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FORMATION OF UKRAINIAN DISPLACED PERSONS (DPs) IN POST-WAR BAVARIA, 1945–1947

Становлення спільноти українських переміщених осіб у післявоєнній Баварії 1945–1947

The modern world has encountered a problem of displaced persons and refugees. Due to wars and military conflicts, many people from all over the world are moving to European and American countries in search of places to live. DP status is one of the questions that European politicians try to resolve. However, this problem is not new for Europe. After World War II, European countries had

already encountered DPs, organizing aid for them in social, economic, and other fields. The example of Ukrainians in Bavaria represents one of the DP conditions in post-war Europe. The aim of this paper is to analyse the position of Ukrainian DPs in post-war Bavaria from 1945–1947, as well as to characterize the main social conditions DPs faced there. This paper is based on documents that provide information about the main DP camps, aid organizations, and routes taken by Ukrainians to Bavaria. The lack of modern research on DPs after World War II confirms its relevance and emphasizes its novelty. Moreover, this article provides a basis for comparing the problem of Ukrainian DPs then and now in Europe. Therefore, the author aims to demonstrate in this article that Ukrainians were not repatriated because of their social activity. Taking into consideration the Ukrainian position in DP camps regarding education, the healthcare system, and other social fields, the article explains the reality of Ukrainian life in Bavaria. The conclusion of this article demonstrates that despite their DP status, Ukrainians in Bavaria began forming as a national minority after World War II.

Keywords: Ukrainian national life, social conditions, wartime events.

Сучасний світ зіткнувся з проблемою переміщених осіб і біженців. Через війни й конфлікти безліч людей з усього світу тікають до Європи і Північної Америки, намагаючись знайти притулок. Однак проблема переміщених осіб не нова. Після Другої світової війни європейські держави вже зустрічалися з питанням переміщених осіб. Допомогові організації УНППА й ІРО надавали соціальну і економічну допомогу тисячам осіб, що опинилися за межами постійних місць проживання. Одним із прикладів соціального становища переміщених осіб був український приклад в Баварії. Зіткнувшись з проблемами соціального статусу, часто з обмеженими правами, українці були змушені шукати можливостей залишитися в Баварії і уникнути репатріації до СРСР. Мета дослідження впливає з поставленої гіпотези, згідно з якою уникнути репатріації українцям вдалося завдяки соціальній активності, й полягає в тому, щоб проаналізувати статус переміщених осіб на прикладі українців Баварії. Брак праць щодо переміщених осіб у післявоєнній Баварії свідчить про новизну дослідження. Стаття є актуальною з огляду на порівняння переміщених осіб після війни з сучасним статусом. Висновки підтверджують, що українські переміщені особи, які змогли затвердитись у суспільстві започаткували формування української національної меншини.

Ключові слова: українське національне життя, соціальні умови, воєнні події.

Introduction. After the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, many European states encountered a problem of Ukrainian refugees and granted them DP status. EU member states became a new home for thousands of Ukrainians.

This article aims to analyze the main social conditions of Ukrainians in Bavaria from 1945 to 1947. The goal of the paper is to highlight all the principles of social life in DP camps and explain why Ukrainians stayed there. To achieve this, the tasks are based on the principles of historicism and objectivism, which allow for a comprehensive examination of all aspects of DP life in chronological and spatial contexts. Historiographical analysis serves as the primary method to identify the key scholarly perspectives of contemporaries of DPs as well as modern research.

