance of the «memory environment», when the memory dies, dissipates, passes into nothingness. The study of sites of memory changes helps to clarify the changes in historical consciousness and the collective identity of social groups (Nora, 2010). Historical descriptions practically deny the right to memory for an adequate reflection of the past, debunking the myths of memory, and builds it up through rigorous research procedures of «objectivity», scientific analysis (Nora, 1999, p. 34). At the same time, memory gets a chance to survive in some codified tracks, artifacts (sites of memory), or as part of a historical description (Prost, 1999, p. 149).

However, according to a fair estimation of the historian H. Kasianov, many works on this problem claiming for analytical status relate primarily to the affirmatory, with the claim to be the foundation of modern identity and social system in Ukraine; and didactic historiography, which seeks to give specific advice to the present and the future: they are actualized by current political tasks or by cultural repertory enthusiasm. One of the reasons for this is that the understanding of «western» authorities turns into an uncritical translation into the Ukrainian context of ideas that originated in radically different cultural, political, and cognitive contexts (Kasianov, 2018, pp. 40–41).

It should be emphasized that if the events of the Second World War are part of the history, then the orders, photographs, clothes, personal belongings of people who survived became rarities of collectors and museums; and only a part of them became monuments of history and culture, which require a careful attitude, as well as monuments of architecture, art and culture (Rosental, 2003, pp. 322–355). After all, they preserve the memory of the concrete participants in the war. The monuments and the attitude towards them determine the political, social, religious, moral, aesthetic norms and values that prevail in a society in a certain historical period.

Focusing on the historical sites of memory in the world history, we naturally refer to the events of the Second World War as a severe test on the path of human development (Zinchenko, 2018, p. 12) and to such an important milestone in the history of peoples as a joint struggle against Nazism in this war. The Resistance movement played a key role in the war; it was «a voluntary and underground struggle between representatives of various peoples and nations with foreign residents and their accomplices for the liberation of the country in which they lived ...» (Prost, 1997, pp. 21–23). According to the conclusion of the modern French researcher Soufflet, «there was a clear link between the Battle of Stalingrad, the strikes of workers in Northern Italy in March 1943 and the unification of all the forces of the Resistance in France in the spring of that year – the common struggle and cohesion of different peoples and nations on different fronts of the Second World War» (Soufflet, 2016, pp. 11–12).

In particular, only in the initial period of the Second World War, in May 1940, in the Foreign Legion in France, from 5 to 7 thousand Ukrainians fought in the Battles of Flanders, Sedan, the Somme, the Seine, the Marne, the Loire, etc. (Herasymenko, Pyliavets, 2010, p. 206). Ethnic Ukrainians together with the soldiers of the Polish Army, the People's Liber-

ation Army of Yugoslavia, the People's Army of Bulgaria, with the support of the Resistance movement, fully or partially liberated the territories of 10 European countries and 2 Asian countries with a population of 183 million people (Katarhina, Kolybanova, 2004, p. 383). The joint efforts of the Resistance and parts of the «Fighting France» were liberated from the enemy by almost the entire territory of the country and established the power of the de Gaulle government (Babaytsev, 2009, p. 136). Due to the Resistance movement and the efforts of the French leaders in emigration, France took its place among the allies, who began to respect it at the end of the war (Tkachev, 1998, pp. 315–337).

When studying sites of memory of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance, special significance is given to the works of French historians and cooperation with them. This allows shedding light on a number of important aspects of the struggle of Ukrainians on French territory. For example, according to the archives of the Paris Police, details of the latter battle for Y. Klishch with the Nazis were established (APP, F/7/15670 et 15671). In this regard, our interest was caused by the book of the modern French researcher J. Soufflet, in which the author approached as much as possible the forgotten, transformed, mythologized, obscured by oblivion, memory and its metamorphosis, gaps, conflicts in the history of the Resistance in France, and destroyed a series of mistakes that were heavily contaminated and eclipsed the memory of those years as the relationship between the language groups, and explained the long incomprehensible understanding of the warm relations between various flows of the Resistance movement, as well as the tragic misunderstandings and confrontation of the partisans of various groups (Filiniuk, Klimchuk, 2016, pp. 423-424). The work applications contain extensive information on the participants of the French Resistance from Ukraine, in particular on Ivan Skrypai from Cherkasy and Serhii Chubar from Kharkiv. They helped one of the authors of this research find a site of memory about Ivan Skrypai – his grave at the cemetery in Cherkasy (La tombe d'Ivan Skripai). Before the book appeared in Ukraine, the biography of Serhii (Serge) Chubar was almost unknown. He was a «...Chief of Staff of Maksym Horkyi maquisards detachment», a native of Kharkiv, who lived in France after 1917. At the beginning of 1943, in Paris, having joined with his sister to Russian emigrants who had undergone an underground struggle against the Nazis and assisted prisoners of war from the USSR, he became a member of the Resistance movement. Since 1944 the Captain of FFI S. Chubar has been in the disposal of «Colonel Nicolas» - Ivan Skrypai in Côte d'Or, playing a prominent role in the unification of disparate detachments of the Soviet partisans and coordination of the Leningrad detachment actions along the Siena and the Loire (Soufflet, 2016, p. 131).

