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UKRAINIAN LABOR MIGRANTS IN FRANCE AS AN OBJECT OF THE IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIET REPATRIATION MISSION AND UKRAINIAN POLITICAL EMIGRATION AFTER WORLD WAR II

The article, based on a set of sources and research, examines the main forms and methods of the ideological influence of the Soviet repatriation mission and Ukrainian political emigration on representatives of Ukrainian economic emigration in post-war France. Prerequisites and the course of creation of repatriation mission of Ukrainians from France were studied. The measures of Soviet missionaries regarding the ideological processing and inclination to move to the "socialist paradise" of economic migrants were characterized.

The authors revealed the role of the pro-Soviet organization "Ukrainian National Front" in campaigning and mass work among the target audience and financial subsidies from the Soviet authorities.

It is shown that an important part of the work of the repatriation mission was the collection of information about public organizations directly of the Ukrainian emigration, its printed publications and individual activists. They, as well as the Greek Catholic Church, were considered the main opponents in the matter of the repatriation of Ukrainians, since they were competing in the fight for the opinions and attitudes of not only migrants, but also members of the UNF itself.

The Soviet propaganda machine tried to neutralize and discredit the activities of the Ukrainian diaspora and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the issue of the return of Ukrainians by all possible actions at the time. The activity of the Ukrainian forces was noticeable and fully resonated with the mood of people who did not want to move to the USSR after a long stay in the European reality.

The tools of influence of the Soviet repatriation mission and partly of Ukrainian political emigration on representatives of Ukrainian economic emigration included almost the entire possible and tested arsenal, mainly verbal, textual and pictorial means of propaganda influence. Ukrainian socio-political emigration, in addition to the above-mentioned forms and techniques, was distinguished by a national cultural and educational component, opening Thursday and Sunday Ukrainian schools, organizing Ukrainian libraries, etc.

Keywords: *Ukrainian labor migrants in France, Soviet repatriation mission, Ukrainian political migration.*

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Introduction. Following World War II, the Soviet Union initiated a systematic process of repatriation and re-emigration from various European countries, targeting not only Soviet citizens but also individuals from annexed territories, with the intention of achieving economic, demographic, and ideological objectives. The mechanisms employed for repatriation were diverse, including coercive measures. A significant and heterogeneous group of Ukrainian

emigrants found themselves in France due to a variety of historical circumstances. Consequently, a concealed, and at times overt, contest ensued between the Soviet repatriation mission and Ukrainian political emigration for the allegiance of these expatriate Ukrainians, particularly labor migrants. This narrative remains underexplored yet is pivotal for elucidating the Ukrainian dimension of the intricate post-war history of Europe.

A comprehensive examination of post-war repatriation topics became feasible only after the late 1980s, coinciding with the period of reconstruction and Ukraine's declaration of state independence, which granted domestic researchers access to archival sources and international scholarly works. In the early 2000s, S. Tkachev analyzed Ukrainian labor migrants in France within the context of the intricate international dynamics of the post-war period, identifying it as a factor in the diplomatic tensions between the Soviet Union and France. Scholars such as M. Dychok, A. Andreev, A. Prokopchuk, D. Kravchenko, and O. Skrypnyk briefly addressed specific aspects of this issue (Дущок, 2000; Полян, 2002; Андреев, 2017; Прокопчук, 2003; Кравченко, 2021; Скрипник, 2023). Most of these publications concentrated on the operations of Soviet repatriation structures concerning displaced persons in displaced persons (DP) camps in foreign lands and the policies of the Grand Alliance countries toward these individuals. However, the nuances of the ideological efforts conducted by Soviet repatriation bodies and Ukrainian emigration organizations, specifically targeting individuals from western Ukrainian territories, have been largely overlooked.

The objective of this publication is to explore the forms and methods employed by the Soviet repatriation mission and Ukrainian political emigration to influence representatives of Ukrainian economic emigration in post-war France.