The problem of Ukrainian displaced persons in Bavaria was described in articles from the 20th century by former DPs who experienced the post-war atmosphere. The author of this paper attempts to explain the main aspects of the formation of Ukrainian DPs in Bavaria, considering works that describe educational, healthcare, and social aspects of life. One such work, «Ukrainian Gymnasium in Bayreuth» by Kost Kysilevsky, characterizes the conditions of DP camps in the city and the status of Ukrainians. Another article, «Bayreuth Gymnasium Students in Camp Environment» by Yaroslav Lyktei, provides more information on the educational life of Ukrainians. It explores the process of educational formation in the camps and describes the national life of Ukrainians. «Nurses in Mittenwald» by Teodosiia Stryk-Koverko discusses medical courses for Ukrainian doctors and profiles various professionals in Ukrainian DP society. «History of Munich Karlsfeld» by Ostap Vynytsky portrays the everyday life of Ukrainians in camps. The most recent work on the problem of Ukrainian DPs in Bavaria is the book «Formation of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich in 1945–1950», written for its anniversary in 2021. This work, appreciated by the Ukrainian Free University and Lviv Polytechnic National University, authored by Artem Kokosh, is the first to explain the origins of the Munich period of the university and DP camps.

Officially, displaced persons were individuals who found themselves outside their countries due to the war or were residing in Germany, Austria, and Italy, and those who could not or did not want to return to their national countries or previous places of residence due to persecution based on racial, religious, or political reasons. By the end of the war, there were more than 8 million displaced persons in Europe. This group included not only emigrants from the USSR forced to leave due to repression but also ostarbeiters deported for forced labor, workers from Eastern Europe who voluntarily worked in German industry, war prisoners, collaborators afraid to return due to involvement with the Nazi regime, soldiers escaping from the ranks of the Soviet army, and individuals whose homes were destroyed. Recognizing the consequences of Soviet occupation, most displaced persons sought refuge in Germany or Austria, which were under the control of the American and British armies¹.

¹ Церковна всевітня служба. N.d. ДіПі — це люди. Протестантська програма для переміщених осіб. Нью-Йорк. С. 4.

Results of the research. After World War II, Bavaria became one of the main DP centers in post-war Europe. Many East European nations sought refuge in the region under the protection of the American army, hoping for a better life. However, these individuals were classified as displaced persons and were expected to be repatriated to their former places of residence. The main challenge Ukrainians faced in post-war Europe was the risk of being returned to the USSR. In order to remain in Bavaria, Ukrainian DPs had to demonstrate their social responsibility.

The aid organization UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) handled the affairs of millions of DPs. In 1943, 44 states formed UNRRA with the aim of providing aid and rebuilding the economic life of devastated countries, primarily focusing on Western nations initially. UNRRA was most active in 1944, providing significant aid to the USSR and its allies. According to the organization's charter, DPs who were persecuted for their religious or political beliefs and deported during the war were eligible for assistance. The main objective was to repatriate a large number of refugees to their respective countries. Displaced persons who refused repatriation were compelled to do so. However, with the consent of the governments of affected states, UNRRA continued to offer assistance and legal guardianship to those in need (Сербин, 1985, с. 117–121).

The life of East European DPs in Bavaria was characterized by the temporary nature of their stay in camps. Attempts to repatriate displaced persons to their pre-war countries of residence often involved threats of forced return for representatives of East European states. Restrictions on emigrants' standard of living led to a reduction in national life and distorted the perception of the emigration issue, portraying DPs not as political emigrants but as homeless fugitives. Consequently, emigrants were categorized into camp workers and non-camp workers. Given the limitations on their freedom of movement, escaping the conditions of being a DP was extremely difficult (Доктор М. М, n.d., с. 174).

The position of Ukrainians in Bavaria was not different from their position in other zones under the Western Allies. All of them were classified as stateless persons and refused repatriation. A separate group consisted of Ukrainians who emigrated from Ukraine in 1919–1920 or later from Poland and Romania, residing in Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Germany, or other countries, and not accepting the citizenship of those mentioned states.

Czechoslovakia was the main center from which Ukrainians reached Bavaria. Ukrainians who decided to move faced the challenge of leaving Czech territory quickly to avoid Bolshevik repression. The only viable direction from Prague was westward, towards the nearest Austrian and German territories accessible by car or train. However, in April 1945, as war reached the city, this became a significant obstacle: damaged railway tracks and bombings severely hindered transportation and evacuation efforts. Consequently, Ukrainians had to depart in small groups. The transportation difficulties were exploited by agents facilitating

departures; although they could expedite finding transport, the chaotic wartime conditions meant success was not guaranteed for those attempting to leave the Protectorate of Bohemia (Кокoш, А. 2021, 36).

