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UKRAINIANS IN FINLAND, 1917 – 1918

The democratic liberties proclaimed during the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia substantially changed the life of the country. Clear indicators of these social-political changes were the resurgent of national life and the activation of national liberation movements that came to be concentrated in leading centers. In Ukraine, on March 3 – 4, 1917, representatives of different political forces united by the idea of building a national state founded the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv. At this time, many Ukrainians, who lived outside the boundaries of their ethnic homeland, actively participated in the Ukrainian national movement.

In the first months of the revolution, the national movement spread among Ukrainians living in Finland. Mainly, these were sailors from the main base of the Baltic fleet that was located in Helsingfors (Helsinki), soldiers of the 42nd army corps with its headquarters in Viipuri (Vyborg), boarder troops, coastal artillery service units, and other such troops positioned on Finnish territory. Ukrainians comprised the second largest ethnic group after Russians deployed in the Russian units stationed in Finland.

Helsingfors served as the center of the Ukrainian movement. At the beginning of April 1917, on the initiative of a group of Ukrainian soldiers, an announcement calling for a gathering of Ukrainians living in the city was published in the local newspaper *Izvestiia Gel'singforskogo Soveta Deputatov Armii, flota i Rabochykh Sveaborgskogo porta*. On April 9, about 2,000 Ukrainians congregated in the courtyard of the Abo barracks. A Ukrainian Military Rada headed by the headquarter captain Kostiuik was appointed to direct the Ukrainian movement. Soldiers and officers from Helsingfors, as well as representatives of the Petrograd Ukrainian Rada spoke to the assembled. They called for the proclamation of an autonomous Ukrainian state, and sent a congratulatory telegram to the head of the Ukrainian Central Rada, Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. In their statement to the Helsingfors Rada of Army and Navy Deputies and of the Sveaborg Port Workers, the Ukrainians emphasized that, with the fall of the Tsar, Russia became an independent country where all nation have the right to self-determination. They appealed to the Russians for solidarity, noting that Ukraine seeks its autonomy within the framework of the Russian Republic where the Ukrainian and Russian people can live in peace and harmony¹. A brief variant of the appeal was published in Russian in *Izvestiia Gel'singforskogo Soveta Deputatov Armii, flota i Rabochykh Sveaborgskogo porta*², and 1,000 leaflets with the text of the appeal were distributed in garrisons and on ships³. On April 16, near the very same Abo barracks, nearly 5,000 soldiers, sailors, officers and civilians attended another Ukrainian gathering.

Russian representatives of the Executive Committee of the Rada of Army and Navy Deputies and of City Workers greeted the gathered announcing that Russia mandates freedom and autonomy for all the nations that live within its borders. They swore this embracing the Ukrainian flag. For their part, the Ukrainians proclaimed their willingness to defend a Russian Federate Republic that includes within its boarders an autonomous Ukraine⁴. The Ukrainian national movement spread beyond Helsingfors to the Russian garrisons in Finland; Ukrainian communities developed in the army and on shipboard. Ukrainians publicized the support their caused received from the Central Rada in Kyiv, requested the “ukrainization” of segments of the Russian army, and made known their desire for an autonomous Ukraine. At manifestations and gatherings proposals to declare autonomy without waiting for the convocation of the Russian Constituent Assembly were voiced. In the mindset of Ukrainians, the immediate declaration of autonomy would accelerate the resolution of topical and vital issues for Ukraine. “Autonomy will give us the right to decide for ourselves questions regarding land,” – emphasized one of the Ukrainian appeals⁵.

On April 30, 1917, the membership of the Ukrainian Military Rada was reformulated so as to assure effective leadership. It now consisted of 41 deputies and was overseen by a presidium of seven (head – Ivanchenko; deputy heads – Pys'mennyi and Pashchenko). The Rada was divided into the regulatory and cultural-educational commissions and the dramatic section⁶. About 2,500 sailors, 1,500 soldiers, and 150 workers-expatriates reported to Ukrainian Military Rada, and approximately twenty Ukrainian naval officers and ten Ukrainian army officers collaborated with the Rada⁷.