The sites of memory of the Second World War events on the territory of European countries include houses, constructions, where there were the headquarters of armies, partisan detachments and unions, which acted independently or participated in joint operations of the allied armies to free them from the Nazi occupation. Thus, on 3 October 1943, a «Union of Russian Patriots» was created in the apartment of Heorhii Shybanov, a Ukrainian emigrant from the anti-Nazis from the USSR, which left a significant mark in the development of the French Resistance. It was attended by Mark Slobodynskyi from Dashkivtsi village of the Litynskyi district of Vinnytsia region (Shibanov, 1962, pp. 439, 442). There are a lot of sites of memory in the country, but they are still unknown or little-known in Ukraine. This requires hard research to establish the exact addresses of their location based on the memories of the Resistance movement participants, and in particular the identification of common «sites of memory» of the Ukrainian and French peoples.

The most numerous group of the sites of memory of the Second World War is the burial of soldiers in the European countries where there was a military operation. Among them there are more than 10,000 military cemeteries, fraternal and separate graves, in which thousands of people from Ukraine are buried. Thus, on the wall of the Arras citadel, along with the names of 220 French patriots, where they were shot by the Nazis, the names of Ukrainians V. Poryk and V. Dotsenko were carved (State Archive of Volyn Region – SAVR, f. 5333, d. 1, c. 7, p. 12). A postcard with the image of the national hero V. Poryk, «the invincible courage of the Ukrainian people's son», was published in France (Sovko, 1999, p. 5). And on the grave in the town of Enen-Likitar, where he was buried with the Ukrainian soldier V. Kolesnyk in 1968, near the memorial plaque from the miner's family Offr, who takes care of it, a monument was installed by the Kyiv sculptors H. Kalchenko and A. Ihnashchenko with the inscription «From the Ukrainian people» (Kmieciak, 1986, p. 12). In the Pas-de-Calais department, another 13 Soviet citizens reside in the eternal sleep: 4 on the square of the Marles-les-Mines commune, and 9 on the square of the Méricourt-sous-Lens commune (APC, 1W 48098/1 et 51J1). It reminds about the joint struggle for freedom.

In one of the 25 camps of the Nor and Pas-de-Calais departments – «Beaumont», where there were many natives of Vinnytsia, Kyiv and Chernihiv regions, in October 1942, Lieutenant V. Poryk created the underground «Committee of Soviet Patriots», in August 1943 – the inter-camp committee of the northern departments, and in late 1943 – early 1944 he created partisan detachments in 10 camps, which united more than 220 fighters (Bondarchuk, Havryshchuk & Hryhorenko, 1995, pp. 60–61). The patriots dismantled the equipment, mixed up the fuel with water, carried out daring sabotage on the railways, highways, and important objects, derailed German echelons, destroyed enemy soldiers and officers, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines (Lysenko, 2002, pp. 117–118). V. Poryk wrote appeals and leaflets, which were replicated by the typewriter of the underground «propaganda department» and distributed in all the camps, which facilitated the uniting of prisoners and prepared them for struggle (SAVR, f. 5333, d. 1, c. 7, p. 8–9).

It should be emphasized that on 7 July 1945 in Paris, on the facade of the house on the Bolivar avenue, where Bukovina citizen Y. Klishch died, who was the commander of the francs-tireurs and partisans group, operating in the vicinity of Paris, a memorial plaque with the inscription «Here, in 1943, in the battles with the Nazi invaders, Yosyf Klishch heroically lost his life.» Almost always there are fresh carnations near it, and the name of the Ukrainian hero is eternally written in the list of French fighters who gave their lives for defeating Nazi-fascism (Fund of the Kamyanets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum-Reserve. f. g/p 8740-8746, c. 12, p. 1–3).