During the German occupation, a large number of Ukrainians were deported to Germany for forced labor. Representatives of both the old and new emigrations were considered equal in rights. New emigrants, who were citizens of the USSR before 1939 and were brought to Germany from Ukrainian territories, along with other Eastern European nationals, were expected to return to their homelands. As a result, cases of depression and feelings of inferiority were not uncommon among the DPs. The material situation of the DPs worsened considering that displaced persons and refugees had lost their property during the war and depended on assistance from UNRRA.

Immediately after the establishment of camps, there was a need for aid organizations. The Ukrainian Institution of Guardianship and Advice, established on May 8, 1945, and the Ukrainian Red Cross, founded in October of the same year and reorganized into the Sanitary and Charitable Service in 1946, operated in Munich. Ukrainian aid committees from the USA, Canada, Great Britain, Argentina, and other countries helped support the activities of these aid organizations (Кокoш, А., n.d., с. 182). Support increased in 1947 with the establishment of the Representative Office of the United Ukrainian-American Relief Committee in the American zone of Germany. These aid organizations aimed to improve the situation of Ukrainians in the camps.

More Ukrainian DPs settled in the camps of Augsburg, Munich, and Bayreuth, encountering conflicts with other nations. In the summer of 1945, the latter were predominantly Polish rather than German. The Poles, who arrived in the city after the war, managed to establish good relations with the local administration and the American commandant. In contrast, due to Polish-Ukrainian conflicts, the commandant took an opposite stance towards Ukrainians. The situation of Ukrainians in the city was further complicated by the presence of Bolsheviks in the camp, who, far from their «Motherland», harassed Ukrainians in the streets and houses. As a result, some Ukrainians refrained from speaking their native language in this foreign environment. Nevertheless, Ukrainian life continued in the camp: teacher training courses, a folk school, a kindergarten, and a real gymnasium were established. On June 11, 1945, the Ukrainian Aid Committee organized a humanitarian gymnasium (Кисілевський, К. 1985, с. 22).

Simultaneously, there were attempts to enhance the political life of Ukrainians. On July 14, 1946, eight Ukrainian party organizations founded the Ukrainian Coordination Committee. In 1948, Ukrainians established the Ukrainian National Council, which included representatives from various Ukrainian political organizations. It is noteworthy that in the American zone, nations from Eastern Europe did not have a prominently represented political presence. For instance, Poles focused on their government in exile in London, which long defended the interests of Polish refugees.

In the DP camps, the local population formed a medical unit. Until 1946, a hospital staffed by Hungarian doctors operated in Mittenwald, who were initially unwelcoming to Ukrainian doctors. In 1946, the Mittenwald camp organized courses for intermediate medical personnel aimed at addressing the shortage of nurses in the local hospital. For six months, from Monday to Saturday, Ukrainian doctors provided eight-hour lectures. On May 10, 1946, the courses concluded with an exam, and Ukrainian nurses began working in the hospital, while doctors joined the hospital staff in departments such as internal medicine, gynecology, obstetrics, dermatology, etc. (Стик-Коверко, Т. 2001, с. 93).

In 1947, UNRRA was succeeded by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Considering the repatriation of displaced persons and the IRO's fiscal constraints, some employees were dismissed in 1947. As of October 31, 1947, the organization employed 1,863 individuals. There were 49 Poles among the IRO workers, whereas Ukrainians were categorized under stateless status. The IRO aimed to facilitate voluntary repatriation, allowing representatives from the USSR and Poland to visit displaced persons camps and provide information about conditions in their respective countries. Ukrainians who obtained citizenship in North America and Great Britain lost IRO protection and were ineligible for financial aid. Conversely, those who remained in Germany without seeking employment also lost protection. Nevertheless, the number of Ukrainians in Europe under IRO care increased, reflecting those who fled from the USSR (I.R.O. 1949, p. 19).