To achieve this goal, administrative materials housed in the The Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainians were analyzed and introduced into scholarly discourse (ЦДАГОУ, Ф.1/23/4352). Among these is a memorandum addressed to K. Lytvyn, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, which details the outcomes of repatriating the Ukrainian population from France and outlines the objectives of the pro-Soviet organization, the "Ukrainian National Front." A noteworthy document is a proposed counter-propaganda strategy developed by I. Nazarenko, Secretary of the Central Committee for Propaganda and Agitation, and O. Yepishev, Secretary of the Central Committee for Personnel, recorded in an official communication to L. Kaganovich. This document delineates the information and psychological tools at the authorities' disposal to influence Ukrainians abroad regarding their prospective return to a Soviet context.

Additionally, certain documents utilized in this analysis had remained in the Regional Archive of the Donetsk region until 2022. These materials capture the sentiments and experiences of Ukrainians who had repatriated from France upon confronting the realities of life in the Soviet Union (ДАДО, Ф. 326/7/380, арк. 51–66). The administrative records of the repatriation department of the Ukrainian SSR (RM) yield insights into the methods and forms of political engagement, as well as the specific content and outcomes of campaigning and propaganda targeted at Ukrainians outside the Ukrainian SSR, including those in France. Significantly, this encompasses the official correspondence of M. Zozulenko, head of the department, on issues related to political, propaganda, and cultural initiatives aimed at facilitating the return of emigrants. It is noteworthy that the compilation of sources employed in this analysis not only elucidates the principal methods of ideological influence exerted by repatriation bodies but also reveals the characteristics of the endeavors of Ukrainian national political emigration, given that Soviet bodies meticulously documented the activities of their political and ideological adversaries.

The political emigration was initiated primarily by active participants in the Ukrainian liberation movement of 1917-1921, who left Ukraine after the tragic defeat of the liberation

struggle and Ukrainian state-building, and the Bolshevik seizure of the Dnipro region. Famous Ukrainian socio-political figures, leaders and members of Ukrainian governments, former military officers (elite), and representatives of the cultural and artistic intelligentsia made up the “old” political emigration. The Second World War brought about a new wave of political emigrants of Ukrainian origin who were ideological opponents of the Soviet regime. Among them were members of the anti-Soviet resistance movement, in particular members of the revolutionary (Bandera) OUN, and leaders of the UGVR (Ukrainian Main Liberation Council) as the political leadership of the anti-Soviet liberation struggle that the UPA continued to lead on Ukrainian territory, as well as refugees from Soviet Ukraine.

Political emigration was the subject of close attention by the Soviet state security agencies. In official correspondence between the state security agencies in 1946-1947, they recorded their active organizational work to unite individual Ukrainian groups in France into a single organization, which, according to the deputy head of the First Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of State Security, should develop a plan for work among displaced persons from the western regions of Ukraine. Among the tasks of intelligence work abroad was the systematic collection of information about Ukrainian organizations, their location, personnel, political nature, official platform, forms and methods of activity, and connections with other similar organizations. The tasks of collecting information on printed media were defined, including circulation, distribution methods, material base, content of printed materials, editorial and correspondent staff. Political figures and representatives of the Greek Catholic Church were targeted by the MGB's agent work, as well as by interviews with repatriates at filtration points (Скрипник, 2023).

Ukrainian economic emigration in postwar France consisted of representatives of labor emigration from prewar Poland-those who left to work and in search of a better life due to unemployment and small landholdings. In the interwar period, Poland ranked first among suppliers to the global labor market. Among the continental countries, France remained attractive to emigrant workers from Poland. France in the 1920s was distinguished among other European countries by its highest standard of living. The country compensated for its huge human losses of the First World War by actively attracting foreign workers. Until 1939, the main consumer of labor immigration was the French industry: mines, metallurgy, railroads, and construction. Therefore, centers of compact residence were formed in industrial areas - Lorraine and Alsace, northern France, the Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments, in the coal regions of central and southeastern France - Puy-de-Dôme, Tarn, Aveyron, Loire, Gard, as well as in the suburbs of Paris-Argentes, Saint-Denis, and Stain. Some Ukrainian emigrants worked in industry and others in agriculture. This was fully consistent with the French economic system and immigration policy of the 1930s. There were no separate statistics on Ukrainian labor migrants in France, as they lived on Polish, Czech and Hungarian passports (Ткачов, 1998, с. 326, 327, 331). The official correspondence indicated the number of 45-50 thousand people with their families. This concerned only economic emigration (ІЦДАГОУ, F.1/23, p. 4352, арк. 78).

