

UDC 930.253:94-054.73(477+438)«1920/1921»

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## THE CENTRAL BUREAU OF REFUGEES FROM UKRAINE IN TARNÓW AND ITS AFFILIATES: ORIGIN, STRUCTURE, ACTIVITIES (1920–1922)

Basing on analysed archival documents, the author studied the process of creation of the Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Tarnów and its affiliates in Częstochowa, Gusyatyn and Ternopil, defined personal staff of the organization, examined the main its activities and showed its impact on the lives of the Ukrainian emigration in Poland at the end of 1920–1922.

*Key words:* the Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Tarnów, the State Centre of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Poland, the Ukrainian civil emigration in Poland.

The national liberation movement in Ukraine in 1917–1921 led to many changes in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the country. An important negative consequence of these events became significant population movements within the country and Ukrainian emigration abroad. Because of the defeat of the Polish-Ukrainian troops in the war against the Bolsheviks in autumn 1920, to the territory of Poland had to move about 27000 troops of the Ukrainian People's Republic Army and about 3000 civilian refugees. According to the agreement with the Polish authorities, the Ukrainian People's Republic Army kept its combat capability and was interned in camps in Kalisz, Łańcut, Piotrków Trybunalski, Pikulice, Vadovichi, Aleksandrów Kujawski, Stradom near Częstochowa, Dabie near Krakow and other places. The Ukrainian Army, given the interest of the Polish Government in its combat readiness, received continual funding and was provided with the necessary minimum. The employees of government agencies of the Ukrainian People's Republic that went over the River Zbruch together with army units were located in Tarnów and Częstochowa. The situation of civilian refugees differed somewhat from that of the military: they were less organized and much less well off financially because their maintenance was not included in the sphere of interest of the Polish government<sup>1</sup>.

In fact, in late October – early November 1920 the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic faced the urgent problem to household employees of the Ukrainian ministries and agencies, to determine their legal status in the foreign country, as well as to establish relationships with the local authorities. The organization that erected that time and for a long period performed those functions became the Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Tarnów (hereinafter – the CBR).

Activities of the CBR, which was one of the first Ukrainian civil emigration aid organizations in Poland, in the historical literature was almost never investigated. Some historians, including J. Bruskyi, A. Vishka, M. Pavlenko, mention the Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Tarnów in their studies on the history of Ukrainian political emigration in Poland<sup>2</sup>. R. Davydyuk delivers some information about the work of the CBR while studying the social and political activity of A. Stryzhevskyi that some time led the CBR affiliate in Częstochowa<sup>3</sup>. Some episodes of the general information on the activities of the Bureau can be found in the monograph of V. Piskun<sup>4</sup>. Meanwhile, the sources we have studied are accumulated in the archival collections 3323 «The Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Tarnów, Tarnów City (Poland)» and 3324 «The Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine, Tarnów City (Poland)» preserved in the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine, and allow to comprehensively explore the history of this organization.

In the presented scientific exploration, the author seeks to reproduce the history of the origin of the CBR and its affiliates, to determine the main directions of their activity, to define the staffing of these organizations, to analyze how the organization influenced the life of Ukrainian emigrants in Poland.

The establishment of the Central Bureau has its own history. On November 27, 1920, the Council of People's Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic, after hearing the report of the Minister I. Ohiyenko on the situation of the evacuated from Kam'yanets employees of ministries and departments of the Ukrainian People's Republic, came to the decision to create the Commission on the



location of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in the following composition: the Chairman – the Minister of Religious Affairs I. Ohiyenko, the Deputy Chairman – the Friend of the Minister of Internal Affairs M. Litvitskyi, the Committee member – the Governor of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs - I. Palyvoda. Then the Council of People's Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic (hereinafter – the UPR) delegated the Commission to place about 200 government officials in Tarnów<sup>5</sup>. On December 3, 1920, the Chairman of the Commission on the location of government agencies of the UPR I. Ohiyenko appointed the Commandant of the Ukrainian People's Republic agencies in Tarnów Ye. Halanevych<sup>6</sup> and delegated him to locate the chancelleries of the UPR ministries at the local hotel «Bristol»<sup>7</sup>.

However, the above-mentioned persons perform their duties not long. On December 6, 1920, the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR, at the request of I. Ohiyenko ridded him of his duties as the Chairman of the Commission on location of the UPR government agencies. Accordingly, to the newly created post of the Chief on evacuation and locations of the UPR government agencies was appointed the Governor of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs I. Palyvoda<sup>8</sup>. The Commission itself, obviously, de facto ceased to exist, as it was not mentioned in further archival documents.