In memory of the leader of the partisan movement in France, the Hero of France and the Hero of the Soviet Union Vasyl Poryk (Koval, 2012, p. 404) on his small motherland, in Poryk village of Vinnytsia region, there is a bust and the only Ukrainian museum on the participation of V. Poryk and Ukrainians in the French Resistance during the Second World War, which has been functioning since 1972 (Filiniuk, Klimchuk, Matsenko, 2016, p. 426). More than 2320 exhibits and documents reflect the fighting way of the legendary Podolia citizen and his fellowmen M. Boyko, I. Boychuk, P. Hryhorenko, V. Dotsenko, S. Kondratiuk, A. Krylov, D. Rudkivskyi, I. Solodkivskyi, A. Tkachenko, H. Tomchenko and many others (Pidlasko, 1987, p. 31). The streets in Kyiv, Vinnytsia, Bobryntsi, Khmilnyk and Chernivtsi are named after V. Poryk.

The National Museum of the Ukrainian History in the Second World War (Fund of the NMUHSWW), regional and local historical and regional museums serve as really important

sites of memory about Ukraine's participation and contribution to the liberation of France from the Nazi occupiers. Among the exhibits of the NMHUSWW, there are personal belongings of the national hero of France, the Soviet Union V. Poryk; documents of V. Lozovyi, the organizer and coordinator of the activities of the partisan units of Ukrainian emigrants in Paris district (Ukrainocentrism); details and biographical information about the participants of the French Resistance: V. Diachko, P. Lysak, I. Skrypai, V. Taskin, H. Shybanov, and many others. They showed the indomitable strength of the will and spirit of the Ukrainian people and they evidenced the common struggle of ethnic Ukrainians and the French, representatives of many nations for peace in Europe and the world as a whole.

Most of the documents are formed by the correspondence of the Resistance movement members. In particular, in a letter to I. Skrypai (6 May 1971) V. Taskin shares the reflection on the creation of a true history of the Resistance movement in France. In a commemorative note of the Veterans of the Resistance to the Soviet Committee of War Veterans (18 April 1964), it is described about the organization in October 1943 and the activities of the «Union of Russian Patriots» in Paris, which included Ukrainian representatives. In a statement addressed to the Commission on Former Partisan Affairs of the Great Patriotic War of 1941 – 1945 under the Verkhovna Rada of the USSR (4 July 1965), I. Skrypai applies for recognition him as a member of the European Resistance movement, confirming it by the original documents of combat participation in the underground partisan movement of France during 1942–1944 (Fund of the NMUHSWW, f. KN-261143; D-64612; KN-261111; D-64580; KN-261109; D-64578).

Among the fonds materials there are: the certificate of the volunteer of the French Maquis V. Diachko, the member's book of the French military federation of the Resistance interned participants and patriots No. 003642, issued in 1944 and the certificate No. 383 of the Head of the Ukrainian National Front V. Lozovyi. There are also photographic materials: a group photo of A. Tkachenko's partisan detachment in France, among which – V. Diachko, V. Poryk and his connector H. Tomchenko (Fund of the NMUHSWW, f. KN-7503; D-1708; KV-40397; D-9239; KV-40399; D-9241; KN-7504; F-1103; NA-224).

An important «site of memory» was «Lviv Historical Museum», which holds in its fonds: binoculars and ribbons to the wreath at the grave of the Ukrainian emigrant in France Mykola Tereshko with the inscription «Perished for France», the French passport No. 127 of Kateryna Tereshko-Sheptytska and a number of photos of other members of the French Resistance (Funds of the Lviv Historical Museum, f. Z-3895; TK-3916; MA-6561).

Only in the late 1960's, it became known from the letter of French friends S. Tomazi and K. Lermit that Oleksandr Tkachenko was not missing, but he was a participant of the French Maquis, headed an international partisan detachment and perished as a hero for France and Ukraine. After the death of O. Tkachenko, the detachment carried his name, and he was buried in one grave with his French friend R. Pekuarta in Berles-au-Bois. After the war, Robert's body was reburied by his family, and the remains of O. Tkachenko were transferred to a fraternal grave at the military cemetery in Lille. In the middle of the 80's in the book by B. Kolodnyi «Roses on Granite», Petro Hryhorenko from Vinnytsia region and Vasyl Diachko from Transcarpathia told about the battlefield and how the fascists broke the life of the avenger from Cherkasy region (Kolodnyi, 1985, pp. 133–134). By the decision of the USSR government on 18 July 1975, Stepantsi Secondary School of Kaniv district in Cherkasy region was given the name of an active member of the French Resistance, and with the assistance of the French side in 1983, a monument to the patriot was erected on its territory as a symbol of contribution of the Ukrainian people to the liberation of France from Nazism.