Ukrainians in Helsingfors maintained contact with Ukrainian organization outside of Finland. At the beginning of May, their representatives became acquainted with the work of the Ukrainian members of the military stationed in Revel' (Tallinn), and, later, a session of the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors appraised the importance of established relations with the organization of Ukrainians in the Revel' garrison, which counted almost 1,000 members. At the same time, a Ukrainian delegation from Helsingfors visited Sevastopol', the main base of the Black Sea fleet, to discuss pressing questions regarding the Ukrainian movement in the navy⁸. The Ukrainian Military Rada at Helsingfors also sent representative to Kyiv establishing contacts with the Ukrainian Central Rada. They were directed to petition for the national and territorial autonomy of Ukraine, to undertake the "ukrainization" of parts of the Russian army and of individual navy ships, and to stand in favor of peace without annexation and contributions⁹.

The First All Ukrainian Military Congress, held in Kyiv at the beginning of May 1917, played an important role in consolidating the Ukrainian military movement. Ukrainian military delegates from Finland assumed an active role at this congress. The sailor S.Pys'mennyi and the ensign A.Pevny were elected members of the Ukrainian Military General Committee, which was formed at the congress and entrusted with overseeing Ukrainian organizations within the Russian army. The Congress authorized the further "ukrainization" of several ships in the Baltic fleet with the goal of having them manned exclusively by Ukrainian officers and sailors¹⁰.

In May 1917, Ukrainian patriots attempted to "make Ukrainian" the torpedo boat *Ukraina*, which was based at Helsingfors; they demanded immediate action on this matter from the commander of the Baltic fleet¹¹. At first, the Helsingfors Rada of Army and Navy Deputies and of the Sveaborg Port Workers supported the Ukrainians. Later, however, they deemed such "ukrainization" impossible due to the war and resulting technical difficulties¹². Moreover, Russian organizations in Helsingfors feared that if this "ukrainization" succeeded, Ukrainians would request the "ukrainization" of the battleships "Poltava" and "Sevastopol'" also manned by a large number of Ukrainians¹³.

The "ukrainization" of army units also met with difficulties. While the Ukrainian Military Rada demanded the staffing of individual army units entirely with Ukrainians¹⁴, the Russian military command did its utmost to prevent the concentration of Ukrainians in separate units. In the face of such obstacles, on May 18, 1918, the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors convened Ukrainians serving in the military units of the Russian army in Finland in order to resolve organizational questions regarding the proposed "ukrainization". The First Ukrainian Military Congress in Finland started on May 28, 1917. It recognized the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors as the central governing body of Ukrainian military servicemen in Finland and insisted on the immediate formation of separate Ukrainian military units¹⁵.

The Ukrainian military in Finland supported the acts of the central military organization of Ukrainians. The Ukrainian Military Rada protested the prohibition to organize a Second All Ukrainian Military Congress in Kyiv that was issued in early June, 1917, by the Russian Military Minister, O.Kerens'kyi, and labeled this act a violation of citizen rights in independent Russia. In a telegram to the Secretary of War, Ukrainians expressed their expectation that Russian democracy will honor the rights of nations to self-determination¹⁶.

The Ukrainian community of Helsingfors supported the First Universal issued on June 10, 1917, by the Central Rada in Kyiv that proclaimed the autonomy of Ukraine. On June 25, 1917, a large manifestation organized in Kyiv espoused the decision of the Central Rada; the manifestation participants approved a 1 % deduction from the monthly income of every Ukrainian to be set aside for "educational needs and for the organization of national life in Ukraine"¹⁷.

The proclamation of the First Universal helped activate the public life of Ukrainians in Finland. Ukrainian officers on ships and in the army engaged in rousing, cultural-educational work. At the request of the Ukrainian Military Rada, the city government of Helsingfors provided several auditoriums in the building of a woman's high school for history and ethnography classes. A Ukrainian school was founded, and the organization *Prosvita* (Education) began conducting its work from within the facilities of National School of Higher Learning. *Prosvita* organized courses on Ukrainian history and literature, as well as lectures on politics, medicine and other scholarly subjects, and published a small Ukrainian-Russian dictionary¹⁸. Ukrainian amateur-actors put on several Ukrainian plays at the Aleksander Theater in Helsingfors. The staging of the play *Natalka Poltavka* by the prominent Ukrainian writer, Ivan Kotliarevs'kyi, was especially popular. In response to public demand repeat performances were organized and the money raised was used to meet the needs of Ukrainian organizations in Finland. After the June 18, 1917 performance, over 1600 Finish marks were transferred to the Ukrainian fund¹⁹.