On December 7, 1920, Ye. Halanevych turned to I. Palyvoda asking to rid him of his duties as the Commandant of the UPR agencies in Tarnów, reasoning his decision by overloading on the main post at the State Chancellery of the UPR<sup>9</sup>. After Ye. Halanevych was fired, the post of the Commandant of the UPR agencies was reduced. This same December 7, 1920, de facto emerged the Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Tarnów. I. Palyvoda appointed the Chief of this Bureau whom became the Deputy Director of the Land Reform Department, the Ministry of Land Affairs, O. Zybenka; the Chief of the Bureau Chancellery was appointed the Senior officer of the Ministry of Land Affairs F. Dudko<sup>10</sup>. Legally, the establishment of the CBR was laid down by the Resolution of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR on January 2, 1921<sup>11</sup>.

It was not clear, what role the Polish government circles played in creating the CBR, but definitely, it could be affirmed that the emergence of this organization was profitable for the official Warsaw because from that time it did not have to contact with the unrecognized government, but with the completely legitimate organization of Ukrainian refu-

gees. On December 21, 1921, Josyp Chervins'kyi was appointed the representative of the CBR at the Eldership of Tarnów<sup>12</sup>. On December 23, 1920, the Chairman of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR A. Livyts'kyi authorized the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR I. Palyvoda to cooperate with Polish local authorities in the sphere of sighting and obtaining the appropriate licenses and permits for refugees from Ukraine<sup>13</sup>.

Given the lack of the own staff and targeted funding, the CBR was forced to apply to central government agencies from the UPR to provide staff to work in the Bureau providing the mandatory exemption from their main work. In reality, that meant that the employees of ministries and agencies continued to hold their positions and receive their salary there, but had to work at the CBR. However, government agencies were few in number and their staff was not always enough, that was the reason why some of them (the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Private Chancellery for the Chairman of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR, the State Control Authority, the Chancellery of the Directoria, the State Chancellery) immediately responded with the refuse<sup>14</sup>. The rest of the government agencies of the UPR provided the staff to work at the CBR. Namely, from the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the Bureau were employed - Ivan Karbows'kyi, Mykhailo Pasichenko, Josyp Chervins'kyi, Luka Lytynskyi<sup>15</sup>; the Ministry of Finance – Olga Dudryk; the Private Chancellery for the Chairman of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR – Victor Horishchenko<sup>16</sup>; the Ministry of Thoroughfares – Konrad Billy; the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs – Stanislav Sidlets'kyi. Candidate of Economics Dmytro Haponiv-Nesterenko also showed his willingness to work at the CBR; being not an employee of any of the government agencies, after his appointment, he had to work without any maintenance<sup>17</sup>.

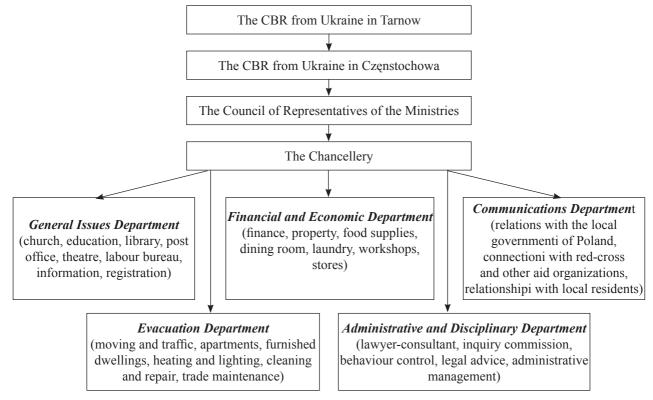
The Order of the CBR from December 14, 1920 approved the basic structure of the Bureau. Namely, M. Pasichenko was appointed to the post of the chief of reference and statistics division; I. Karbows'kyi – the host of the location house for the UPR and the CBR (the hotel «Bristol»); D. Haponiv-Nesterenko – the assistant of the Chief of the Chancellery, J. Chervins'kyi – the governor for authorizations and communication with the Polish authorities, L. Lytynskyy – the courier at the Chancellery of the CBR, O. Dudryk and K. Billy – the governors of the Chancellery<sup>18</sup>. The CBR erection was completed after S Trembyts'kyi (on December 16, 1920) and V. Horishchenko (on December 24, 1920)<sup>19</sup> were appointed the couriers.