The teacher A. Kozak, as a member of the delegation of Kaniv city during the visit of Arras city in 1999, collected and systematized archival documents and materials about victories of a fellow countryman (World War II). The collaboration started with the site of memory of O. Tkachenko was continued in 2001 with the arrival of a delegation of the Ukrainian-French Caniv—Lambersart Association led by Jean Marie-Roger. Shortly thereafter, the article «Soldier Tkachenko» appeared in the French newspaper, and the petition of Jean Marie-Roger to the French Ministry of War was completed by the installation of an inscription on the grave with his name and the date of his death (History of Stepantsi village).

The historical place about the participant of the French Resistance, Yosyp Kalynychenko, is Kaharlyk Historical Museum of Local Lore of Kyiv region. Among its exhibits an extract from the Central Archive in Moscow is kept on the detachment named after Shchors, which consisted of 75% of Ukrainians who had been taken from the Kaharlyk district and Chernihiv region for hard labor and which was commanded by a former chairman of the collective farm of Kaharlyk Y. Kalynychenko. His partisans in the eastern part of France derailed 35 echelons with weapons and manpower of the enemy, defeated 2 railway stations and 2 bridges of strategic importance, destroyed 2,700 Nazis and captured 30 of them (Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, f. 553, d. 1, c. 2, p. 43). This document made it possible for museum workers to find more than 40 people who were taken from the Kaharlyk region to the mines of occupied France. Among them, besides Y. Kalynychenko, there were P. Volkoday, V. Horpynenko, Ye. Kovalenko, Yu. Komlyk, V. Kravets, S. Poteria, I. Salii, M. Stoliarenko, V. Tryhub and others. In a foreign country they did not despair and did not accept their hard destiny, but, risking their lives, became members of the underground, arranged sabotage, escaped from death camps, became active participants of the Resistance movement. This is confirmed by the reporting documents of the commander of the partisan detachment named after Shchors Y. Kalynychenko and the lists kept in the Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine (Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine, f. 57, d. 4, c. 303, p. 46–59).

Conclusions. Thus, the concept and specific Ukrainian and French sites of memory serve as an important method of scientific reconstruction of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance. The analysis and study of various «places of memory» allows refuting the myth that almost all of the traitors or collaborators of Nazi Germany have been captured by Nazi concentration camps or sent to work as Ostarbeiter. Investigation of the Ukrainian representatives' participation in the French Resistance with the help of sites of memory broadens the knowledge and understanding of the role and significance of Ukrainians in the Second World War outside of their homeland, makes it possible to see that only joint efforts could defeat Hitler's Germany and conquer the world.

Sites of memory serve as a means of continuing active work on filling the vacuum on this topic with the help of foreign actual material, as well as a tool for rethinking and deconstructing Soviet and contemporary Russian historical myths about their contribution to the victory over Hitler's Germany. The analysis and study of various «sites of memory» allows refuting the myth of Soviet historiography that the Nazi concentration camps from Ukraine who were captured or sent to work in labor camps as Ostarbeiter, almost all were traitors or collaborators of the Nazi Germany.

In the future, to study the problem, the areas of former concentration, labor and repatriation camps and the functioning of military missions, through which the participants of the French Resistance from Ukraine passed, should be considered as such sites of memory.

**Acknowledgments.** We express our sincere gratitude to the editors of the publication for the opportunity to publish an article on an important aspect of the ethnic Ukrainians participation in the French Resistance.

**Financing.** The author did not receive financial support for the publication of this article.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

APP – Archives de la préfecture de Police de Paris.

APC – Archives départementa les du Pas-de-Calais.

**Babaytsev**, V. A. (2009). Sovetsko-frantsuzskiy dogovor 1944 goda i ego znachenie [Soviet-French treaty of 1944 and its significance]. *Vestnik MGOU. Seriya «Istoriya i politicheskie nauki»*, (3), 136–140. [in Russian].