On July 3, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv issued the Second Universal. In accordance with an agreement reached with the Provisional Government, this document specifically addressed the "ukrainization" of units in the Russian army. The idea of forming Ukrainian national units found support among the Ukrainians in the military stationed in Finland. A special commission was formed alongside the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors dedicated "exclusively to overseeing and supervising the segregation of Ukrainian soldiers into separate

units". The Rada requested regulations, orders and instructions regarding the "formation of small, as well as large Ukrainian units" from the Ukrainian Military General Committee²⁰.

Nevertheless, Russian military authorities created obstacles for "ukrainization". They did not recognize elective Ukrainian military organizations as equal with existing military committees in the army, restricted the work of the of the Ukrainian Military General Committee, and prohibited the activities of the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies – one of the leading units of the Ukrainian military. The measures of the Russian command trigger protests among Ukrainian service men everywhere, including Finland. On August 19, 1917, a general assembly of Ukrainians of the Sveaborg garrison classified the actions of the Russian authorities as counter-revolutionary. This assembly recognized the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies as its foremost national entity. The social democrats of Finland supported the Ukrainians. On August 23, 1917, they sent a telegram to the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies. It stated "We are anxiously following your heroic battle for the right of nations to self-determination and wish you all the success in the cause of securing freedom for both nations, a cause that has remain unshaken even under the pressures exerted upon our Senat"²¹.

Under such conditions, on September 24, 1917, the Ukrainian Military Rada was called into session, and it was decided to transform the Rada into the Regional Ukrainian Military Rada of Finland, which would have the same rights as similar existing organizations in Russia. A new Executive Committee was elected; it was subdivided into three sections concerned with organization-inspection, culture-education, and concerts-meetings. Addressing Ukrainians in Finland, the Executive Committee stated: "We hope that Ukrainian comrades will respond to our appeal and together with us will follow the thorny path to a brighter future for all democracy in the Ukrainian nation"²².

Ukrainians expressed support for the Finnish National Liberation Movement, and passed resolutions that attempted to avert the participation of Ukrainian soldiers in battles against the Finish cause. On October 10, 1917, the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies sent an order to the Regional Ukrainian Military Rada of Finland in which it was stated that in Kyiv "there is information that an entire Ukrainian division will be transferred to Finland. Obviously, the Central Government [Russian] is issuing this order with the aim of suppressing the Finish independence movement – on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to sow enmity between the friendships of the Finish and Ukrainian people. Therefore, we ask that you use all means, all your authority, to prevent Ukrainian soldiers from interfering in the peaceful life of the Finish people. In spite of all efforts, should the Finns become subject to violence at the hands of Ukrainians, we demand that in the name of the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies such actions be ordered to stop immediately"²³.

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 25, 1917, that took place in Petrograd entirely changed the standing of Ukrainians in Finland. The Ukrainian Central Rada did not recognize the government of the Soviet of People's Commissars in Petrograd. Instead, on November 7, 1917, it issued its third Universal, which proclaimed the formation of The Ukrainian National Republic, a future constituent of a democratic Russia. As a result of this action the negative attitude of the Bolsheviks toward the Ukrainian national movement increased. In particular, The Bolshevik command of the Baltic Fleet reacted with hostility to the demands of Ukrainian sailors to be transferred to the Black Sea Fleet. On November 28, 1917, such transfers were prohibited. The command of the Baltic Fleet noted: "the "ukrainization" of the Black Sea Fleet is a question of state significance" and therefore due to "political and strategic considerations any "ukrainization" of the Black Sea Fleet is forbidden"²⁴. In December 1917, a delegation of Ukrainian sailors from Helsingfors and Revel' demanding the transfer of all Ukrainian from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea by January 1, 1918, achieved no results²⁵. After the Soviet of People's Commissars issued its December 4th ultimatum to the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv, the Regional Ukrainian Military Rada of Finland found itself in difficult circumstances. The ultimatum in effect declared war between Bolshevik Russia and the Ukrainian National Republic.

On December 6, 1917, the parliament of Finland declared independence, and on December 31, the government of Soviet Russia recognized the new Finnish state. Although formally independent with the start of 1918, in the difficult international context of World War I Finland's future was uncertain. In particular, the presence of Russian troops on Finish territory troubled the new government. Even though by the start of the summer of 1917, the number of Russian troops decreased by half, they still numbered about 42,000²⁶. Ukrainians returning to their homeland contributed to the decrease in the number of Russian troops; already in the autumn of 1917, Ukrainians began leaving Finland in an organized fashion. Among the first to leave the country was an artillery company of the garrison at the Vyborg fortress that had been "ukrainianized". By December this process was considerably more active, and, in January 1918, Petro Slyvenko²⁷, the commissar of Ukrainian soldiers in Finland, reported in Kyiv, that there are few Ukrainians remaining in Finland, especially within the 42nd corps. The Ukrainian military that remained in Finland were "getting ready to leave the country as soon as possible"²⁸.