In late December 1920, when launched the Interdepartmental Commission for the settlement of the staff for state agencies of the UPR, the Head of the CBR O. Zybenko attempted to provide the Bureau with the staff employees. On December 23, 1920, he applied to the mentioned above Commission asking to provide the CBR «the private staff of 12 persons, entirely free from work in other institutions»<sup>20</sup>. However, the task of the Commission was downsizing the staffs of state institutions in order to save public money but not to create new jobs. That is why, O. Zybenlo's request was not satisfied. Looking ahead, it is worth noting that the private staff and not seconded from other government agencies of the UPR, in the CBR appeared only after January 1, 1922.

For coordination between the CBR and government agencies, the institute of connectors was started. Hence, from the Private Chancellery for the Chairman of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR these functions fulfilled Vasyl' Pashchenko, from the State Chancellery - Stepan Dodon, the State Control Authority - Omelyan Kitsera, the Ministry of Military Forces – Khorunzhyi Lebediv, the Ministry of Finance – Ivan Iskra, the Ministry of Education - Hnat Stadnyk, the Ministry of Press and Propaganda - Ivan Sochyns'kyi, the Ministry of Thoroughfares - Zhydkivs'kyi (later Yefrosynia Korovko), the Military Chancellery of the Chief Otaman – Poruchyk Pomohailenko<sup>21</sup>. Their task was to maintain the CBR work with government agencies as far as all the appeals from ministries and departments to the CBR were exclusively accepted through the connector. The Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR I. Palyvoda even announced that the requests of the institutions that had not appointed their connectors were out of consideration<sup>22</sup>.

Soon was formed the first and the largest affiliate of the CBR. On December 8, 1920, according to the Order of the CBR No 3, was eliminated the Kommandatura of institutions of the UPR in Częstochowa, and to its place was created the Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Częstochowa, completely subordinated to the CBR from Ukraine in Tarnów. The Head of the Bureau in Częstochowa was appointed Anton Stryzhevs'kyi - an active Ukrainian public figure by which the Bureau developed a quite extensive activity<sup>23</sup>. In a few days, A. Stryzhevs'kyi maintained the structure of the Bureau, on which he reported to Tarnów on December 12, 1921. According to the determined structure, general issues concerning the location and life organization of the officials were the remits of the Bureau of refugees. For specific tasks and coordination with all government agencies, the Bureau created the Council of Representatives of the Ministries. To provide the so-called «technical control» over all the affairs in the Bureau had to be set up chancelleries and several departments with specific functions. Overall, the structure of the Bureau seemed to A. Stryzhevs'kyias follows<sup>24</sup>:



Under the care of the Bureau in Częstochowa in late 1920 were more than 2,000 refugees (as of June 1, 1921 – 1,300 persons<sup>25</sup>, July 1, 1921 – 775 persons<sup>26</sup>). Accordingly, its staff was much more numerous than of the CBR. At the end of December, 1920, it employed 33 persons, with the greatest number of employees provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of 18 persons, by the Ministry of Thoroughfares – 7 persons and the Ministry of Military Forces – 8 persons<sup>27</sup>. As of March 9, key posts in the Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Częstochowa occupied:

Chief of the Bureau	-	A. Stryzhevs'kyi (the Ministry of Internal Affairs)
Director of Chancellery	-	I. Oksakivskyi (the Ministry of Thoroughfares)
Head of the Juridical Department	-	I. Lileiv (the Ministry of Thoroughfares)
Head of the Economical Department	-	M. Fesenko (the Ministry of Thoroughfares)
Head of the Communications Department	-	I. Kuziv (the Ministry of Internal Affairs)
Head of the General Issues Department	-	M. Lityns'kyi (the Ministry of Internal Affairs)
Lawyer-consultant	-	Yu. Sorokovenko (the Ministry of Internal Affairs)
Inquisitor	-	O. Voskoboinikov (the Ministry of Military Forces)
Accommodator	-	M. Dorozhyns'kyi (the Ministry of Internal Affairs)
Commandant of the military internment camp «Stradom»	_	O. Lippe (the Ministry of Military Forces)

Unfortunately, we could not detect the Charter and other foundation documents of the CBR regulating the activities of the Bureau. Judging by the further work of the organization, it had to resolve two main objectives: 1) to supply householding of civil

M. Halyshka

(the Ministry of

Thoroughfares)28

Commandant of the

«Shkil'nyi»

military internment camp

emigrants from Ukraine in places of their compact accommodation (rent for central government agencies of the UPR, keeping order in places of work and residence of the Ukrainians, medical care, social security, food points erection, etc.), and 2) to interact with local authorities in Poland to determine the legal status of emigrants in Poland (residence permit and relocation, issuance of identification documents, registration of the refugees from Ukraine, etc.).