**Bondarchuk, V. Y., Havryshchuk, A. P. & Hryhorenko, O. P.** (1995). Uchast ukraintsiv u frantsuzkomu Rusi Oporu proty fashyzmu [The participation of Ukrainians in the French resistance movement against fascism]. *Materialy IX Podilskoi istoryko-kraieznavchoi konferentsii* (pp. 60–61). Kam'ianets-Podilskyi. [in Ukrainian].

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnytskoi oblasti [SAVR – State Archives of the Vinnytsia Region].

**Druha svitova viina** [Second World War]. Retrieved from http://stepanecka.gromada.org.ua/vv-13-21-59-13-07-2017/ [in Ukrainian].

Filiniuk, A., Klimchuk, Yu. & Matsenko, T. (2016). Memorialnyi muzei imeni Vasylia Poryka yak instytut formuvannia istorychnoi pam'iati pro uchast ukraintsiv u frantsuzkomu Rusi Oporu v roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny [Vasyl Porik Memorial Museum as an institution for the formation of historical memory of the participation of Ukrainians in the French resistance movement during the Second World War]. Materialy I mizhnarodnoi naukovoi istoryko-kraieznavchoi konferentsii «Misto Khmelnytskyi v konteksti istorii Ukrainy» (pp. 425–432). Khmelnytskyi. [in Ukrainian].

Filiniuk, A. H. & Klimchuk, Yu. A. (2016). Soufflet G. Maquisards russesen Bourgogne. Histoire du détachement Léningrad 1943 – 1944. Paris: Éditionsde L'armancon, 2016. 191 R. (Pro pratsiu Zherara Sufle «Rosiiski partyzany maki v Burhundii» [About the work of Gérard Souffle «Russian Poppy Guerrillas in Burgundy»]. In V. S. Stepankov (Ed.), Naukovi pratsi Kam'ianets-Podilskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Ivana Ohiienka: Istorychni nauky. Kam'ianets-Podilskyi, 26, 422–428. [in Ukrainian].

Fondy Natsional'noho muzeiu istorii Ukrainy u Druhii svitovii viini [**Fund of the NMUHSWW** – National Museum of Ukrainian History in the Second World War]. [in Ukrainian].

Fondy Kam'ianets-Podilskoho derzhavnoho istorychnoho muzeiu-zapovidnyka [**Fund of the KPSHMR** – Fund of the Kamyanets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum-Reserve]. [in Ukrainian].

Fondy Lvivskoho istorychnoho muzeiu [Funds of the LHM – Funds of the Lviv Historical Museum]. Herasymenko, L. & Pyliavets, R. (Comps.) (2010). Druha svitova viina v istorychnii pam'iati Ukrainy [World War II in the historical memory of Ukraine]. (Za materialamy Ukrainskoho instytutu natsionalnoi pam'iati). Kyiv – Nizhyn: Vydavets PP Lysenko M. M., 247 p. [in Ukrainian].

**Hrynevych, V.** (2012). Nepryborkane riznoholossia: Druha svitova viina i suspilno-politychni nastroi v Ukraini, 1939 – cherven 1941 rr. [Unbridled disagreement: World War II and socio-political sentiment in Ukraine, 1939 - June 1941]. Kyiv – Dnipropetrovsk: Tsentr «Tkuma»; Vydavnytstvo «Lira», 508 p. [in Ukrainian].

**Hutton, P.** (1993). *History as an Art of Memory*. Hanover: University Press of New England, for the University of Vermont, 229 p. [in English].

**Istoriia sela Stepantsi** [The history of the village Stepantsi] Retrieved from http://stepanecka.gromada.org.ua/istorichna-dovidka-s-stepanci-13-14-33-13-07-2017/ [in Ukrainian].

**Kasianov, H. V.** (2018). Past Continuous: istorychna polityka 1980-kh – 2000-kh. Ukraina ta susidy [Past Continuous: historical policy 1980-x – 2000-x. Ukraine and its neighbors]. Kyiv: Laurus, Antropos-Lohos-Film, 420 p. [in Ukrainian].

Katarhina, T. I. & Kolybanova, K. V. (2004). Zberezhennia pam'iatok istorii Druhoi svitovoi viiny na terenakh zarubizhnykh krain [Preservation of the monuments of the history of the Second

World War on the territory of foreign countries]. *Istoriia Ukrainy. Malovidomi imena, podii, fakty*, 26, 379–395. [in Ukrainian].

Kmieciak, J. (1986). Hommage a Vasyl Poryk, los sovietique de la Resistance. La tribune de la region Miniere, 33, 12. [in French].