The aid organization collaborated with displaced persons' organizations. The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee and the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Committee were among the Ukrainian organizations that signed agreements for cooperation with the IRO. During the organization's fifth session, Ukrainians advocated for the recognition of national representative offices. Ukrainian camp councils and the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany, alongside representatives from other Eastern European nationalities, maintained continuous contact with the IRO. In August 1947, in Paris, the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany was tasked with temporarily assuming the responsibilities of a pan-European office.

In 1947, the period of accumulating families, national groups, and individuals united by common interests in DP camps came to an end. The so-called consolidation of Ukrainian communities into housing, based on decisions by UNRRA and later the IRO concerning access to resident food cards, formed the foundation for the organization of DP life in public quarters. Consequently, the camp system adhered to practical principles and underwent organizational changes. This necessitated the establishment of camp regulations, order, and self-governance among various nationalities.

By late 1947, there were more than 135,000 Ukrainians in Germany, with 85,000 located in the American occupation zone. Unlike other regions, residency

in Bavaria's camps was predominantly determined by nationality. Approximately 80% of Ukrainians resided in camps. Within the Ukrainian population in Bavaria, over 80% were adults aged 20 and above, comprising 30% farmers, 20% various economic professionals, 18% manual laborers, 16% craftsmen, and around 16% in other professions. Additionally, 13% were young adults aged over 14, while 7% were children under 14 years old.

Ukrainian youth in Bavaria attended the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. Alongside Ukrainians, students included Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Russians, Turks, and representatives of other nationalities, contributing to the university's increasing attractiveness before the 1948 emigration wave. On average, foreign students constituted 20 percent of the university's enrollment. For instance, during the winter semester of the 1947/1948 academic year, 37 Poles were enrolled, and during the subsequent summer semester of 1948, there were 34. These figures were influenced by the closure of the UNRRA university, which operated in Munich from late 1945 to early 1947.

89% of DPs from camps in the American zone refused to return to their homelands. Under pressure to repatriate to the USSR, some Ukrainians described themselves as stateless or as Poles. An example of forced repatriation occurred at the multinational Füssen camp near Munich. On May 21, 1946, at 5 am, military vehicles carrying 150–200 soldiers and an American army colonel rushed to the camp. Using a loudspeaker, the colonel summoned 440 people to the club hall. When the men refused to comply, the Americans began apprehending individuals on the streets and took them to the NKVD office, where they attempted to extract confessions regarding alleged collaboration with the German regime. Only after the arrival of the UNRRA director were the men returned to the camp, though six individuals remained unaccounted for.

On May 31, 1946, in Regensburg, in the local DP camp, the American army conducted another forced capture attempt. Together with the Polish police, the Americans began to hunt down local refugees based on Soviet lists. Polish police threatened Ukrainians with forced eviction. However, the residents of the camp, representatives of various nationalities, immediately gathered in a demonstration column and marched to the house of the local governor. Singing the Our Father prayer, the column boldly walked through the streets. One of the cars of Polish soldiers tried to enter the convoy, but the protesters managed to escape. After reaching the governor's house, 5,000 people demanded the release of the detainees and their return to the camp. After the US military administration agreed to investigate the reasons for the detention, the protesters returned to the camp, and they returned to their barracks after a US general promised to release the detainees. It is worth noting that a large part of the Poles in the camp condemned the actions of the Polish police. Life in Regensburg was just as intense as in the other camps. The only support for local Ukrainians was the Church. The local

Orthodox parish spiritually supported the Ukrainians who united spiritually and tried to resist deportation to the USSR.

Conclusions. Considering the national tensions, Ukrainians in Bavaria primarily grouped on a national basis. Alongside representatives of other nations, they aimed to avoid forced repatriation to the USSR, further repression, and persecution. In the DP camps, they developed cultural, economic, and political lives. Ukrainian relations were intricate, yet amidst the post-war conditions, new forms of shared existence emerged among them in Bavaria.

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