The CBR provided the emigrants from Ukraine with receiving all necessary permits for residence in Poland. In particular, through the intermediary of the CBR in the Eldership of Tarnów Ukrainian emigrants could get the permit to stay and travel within the whole of Poland, and in the Liquidation Committee – the permit for householding in Tarnów<sup>29</sup>. The CBR also assisted emigrants in issuance of identification documents instead of lost or stolen ones<sup>30</sup>.

The CBR at the request of the Polish authorities had to regulate and restrict the movement of refugees from Ukraine within Poland. For instance, military and civilian refugees from Częstochowa could get into Tarnów only after a call made through the CBR<sup>31</sup>. The procedure for such movement was approximately as follows: 1) a public institution of the UPR made a request to the CBR, 2) the CBR appealed to Polish local authorities to give the permit to stay in Tarnów; 3) upon approval, the CBR reported on it into an appropriate institution; 4) only then one could move to Tarnów. The CBR duty also consisted in forced eviction to Częstochowa of those Ukrainians, who had no residence permit in Tarnów.

The situation with the legalization of the Ukrainians on the territory of Poland became even more complicated after the elimination of Tarnów Agency of the Headquarters of the General military district in Krakow on May 17, 1921. The mentioned above organization provided the so-called «political visas» to Ukrainian emigrants based on which the latter were taken on record in Polish local authorities.

After its elimination, other authority with the same duties was not established. Also, on May 30, 1921, the Chief of the CBR O. Zybenko proposed to the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR V. Hynenko-Saviys'kyi to petition the Government of Poland henceforth to vise Ukrainian passports by the elderships without any preliminary obtaining of «political visas» and with the received visas to provide the Ukrainians with the same rights as other foreigners including the right to leave the borders of Poland<sup>32</sup>.

Certain difficulties the CBR had to overcome in the case of Ukrainian emigrants settling in Poland, especially in Eastern Galicia and Volyn'. In line with



the Order of the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs of July 8, 1921, all emigrants from the Greater Ukraine were forbidden to reside in Ternopil, Stanislav and L'viv voivodeships, Ostrog, Dubno, Kremenets' and other counties<sup>33</sup>. On July 16, 1921, the CBR raised the question to the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs on the abolition of restrictions on the accommodation of emigrants from Ukraine in the Eastern Borderlands. In response, the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs reported that it was impossible to terminate the Circular of June 8, 1921, but former officials of the UPR could be permitted to live in Volyn' and Galicia on condition of wanting listings<sup>34</sup>.

Since the end of November 1921, through the intermediary of the CBR, a large number of emigrants in Tarnów and Częstochowa received the Polish local government identity cards (*in Polish* – karta identyczności) providing the right of free residence in Poland. According to archival documents, by the end of 1922 inclusive, the CBR was appealed for the issuance of such cards. In particular, have been preserved the appeals of such famous Ukrainian government and military officials as I. Ohiyenko, V. Sal'skyi, A. Marshyns'kyi, G. Dombrows'kyi, P. Pylypchuk, A. Stryzhevs'kyi, I. Kabachkiv, X. Lebid'-Yurchik, M. Kryzhanivs'kyi, etc.<sup>35</sup>.

Almost all the political and social life of the Ukrainians in Tarnów in that period associated with to the hotel «Bristol». The Ukrainian Government chose that place as a seat for the UPR government agencies during a temporary stay in Poland in August 1920. It also became a workplace for the ministries and departments of the UPR after its forced departure from Ukraine in October 1920. Activities of the CBR in Tarnów was closely linked to the hotel «Bristol» - the Bureau worked in one of the hotel rooms, had to rent other rooms and distribute them among the UPR government agencies and keep them in order. The archival collection 3323 of the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine contains a number of appeals from the UPR ministries and departments on allotment of premises<sup>36</sup>, provision of additional furniture (tables)<sup>37</sup>, exchange more spacious rooms for less roomy (due to inability to pay rent)<sup>38</sup> and so on.