At the end of the Second World War, when the Soviet leadership carried out a massive, and not always voluntary, return home of Soviet citizens, Ukrainian labor migrants in France also came into the focus of government agencies. This category was viewed not only as an important human resource to be used in economic reconstruction. They were considered a significant factor in the fight against political emigration. The goal was to remove them from public influence, to prevent their political “indoctrination” with national ideas, and to prevent the formation of a massive, coherent emigration environment. In a broader context, they hoped for certain political dividends in the ideological confrontation with the so-called Western imperialists, which became very important at the beginning of the Cold War.

Starting in 1946, the French authorities began to insist that Soviet structures comply with international agreements on the repatriation of Soviet citizens, denied the practice of issuing collective passports, and sought to place the repatriation process on its territory under the control of state services, which greatly excited Soviet missionaries.

The legal basis for the repatriation of citizens was the agreements between the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States, the result of which was recorded in the documents to the Yalta Agreement. It was about the mandatory repatriation of Soviet citizens, and in fact, they allowed the use of force. Similar conditions were spelled out in the Protocol to the Agreement on the Maintenance and Repatriation of Soviet and French Citizens of June 29, 1945 (Полян, 2002, Appendix 12).

Ukrainian labor migrants did not have Soviet citizenship, but the Soviet Union insisted on the right to forcibly return all persons who originated from its borders in 1945. However, the tools for realizing such demands in the changing international situation became fewer. The Western powers limited their definition of Soviet citizenship to those who had it in 1939 (Dyczok, 2000, p. 99). Under such circumstances, it was necessary to rely on agitation and propaganda work to obtain completely voluntary applications from Ukrainian laborers for Soviet passports.

Organizational work on the return of Soviet citizens to their homeland was carried out by the Office of the Commissioner of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR for the Repatriation of Soviet Citizens, established on October 23, 1944, in accordance with a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars. The structure of this department also included the existence of a foreign apparatus that numbered 321 employees. It included repatriation missions operating in all Eastern European countries, England, France, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Liechtenstein.

In November 1944, the Soviet repatriation mission in France began its work. Its headquarters were located in a large white mansion on Avenue Bijot in Paris. The mission consisted of several dozen employees. The mission was headed by a career intelligence officer, Major General V. Dragun, who flew from Moscow to Paris on October 18 of the same year. In fact, he became the resident and coordinator of Soviet repatriation missions in Western Europe, responsible for the entire "Western European theater of operations." He was accompanied by Major General A. Vikhorev, Lieutenant Colonels F. Melnikov and Peregudov, and Major P. Ananiev, who later became the head of Soviet repatriation missions in Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Northern France. In the south of France, lieutenant colonels Novikov and Pastukhov were in charge of repatriation (Полян, 2002, с. 458).

It became difficult for V. Dragun to combine his pan-European scale with the French one, so in the spring of 1945, he became the representative of the Office for Repatriation in France (and in fact, throughout Europe). And in March 1945, Colonel O. Berezin became the head of the repatriation mission in France, and he worked in this position for about two years. All this time, until almost the beginning of 1947, the repatriation group in France was also actually engaged in repatriations from Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Switzerland, and partially from the western zones of Austria. From May to December 1947, the Soviet repatriation mission in France was headed by Colonel N. Filatov.

Special attention to the repatriation of Ukrainians led to the creation of a separate structural unit whose employees had to be aware of national specifics, possess the ability and flexibility to carry out agitation and propaganda work. This body was the Commission for the Resettlement of Ukrainians from France, established under the Central Committee of the CP(B)U, which was responsible for ideological processing and persuasion of economic migrants to move to the "socialist paradise." The Ministry of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR proposed to use members of this mission to collect intelligence on the "Ukrainian line."