Russian troops that remained in Finland exerted a destabilizing influence on the internal political scene of the country. K.Mannerheim and his associates perceived the presence of Russian army as the main threat to Finnish

independence and to the stability of the country. For this reason, the disarmament of Russian troops was established as a goal, and was carried out in the end of January 1918 on the order of K.Mannerheim. In the course of four days, in the north of Finland, about 5,000 Russian army service men were interned and a large quantity of military equipment was confiscated. According to K.Mannerheim, “in the ensuing circumstances it was impossible to reach an agreement regarding the return of the captives to their homeland, and he ordered that they be transported on horseback across the boarder in the area along the north shore of Lake Ladoga. Such transport of the captives came to a halt due to boarder disputes. Ukrainians and Poles were given freedom immediately, and Russian officers, with the exception of those under arrest, had the right to lease private apartments”²⁹.

On the same night as K.Mannerheim began the action in the north, the Red Guard in the south of the country deposed the government and established a “red government” – a soviet of the people. A civil war began in Finland that ended in mid-May with the victory of the Senate forces lead by K.Mannerheim. In March 1918, Germany and Russia signed the Brest-Lithuanian Peace treaty, which contained a point regarding the removal of Russian troops from Finland. Petro Slyvenko, Commissar of Ukrainian Affairs and Valentin Vidstedt, head of the Ukrainian Committee, supervised the return of Ukrainian civilians and military home from Finland, and, from September 1918, the Embassy and Consulate of Ukraine in Finland handled this matter.

In the spring of 1918, P.Slyvenko started preparations for the departure of Ukrainians. He reported the following to the Ukrainian government in Kyiv: “We have no official representative in Finland, and circumstances have forced me temporarily to assume responsibility on the basis of the mandate issued at the end of last year by the Central Committee of Ukrainians of the North Region for the colony of Ukrainians. The status of Ukrainians in Finland is critical. They were not able to leave Finland in a timely manner due to Russian disorganization. There are no staples or means of existence. I am requesting immediate assistants in relocating them to Ukraine”³⁰.

The Finish government allowed P.Slyvenko to establish an office of the Ukrainian Commissar setting aside an eight-room apartment in the center of the city for this purpose. A Ukrainian flag above the entrance identified the office. All Ukrainians could acquire a temporary trilingual identification certificate printed in Ukrainian, Finish and German, along with a photo identification card. Issuance of these certificates required documentary proof of birthplace or of land ownership in Ukraine. Everyone who received a certificate was obligated to swear allegiance to Ukraine. In total, nearly one thousand Ukrainians were registered in Helsingfors and other cities of Finland. During registration, voluntary donations were collected; the money mainly was used for assisting the poor.

At the time, the evacuation of Ukrainians through Russian territory was impossible, so their return to their homeland required permission from the German military command for the organization of the necessary transport from one of the Baltic ports. The Germans blamed technical and organizational difficulties, and/or the unstable political situation in Ukraine, for the delay in reaching an understanding regarding the conditions and itinerary of the return journey.

Ukrainians from other cities in Finland began arriving in Helsingfors, and their accommodation became a critical problem. The Finish government assigned a building that could house 150 persons for this purpose. When it became clear that the evacuation would be delayed, the question of material assistance, especially in the form of food stuffs, for the Ukrainians became urgent. At this time, food in Finland was distributed only on the basis of ration cards that were unavailable for foreigners. Due to the efforts of P.Slyvenko food ration cards were given to Ukrainians. P.Slyvenko also petitioned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland for a money loan. He received a positive reply, but had to decline the offer due to lack of information regarding circumstances in Ukraine. Although P.Slyvenko had no official status, the Finish government took his efforts seriously. For example, as P.Slyvenko himself noted “when the White Guard searched a Ukrainian woman (the wife of a sailor) and confiscated an unusual quantity of products by Finish standards (4 poods of flour and ½ poods of sugar), after my report the items that remained intact were returned and the rest were financially reimbursed. I, in my turn, requisitioned some of the food for the hungry”³¹.