**Koval, M. V.** (2012). Rukh Oporu [Resistance Movement]. *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, *9*, 404. [in Ukrainian].

Kolodnyi, B. (1985). Troiandy na hraniti. Istoriia odnoho poshuku: povist-reportazh [Roses on a granite. History of a search: story-report]. Kyiv: Molod, 216 p. [in Ukrainian].

**Kudriachenko, A. I. (Ed).** (2009). *Ukraina v Yevropi: poshuky spilnoho maibutnoho [Ukraine in Europe: a search for a common future]*. Kyiv: Feniks, 544 p. [in Ukrainian].

La tombe d'Ivan Skripai, le colonel Nikoles. Retrieved from https://www.respol71.com/la-tombe-d-ivan-skripai-le-colonel-nicolas. [in French].

**Lysenko, O. Ye.** (2002). Ukraintsi u frantsuzkomu Rusi Oporu v roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny [Ukrainians in the French resistance movement during the Second World War]. *Dialoh. Istoriia. Polityka. Ekonomika: Ukraina i Frantsiia: zbirnyk*, 2, 116–119. [in Ukrainian].

**Nora, P.** (1994). La loi de la mémoire. Le Débat, 78, 187–191. doi : 10.3917/deba.078.0178 [in French].

**Nora, P.** (2010). Istoriki ponyali, chto zakony – ochen opasnaya veshch [Historians understand that laws are a very dangerous thing]. Retrieved from http://urokiistorii. ru/current/view/2010/31/nora-ui [in Russian].

**Nora, P.** (Ed.). (1999). *Frantsiya-pamyat* [France-memory]. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd-vo Sankt-Peterb. un-ta, 328 p. [in Russian].

**Pidlasko, T.** (1987). Memorialnyi muzei V. V. Poryka: putivnyk [Memorial museum of V.V. Porika: a guidebook.]. Odesa: Maiak, 64 p. [in Ukrainian].

**Prost, A.** (1999). Mais comment donc l'histoire avance-t-elle? *Le Débat*, *103*, 148–153. doi: 10.3917/deba.103.0148 [in French].

**Prost, A. (Ed.).** (1997). *La Résistance, une histoire sociale*. Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier, 250 p. [in French].

Rosiiskyi derzhavnyi arkhiv sotsialno-politychnoi istorii [RSASPH –Russian state archive of socio-political history].

**Rozental, G.** (2003). Rekonstruktsiya rasskazov o zhizni: printsipy otbora, kotorymi rukovodstvuyutsya rasskazchiki v biograficheskikh narrativnykh intervyu [Reconstruction of life stories: the principles of selection that guide narrators in biographical narrative interviews]. In M. V. Loskutovoy (Ed.), *Khrestomatiya po ustnoy istorii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd-vo YeUSPb, 322–355. [in Russian].

**Shibanov**, **G. V.** (1962). Krasnoe znamya na ulitse Grenel [Red Banner on Grenel Street]. In A. V. Belyanovskiy (Ed.), *O chem ne govorilos v svodkakh* (pp. 438–452). Moskva: Politicheskaya literatura. [in Russian].

Soufflet, G. (2016). Maquisards russesen Bourgogne. Histoire du détachement Léningrad 1943 – 1944. Paris: Éditions de l'Armançon, 190 p. [in French].

**Sovko, V.** (1999). Lehendarnyi «Bazil» [Legendary «Basil»]. *Vinnychchyna*, 24 lypnia, 5. [in Ukrainian].

**Tkachev, S.** (1998). Istoricheskie predposylki reemigratsii ukraintsev iz Frantsii posle vtoroy mirovoy voyny [Historical prerequisites about the remigration of Ukrainians from France after the Second World War]. *Migracijske Teme*, *Zagreb*, *4*, 315–337. [in Russian].

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh ob'iednan Ukrainy [CSAPAU – Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine].

Ukrainotsentrychnist holovnoi ekspozytsii natsionalnoho muzeiu [Ukrainocentricity of the main exposition of the national museum]. Retrieved from http://www.warmuseum.kiev.ua/\_ua/museum/method/uacenter.pdf. [in Ukrainian].

**Zinchenko, O. (Ed.).** (2018). *The War and Myth: unknown WWII, 1939 – 1945.* Kyiv: Ukr. Inst. Of Nat. Remembrance, 272 p. [in English].

The article was received on January 19, 2019. Article was recommended for publishing 2.03.2019.