(Skrypnyk O., 2023). Approved by the USSR government, the mission, consisting of 7 people, including two professional Chekists, arrived in Paris on January 20, 1947, and became part of the military repatriation mission headed by Colonel O. Berezin on the instructions of the Deputy Head of the Department for Repatriation Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Lieutenant General K. Holubev. At the preparatory stage, the members of the mission were familiarized with the internal political situation in France and the specifics of repatriation work, and were assigned to duty at the Consulate General, where they were in contact with people who came to apply for citizenship. All members of the Ukrainian mission were assigned to districts, where they had to study the mood of Ukrainians, develop topics for propaganda reports and conversations (ІЦАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 78, 79, 82).

The work on admission to citizenship and issuance of passports was carried out by the Consulate General of the USSR in Paris. Thus, in a memo to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U K. Lytvyn, it was noted that as of February 5, 1947, 11,805 Soviet passports had been issued (including those who had already left), and together with family members, this amounted to 13,677 people, and it was also mentioned that applications were still being received (ІЦАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 78). This statistic included not only Ukrainians, but in general all those who had left for the USSR by that time (Ткачов, 1998, с. 333).

For active ideological and propaganda work on returning to their homeland directly with the main target audience, i.e. Ukrainians, the organization "Ukrainian National Front" was created with the support of the Soviet Embassy (Скрипник, 2023). Its activities were aimed at working with workers and laborers. It should be noted that the work of the UNF was aimed not only at Ukrainians, but also at Belarusians, as there were not enough of them (no more than 10 thousand) to create a separate organization (Ткачов, 2008). The organization's governing function belonged to the central committee, which was headed by a bureau consisting of five people: V. Lozovyi, Hvozdetyskyi, Bilyk-Vais, Kushnir, and Goldovanskyi. The Ukrainian National Front had its own Ukrainian-language weekly, *Batkivshchyna*, which received a monthly subsidy from the Soviet Union in the amount of 50,000 francs for uninterrupted printing. This publication featured exclusively Soviet material, but the information about the situation in Western Ukraine was very sketchy. However, this weekly was the only source of information about life in the Soviet Union among Ukrainians and Belarusians in France, given that the newspaper *Visti z vladyny* was closed. "The UNF had 73 branches in the vast majority of French departments and united 1,390 people. In a number of departments, namely Marne, Hav. Marne, Moselle, Hort, Normandy, and Calvados, where Ukrainian forces were more active, agitating for the non-return to their homeland, which was now under Soviet rule, the UNF had no offices. The same memo to K. Lytvyn noted that propaganda and cultural work in Lorraine was not carried out in full. The reason was "the lack of literate people" because "most Ukrainians are illiterate or illiterate." However, in the first postwar years, it was the UNF that, using the means of influence proven by Soviet practice, managed to become an important factor in the life of Ukrainian labor emigration by uniting isolated groups. The organization "informed" Ukrainians about life in their homeland, registered people and provided them with "consulting services" in obtaining passports (ІЦАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 78-82).

The UNF used several communication channels to conduct mass campaigning among Ukrainians. The most common were oral forms of communication, such as lectures and reports. The memo lists the topics of these lectures. Here are some of them: "Struggle of the Ukrainian people for freedom", 'Reunification of the Ukrainian people into a single Soviet state', 'Civil war in Ukraine', '28th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian SSR', 'In memory of Taras Shevchenko', 'Victory Day', 'May 1', '29th anniversary of October' (ІЦАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 78-82).

Almost all of them are related to the new Soviet ideological and symbolic space. The vast majority of these topics were intended to manifest new meanings for future Soviet citizens. The topics of the lectures reflected the already Soviet codes of mass perception, through which future immigrants were supposed to get used to the new reality and identify themselves as Soviet people and feel part of the “victorious society.”