Meanwhile the mass forced deportation of Russians was taking place in Finland. The Finish government was more favorably inclined to the Ukrainians. P.Slyvenko wrote: “This attitude of the Finish government toward Ukrainians can be explained, I think, on the one hand, as intended to underscore the different stance taken toward the Russians, and, on the other hand, as a hope that Ukraine will prove useful as a state where bread can be acquired, as this was a key issue in Finish politics of the time. When rumors depicting Ukraine as a traitor because of the country’s refusal to provide bread for Germany were circulated by German sources, clearly such information seriously bothered different circles. Regarding these rumors, it is possible that they were intended to dissipate the intense desire of the Finns to establish direct relations with our country”³².

After long delays, German leadership permitted Ukrainians to go home from Finland; the departure of the steamship “Rus” was scheduled for about June 12, 1918. It was supposed to deliver the repatriates to Libava (Liepaia) from where they were to continue by train. Seven hundred individuals (including 130 children) signed up for the departure. They paid 250 Finish marks for a first class ticket, 175 marks for a second class ticket and 60

marks for a third class ticket. Those who had no money traveled for free. The Finnish government provided enough food for 250 individuals for ten days. P.Slyvenko was put in charge of the operation; his deputy was the doctor, Oleksandr Krups'kyi.

After one and a half days the steamship successfully arrived at Libava, where the Ukrainians spent two weeks waiting for a train to Ukraine. In this time the number of passengers decreased to 330. Many individuals continued on at their own expense, and about 230 former military servicemen, acting on the order of German leadership, took a special train to Kalinkovichi, where they joined Ukrainian military units. On June 28, the train with the repatriates left Libava following the route through Grodno – Brest – Kovel' – Holoby to arrive in Kyiv in the early evening of July 7th 33.

Ukrainians from other Finnish localities also departed for home in an organized fashion. On April 29, 1918, after the army of the White Guard freed Vyborg, Ukrainians living in the city united in their effort to leave for home. On May 13, 1918, the governor of Vyborg order the formation a Commission of Ukrainian Citizens headed by L.Konstantynovych that was to deal primarily with the repatriation of Ukrainians. The commission registered 348 Ukrainians giving them “temporary certificates” to replace their passports. On June 8, 1918, about one hundred Ukrainians were sent home and, on July 14, another seventy-four left for Ukraine³⁴.

At the start of summer in 1918, the Ukrainians who remained in Helsingfors formed the Ukrainian Committee headed by the former naval engineer and mechanic Valentyn Vidstedt, who was born in the city of Khorol in the Poltava region. At the end of July 1918, V. Vidstedt informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian State that the Committee managed to organize a group of Ukrainians who departed for home on July 16th.³⁵ On September 18, P.Slyvenko returned to Helsingfors as a consular representative. His assignment was to complete the registration of Ukrainians living in Finland and to oversee their return to their homeland. In the course of his work, P.Slyvenko came to be convinced that the ethnic Ukrainians who remained in the country were hostile to independent Ukraine. P.Slyvenko wrote to Kyiv: “Registration is not yet completed, but my guess is that the individuals who have the right to citizenship in the State [Ukraine] and who remain in Finland is probably in the tens. Tomorrow, on October 4, a group of migrants will leave for Ukraine...”³⁶

In November 1918, yet another fifty-four Ukrainians left for home³⁷. According to the registry of the Ukrainian Consulate at the end of 1918 only 107 Ukrainians with Ukrainian citizenship remained in Helsingfors³⁸. Later, P.Slyvenko informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic that the “Ukrainian colony in Finland is small and consists mostly of individuals who are little aware (Russian Jews of Ukrainian decent) and who cannot in any way be used to assist our cause”³⁹.

Thus, in 1917 Ukrainians in Finland actively participated in the Ukrainian national liberation movement, and the organizations they formed supported the politics of the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv. Ukrainians in Finland sought the proclamation of Ukrainian autonomy and the “ukrainization” of Russian army units. After the October Revolution in Petrograd, Ukrainian organizations in Finland did not recognize the Bolshevik regime, and from the fall of 1917 through 1918, they organized the return of Ukrainians to their homeland. By the beginning of 1919 most of the Ukrainians, who had been in Finland during these critical years, found their way back home.

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¹ Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади і управління України (Central state archive of higher authority organs and administration of Ukraine) (ЦДАВО). – Ф. 4100. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 9 – 10.

² Известия Гельсингфорского Совета Депутатов Армии, флота и Рабочих Свеаборгского порта. – 1917. – 12 апреля.

³ ЦДАВО. – Ф. 4100. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 10.

⁴ Известия Гельсингфорского Совета... – 1917. – 20 апреля.