For a long time, the CBR failed to provide an adequate level of maintenance of order at the hotel «Bristol». The main problem was unregulated «rooming overnight» at the «Bristol» of the officials coming to Tarnów on business. These individuals often could not finish their jobs within one day and having no funds for rent, roomed overnight at the «Bristol» directly on desktops, breaking accommodation rules and sometimes bringing irreparable ma-

terial damage<sup>39</sup>.

Careless attitude of some Ukrainians to the property in the hotel caused discontent of the owner, engineer (in Polish – cywilny inżynier budowy) Janusz Rypushynskyi. On January 3, 1921, in the letter to the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR I. Palyvoda, J. Rypushyns'kyi asked not to cook and use the samovar in the rooms and halls, and «use the closet in a well-mannered way». In case, these comments were not eliminated. the owner of the hotel threatened urgently to evict the customers<sup>40</sup>. Obviously, this appeal brought no expected results, since in the letter to the Chief of the CBR of January 27, 1921, J. Rypushyns'kyi expressed categorical protest against the use of hotel halls as bedrooms, and the damage to the floor and furniture caused by the customers<sup>41</sup>. The Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR I. Palyvoda promptly responded to the demand of the owner of the hotel, in particular, he asked the Minister of Internal Affairs of the UPR O. Salikovskyi to ban outsiders rooming overnight at the hotel «Bristol», ordered to ban «washing on the corridors», and recommended the Governor over the Affairs of the Directoria «to draw attention to irregularities in the kitchen threatening the eviction»<sup>42</sup>.

Despite the actions taken by I. Palyvoda, it became clear to the Government of the UPR that the current Chief on evacuation and the CBR was no longer able to ensure order at the hotel «Bristol». On January 31, 1921, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the UPR O. Salikovskyi wrote to the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR I. Palyvoda that attempting to streamline the internal life at the seat of the UPR government agencies, the Ministry of Internal Affairs had to assume the following administrative functions: «a) the custody; b) the permit to room overnight in the parterre of the «Bristol» and to stay in Tarnów; c) the permit for various meetings; d) the censorship of ads and other kinds of messages posted to the public, and e) other administrative cases which could arise during our stay in exile»43. In fact, this statement served a signal to the replacement of the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR and to the re-subordination of the CBR directly to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the UPR.

On February 4, 1921, by the Decision the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR, I. Palyvoda was relieved of his duties as the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR at his own request; the appointment of a new Chief was postponed to the next meeting<sup>44</sup>. By the Decision of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR of



February 6, 1921, all questions concerning evacuation and locations of government agencies transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the UPR<sup>45</sup>. On February 11, 1921, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the UPR O. Salikovskyi appointed his deputy P. Dmytriyiv to the post of the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR<sup>46</sup>, and afterwards (late February – early March, 1921) his another deputy – V. Hynenko-Saviys'kyi<sup>47</sup>.

One of the main priorities of the newly-appointed Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR were extending the rent of premises occupied by the UPR government agencies at the hotel «Bristol». Hence, on March 8, 1921, at the meeting of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR, the Ministry of Finance of the UPR was delegated to pay the required funds for the hired accommodation <sup>48</sup>. The notary agreement on accommodation rent at the hotel «Bristol» was signed on March 19, 1921, by V. Hynenko-Saviys'kyi and the owner of the hotel J. Rypushynskyi<sup>49</sup>. After signing the agreement, documentary certified conflicts between the owner of the hotel and the UNR government agencies no longer existed.

Subsequently, the CBR managed to eliminate a number of other problems resulting in the negative treatment to the State Centre of the Ukrainian People's Republic and in the deterioration of relations with the owner of the property. In early October 1921, although late, the CBR introduced throughput system into the «Bristol», where government agencies have worked. Then all the employees of the UPR ministries and departments were registered, and each of them was issued a throughput certificate<sup>50</sup>. The CBR also resolved the problem of unregulated rooming overnight in the «Bristol», having established the Refugees rooming house in Tarnów. Unfortunately, we were unable to determine when it was founded and where it was located, but the house is mentioned in correspondence of the CBR employees in the second half of July 1921<sup>51</sup>.

The maintenance of a sufficiently large number of employees of the UPR central government agencies in Poland was an unbearable burden for the UPR emigration authorities. Accordingly, it supported the efforts of the emigrants to find some work in Poland. An important role in searching jobs for refugees played the CBR, which accumulated a variety of information about job opportunities, gave it to all comers, cooperated in this direction with the Ministry of Labour of the UPR and the Bureau of Labour. So, on June 24, 1921, the Ministry of Labour of the UPR sent the information about the labour market situation in Czechoslovakia, Germany,

Bulgaria and Poland to the CBR for their disposal<sup>52</sup>. On June 11, 1921, the Bureau of Labour, carrying out the study of the labour market in different parts of Poland, informed the CBR, that in Volyn', refugees from Ukraine could work in regional cooperatives in Rivne, Kremenets', Luts'k and Dubno (cooperation instructors, accountants); in primary, higher primary and secondary schools in Luts'k (teachers); the agricultural company «Kuchkarivka» in Luts'k (land surveyors), etc.<sup>53</sup>.

The information on employment opportunities for emigrants from Ukraine came into the CBR as from private individuals as from various organizations, namely, from the engineer G. Panchenko («The share union of wooden crafts and trade»)<sup>54</sup>, the head of the Kremenets' Prosvita S. Bachyns'kyi<sup>55</sup>, the Luts'k County Prosvita<sup>56</sup>, etc.

Later, under a gradual increase in the number of emigrants from Ukraine and Poland, arose the need to create new outlets of the CBR. Given the fact that refugees from the Greater Ukraine settled mainly in Galicia and Volyn', and in that very area establishing of the new CBR affiliates was the most reasonable. But it is worth remembering that Poland acted the prohibition for the Ukrainians to settle in the Eastern Borderlands. On the other hand, with the consent of the Polish government and military structures, on the border with Ukraine continued to operate the UPR border points through which came from Ukraine not only civilian refugees, but also fugitives who attempted to escape mobilization to the Bolshevik Red Army, but had a strong desire to serve in the UPR Army. The Polish government was forced to manoeuvre between their reluctance to allow the Ukrainians from over the Zbruch settle in Galicia and Volyn', and the necessity to perform their obligations to support the UPR Army. Consensus was reached through the proposal of the Polish side expressed at the beginning of March 1921 to provide the Ukrainian border crossings the status of the CBR affiliates that would legalize their work in Poland<sup>57</sup>.

The Law of the UPR «On Opening the Local Affiliates of the Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine» was adopted on June 10, 1921. According to the Law, aiming to register the refugees, to protect their interests and settle relations with the Polish authorities, in agreement with the Ministry of Finance and the State Control Authority of the UPR, the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR obtained the right to open new CBR affiliates in places where the refugees from Ukraine mostly clustered, as well as to employ and dismiss their employees. Administratively, the local affiliates subordinated to the CBR and were to be financed from the



state budget<sup>58</sup>.

Being aware of the difficulties in relations with the local Polish authorities, the Chief of the CBR tried to pave the way for opening new CBR affiliates. On June 16, 1921, he addressed the Chief on evacuation and locations of government agencies of the UPR: «Considering the fact, that the local Polish authorities, having no appropriate guidance from the Government, may treat the foundation of affiliates negatively, we should appeal to Warsaw so that the local authorities have to be instructed to reckon with the Central Bureau of the Refugees from Ukraine as with the legal entity»<sup>59</sup>. Here the basic functions of the CBR and its affiliates were also pointed out: 1) registration of refugees from Ukraine; 2) settlement of the refugees' legal status; 3) protection of their interests; 4) assistance in their accommodation, etc.<sup>60</sup>. According to the archival documents, on June 16, 1921, the UPR Government reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Poland about the planned launch of two CBR affiliates in Gusyatyn and Ternopil<sup>61</sup>.

The first of these affiliates was established in Ternopil. On June 13, 1921, the general meeting of the Aid section of the Ukrainian townsfolk committee for assistance to emigrants from Ukraine in Ternopil, having discussed the situation of Ukrainian emigrants in the city, approved to create the Ternopil CBR affiliate and elected its Chairman the front-line army civil commissioner at the UPR Army F. Sumnevych<sup>62</sup>.

The CBR affiliate in Gusyatyn emerged later. Unfortunately, we have not defined the exact date of its foundation, but can confidently affirm that this event took place before July 16, 1921, as this day dates back the appointment of Roman Sidlets'kyi, the Head of the Ukrainian Red Cross in Ternopil, to the post of the acting Head of the CBR affiliate in Gusyatyn<sup>63</sup>.

From the correspondence between newly appointed heads of affiliates (primarily, F. Sumnevych) and the Chief of the CBR in Tarnów, one can draw the general idea about the activities of affiliates, problems they came across in their work and relationship of the CBR with local Polish authorities. Each affiliate had its own seal and stamp, which contained the name of the organization in Ukrainian and Polish<sup>64</sup>.