⁵ ЦДАВО. – Ф. 4100. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 16.

⁶ Ibid. – Арк. 10 – 11.

⁷ Ibid. – Арк. 7.

⁸ Ibid. – Арк. 7, 12; Нова Рада. – 1917. – 24 мая.

⁹ ЦДАВО. – Ф. 4100. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 11.

¹⁰ Вісти з Української Центральної Ради. – 1917. – № 7. – Травень.

¹¹ Нова Рада. – 1917. – 24 мая.

¹² Kansallisarkisto, Venäläinen sotilasasiakirja. Kansio № 3221. – S. 25.

¹³ ЦДАВО. – Ф. 1076. – Оп. 2. – Спр. 1. – Арк. 72.

¹⁴ Ibid. – Ф. 4100. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 35 – 36.

¹⁵ Ibid. – Арк. 7, 23, 25, 31, 32.

¹⁶ Ibid. – Арк. 28, 34.

- ¹⁷ Известия Гельсингфорского Совета.... 1917.– 8 (21) июля.
- ¹⁸ Ibid. – 19 октября (1 ноября); Книгарь. – Ч. 3. – 1917. – Листопад.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. – 6 июля (23 июня).
- ²⁰ ЦДАВО. – Ф. 4100. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 4. – Арк. 1, 4.
- ²¹ Ibid. – Арк. 176.
- ²² Вісник Українського військового генерального комітету. – 1917. – 15 вересня.
- ²³ ЦДАВО України. – Ф. 4100. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 28. – Арк. 463.
- ²⁴ Российский государственный архив военно-морского флота. – Ф. Р-183. – Оп. 1. – Дело. 18. – С. 39; Моряки в борьбе за власть Советов на Украине. Ноябрь 1917 – 1920 гг. – Сборник документов. – Москва, 1963. – С. 52.
- ²⁵ Вольный юг. – 1917. – 29 декабря.
- ²⁶ Юссіла Осмо, Гентіля Сеппо, Неваківі Юкка. Від Великого Князівства до сучасної держави. Політична історія Фінляндії від 1809 року. – Київ, 2002. – С. 118.
- ²⁷ Before the February Revolution of 1917 P.Slyvenko served in Sveaborg. In December 1917 an Executive Council of Ukrainians of the North front appointed him commissar of Ukrainian affairs in Finland.
- ²⁸ ЦДАВО України. – Ф. 2184. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 1. – Арк. 21.
- ²⁹ Маннергейм Карл Густав. Мемуары. – Москва, 1999. – С. 93.
- ³⁰ ЦДАВО. – Ф. 3512. – Оп. 2.– Спр. 9. – Арк. 36.
- ³¹ Ibid. – Арк. 46.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid.– Арк. 7.
- ³⁴ Ibid.– Спр. 12. – Арк. 52 – 54.
- ³⁵ Ibid.– Спр. 2. – Арк. 124 – 126.
- ³⁶ Ibid. – Спр. 10. – Арк. 24 – 25.
- ³⁷ Ibid.– Арк. 37.
- ³⁸ Ibid.– Спр. 43.
- ³⁹ Ibid.– Спр. 19. – Арк. 9.

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УКРАЇНЦІ У ФІНЛЯНДІЇ В 1917 – 1918 РОКАХ

На початку 1917 року в російських військових частинах, дислокованих на території Фінляндії, українці займали друге за чисельністю місце після росіян. Переважно це були матроси Балтійського флоту, головна база якого знаходилась у Гельсінгфорсі (Гельсінкі), а також солдати 42-го армійського корпусу зі штабом у Выборзі, прикордонних військ, гарнізонів фортів, обслуги берегової артилерії тощо.

Після лютневої революції в Петрограді українці у Фінляндії активно включились в український національно-визвольний рух. Створені ними національні організації підтримували політику Української Центральної Ради у Києві, виступали за автономію України. Після жовтневого перевороту у Петрограді вони не визнали більшовицької влади.

В статті висвітлюється діяльність українських національних організацій у Фінляндії, їх спроби українізувати декілька кораблів Балтійського флоту, сформувати військові частини, укомплектовані українцями.

З осені 1917 року розпочалося організоване повернення українців на батьківщину, яке тривало впродовж усього 1918 року. Цією справою займалися комісар українських справ у Фінляндії, Український комітет, Посольство і консульство Української Держави.

На початок 1919 року більшість українців, яких доля закинула в цей переломний час у Фінляндію, повернулись в Україну.