Thus, the Central Bureau of Refugees from Ukraine in Tarnów was an integral part in the authorization of the UPR political emigration in Poland. The Bureau aimed to organize civil emigrants' householding and execute their legal status in Poland. Among its activities were the rent for the UPR central government agencies, maintaining the order in

places of work and residence of the Ukrainians, providing medical care, social security, organizing food points, arranging entertainment, obtaining residence and migration permits, issuance of identity documents, registration of refugees from Ukraine, etc. The emergence of affiliates allowed to expand the geography of the Bureau and to increase the number of refugees who were given all possible assistance. Throughout its existence, the Bureau stood guard protecting the interests of Ukrainian emigrants and immensely contributed to their cohesion in Poland.

<sup>1</sup> *Kolańczuk A.* Częnstochowa jako ośrodek życia oświatowo-kulturalnego emigrantów ukraińskich w latach 1920–1939 // Prace naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częnstochowie. Seria: Zeszyty Historyczneю. – 2000. – Z. 10. – S. 111; *Torzecki R.* Federacja czy wspólna obrona niezalieżności. Piłsudski i Petlura w latach 1919–1923 // Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze. – 1996. – Nr. 3. – S. 80; *Peва Н.* Українське товариство допомоги емігрантам з України та їх родинам у Львові // Українознавство. – 2009. – № 13. – С. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Bruski J. Petlurowcy. Centrum Państwowe Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej na wychodźstwie (1919-1924). -Kraków: ARCANA, 2000. – 600 s.; Wiszka E. Emigracja ukraińska w Polsce 1920-1939. - Toruń: MADO, 2004. -752 s.; *Вішка О*. Українська політична еміграція у Польщі (1920–1939) [Електронний ресурс] // Наукові записки [Національного університету «Острозька академія»]. Історичні науки. – 2008. – Вип. 11. – С. 47–57. – Режим доступу: http://nbuv.gov.ua/j-pdf/Nznuoai 2008 11 7.pdf. – Назва з екрана; Павленко М. Становище українських біженців у Польщі: їх підтримка польською владою, українством і міжнародною спільнотою (1921–1923) // Міжнародні зв'язки України: наукові пошуки і знахідки : зб. наук. пр. / Ін-т історії України НАН України. – Київ, 2000. – Вип. 9. – С. 90–103; Павленко М. Допомога української громадськості Польщі біженцям з Великої України (1921–1923) // Проблеми слов'янознавства. – 2000. – Вип. 51. – С. 107–111.

<sup>3</sup> Давидюк Р. Антон Стрижевський: життя українського політичного емігранта у ІІ Речіпосполитій // 3 архівів ВУЧК–ГПУ–НКВД–КГБ. – 2012. – № 1. – С. 163–180; Давидюк Р. Залізничник з «вагону Директорії»: штрихи біографії політемігранта Антона Стрижевського // Реабілітовані історією. Рівненська область / редкол. тому: співгол. М.П. Кривко, співгол. О. В. Губанов, відп. секретар А. А. Жив'юк [та ін.]; упоряд.: О. А. Білоконь, Р. П. Давидюк, А. А. Жив'юк (кер.) [та ін.]. – Рівне: ПП ДМ, 2013. – Кн. 3. – С. 33–45.

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<sup>5</sup> The Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine, Fond 3323, Inventory 1, File 6, Fol. 2, 23–23 v.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Fond 3324, Inventory 1, File 12, Fol. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Fol. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Fond 3323, Inventory 1, File 6, Fol. 10 v.



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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., Fond 3324, Inventory 1, File 12, Fol. 10.
                                                                                              <sup>36</sup> Ibid., File. 11, Fols. 19, 21.
     10 Ibid., Fols. 10, 12, 27-28, 33.
                                                                                              <sup>37</sup> Ibid., Fol. 64.
     <sup>11</sup> Ibid., Fond 3323, Inventory 1, File 5, Fol. 30.
                                                                                              38 Ibid., Fol. 73.
     12 Ibid., Fols. 18-19.
                                                                                              <sup>39</sup> Ibid., Fols. 39, 43, 48–48 v.
     13 Ibid., Fol. 21.
                                                                                              <sup>40</sup> Ibid., Fols. 67–68 v.
     <sup>14</sup> Ibid., Fond 3324, Inventory 1, File 12, Fols. 11, 13, 15,
                                                                                              <sup>41</sup> Ibid., Fol. 61–61 v.
16, 20, 36.
                                                                                              42 Ibid., File 9, Fol. 26.
     15 Ibid., Fols. 14, 31.
                                                                                              <sup>43</sup> Ibid, Fond 3324, Inventory 1, File 5, Fol. 44.
     16 Ibid., Fol. 35.
                                                                                              44 Ibid., File 12, Fol. 53.
     <sup>17</sup> Ibid., Fol. 21.
                                                                                              <sup>45</sup> Ibid., File 5, Fol. 51.
                                                                                              <sup>46</sup> Ibid., Fol. 56.
     <sup>18</sup> Ibid., Fol. 31–31 v.
                                                                                              <sup>47</sup> Ibid., Fol. 54.
     <sup>19</sup> Ibid., Fond 3126, Inventory 1, File 1, Fol. 17.
                                                                                              <sup>48</sup> Ibid., Fol. 54.
     <sup>20</sup> Ibid., Fond 3126, Inventory 1, File 1, Fol. 17.
                                                                                              <sup>49</sup> Ibid., Fols. 59-60 v.
     <sup>21</sup> Ibid., Fond 3324, Inventory 1, File 12, Fols. 2, 38, 39.
     <sup>22</sup> Ibid., Fond 3323, Inventory 1, File 5, Fol. 16.
                                                                                              <sup>50</sup> Ibid., Fond 3323, Inventory 1, File 9, Fol. 19–19v.
     <sup>23</sup> Ibid., Fol. 8.
                                                                                              <sup>51</sup> Ibid., File 8, Fol. 77.
     <sup>24</sup> Ibid., File 3, Fol. 51–51 v.
                                                                                              <sup>52</sup> Ibid., Fol. 60-60 v.
     <sup>25</sup> Ibid., Fol. 139.
                                                                                              <sup>53</sup> Ibid., File 9, Fol. 4–4v.
     <sup>26</sup> Ibid., Fol. 136.
                                                                                              <sup>54</sup> Ibid., File 11, Fol. 46.
     <sup>27</sup> Ibid., Fol. 27–27 v.
                                                                                              <sup>55</sup> Ibid., Fond 3324, Inventory 1, File 5, Fol. 77–77 v.
     <sup>28</sup> Ibid., Fond 3126, Inventory 1, File 2, Fol. 80.
                                                                                              <sup>56</sup> Ibid., Fol. 78–78 v.
     <sup>29</sup> Ibid., Fond 3323, Inventory 1, File 11, Fol. 28.
                                                                                              <sup>57</sup> Ibid., Fond 3323, Inventory 1, File 14, Fol. 3.
     <sup>30</sup> Ibid., Fols. 26–29, 36, 43, 52.
                                                                                              <sup>58</sup> Ibid., File 13, Fol. 24.
     <sup>31</sup> Ibid., File 5, Fol. 34; Ibid., File. 3, Fol. 12.
                                                                                              <sup>59</sup> Ibid., Fol. 6.
                                                                                              60 Ibid.
     <sup>32</sup> Ibid., File 15, Fol. 7–7v.
                                                                                              61 Ibid., Fol. 19.
     <sup>33</sup> Ibid., File 14, Fol. 12.
     <sup>34</sup> Ibid., File 13, Fol. 19.
                                                                                              62 Ibid., Fols. 7-8.
     35 Ibid., File 15, Fols. 65, 69, 84, 141, 147, 162, 183, 206,
                                                                                              63 Ibid., Fol. 14.
210.
                                                                                              64 Ibid., Fol. 19-19 v.
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На основі архівних документів проаналізовано процес створення Центрального бюро біженців з України в Тарнові та його філій у Ченстохові, Гусятині і Тернополі, визначено персональний склад організації, досліджено основні напрямки діяльності бюро та показано його вплив на життя української еміграції у Польщі наприкінці 1920—1922 рр.

*Ключові слова:* Центральне бюро біженців з України у Тарнові, Державний центр УНР у Польщі, українська цивільна еміграція у Польщі.

На основе архивных документов проанализирован процесс создания Центрального бюро беженцев из Украины в Тарнове и его филиалов в Ченстохове, Гусятине и Тернополе, определены персональный состав организации, исследованы основные направления деятельности бюро и показано его влияние на жизнь украинской эмиграции в Польше в конце 1920–1922 гг.

*Ключевые слова:* Центральное бюро беженцев из Украины в Тарнове, Государственный центр УНР в Польше, украинская гражданская эмиграция в Польше.