In a letter to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U K. Lytvyn from the authorized government of the Ukrainian SSR, dated March 8, 1947, the UNF was positively assessed as an undoubtedly pro-Soviet organization that “does a great and necessary job,” and useful - “we will have to rely on its branches in our work.” Its disadvantages were called weak discipline in the branches, fear of “Ukrainian-German nationalists,” and the influence of the Uniate Church on the organization's members. It was also emphasized that even among activists, not everyone understands that the main task should be to facilitate the registration and formalization of Soviet citizenship.

Given the staffing of the mission, which operated in close contact with the diplomatic missions of the USSR, an important part of the work was collecting information about NGOs directly from the Ukrainian emigration, its publications, and individual activists. Messages were composed using template phrases from the Soviet propagandist's dictionary. The term “nationalists” was actively used to refer to representatives of all Ukrainian political movements, regardless of their former party affiliation and ideological orientation: Bandera, Melnyk, Hetman, Uener, etc. This notion was stigmatized by the Soviet authorities and was a slur during the Soviet era. Ukrainian figures were demonized, and attempts were made to present them as servants of the Nazis, if not as servants of the Nazis, then at least to link them to them. This was reflected in official documents in the phrase “Ukrainian-German nationalists.” The struggle against Ukrainian figures abroad and their discrediting were put on a par with the struggle against German Nazism. Their smear campaigns were quite consistent with the ideological campaigns against Ukrainian nationalism launched in post-Soviet Ukraine in the postwar years. In business correspondence, the image of the main ideological enemy, the United States of America and Great Britain, the largest countries of the capitalist world of that time and therefore hostile to the USSR, constantly emerged.

It should be noted that the Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian public organizations were considered the main opponents of repatriation because they competed for the opinions and sentiments of not only migrants but also members of the UNF. The letter reflects this with the following wording: “the influence of the Uniate Church on the members of the organization is known” and “the clergy travels to the departments to perform church services, taking with them special ‘agitators’ who slander the USSR.” They noted the growing influence of the Greek Catholic Church, the spread of the “Bulletin of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church,” the publication of which was mentioned in connection with the representative of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to the Vatican, Bishop Ivan Buchko. It should be emphasized that the communist apparatus was very hostile to the activities of the Greek Catholic clergy; in fact, in official correspondence they were referred to exclusively as Uniates, always adding that they were guided by the Vatican. Given that the Greek Catholic Church in the Soviet Union was liquidated in 1946, the negative connotations are not surprising (ЦДАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 78-82).

In addition to the Greek Catholic Church, the opponents of the “front” were the pro-Ukrainian organization “Public Guardianship”, which included former members of the “Ukrainian People's Union”, headed by O. Boikiv, the Shapoval group, and the student organization of the Lyceum of Oriental Languages (ЦДАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 78-82).

It is worth noting that one of the most influential organizations among the Ukrainian diaspora in Europe was the Ukrainian People's Union, founded in 1932. This emigrant

organization actively defended the rights of its compatriots and was engaged in the national education of Ukrainian migrant workers and refugees. Among its founders were such prominent figures as M. Kapustiansky and O. Boikiv. The union helped to launch the weekly Ukrainian Word in Paris and to establish the first Ukrainian printing house. It was on the initiative of O. Boikiv that the Bulletin of the Ukrainian People's Union and the Visti newspaper were published in Paris by lithographic means. During the German occupation of France, the UNS limited its activities and in 1944 it was banned by the German authorities. After the war, the UNS resumed its work (ЦДАГОУ, Ф.438/1).

In the postwar years, a situation developed around the first Ukrainian printing house that deserves special attention. According to the recollections of Lubomyr-Eugene Huzar, a member of the UNF leadership, the premises of the first Ukrainian printing house, located in the center of Paris on rue Sabo, were "forcibly and illegally seized" by the UNF organization after the war and began publishing and distributing the newspaper "Nove Ukrainske Slovo" without any permission. On the pages of the newspaper, the Ukrainian National Front Incited Ukrainian workers against French employers and openly conducted propaganda aimed at repatriation (Скрипник, 2023). It was only through the courts that the previous owners managed to regain their legal right to the printing house in a few months, but after a real pogrom committed by political opponents, they inherited it in a non-working state. The first Ukrainian printing house in France resumed its activities only on June 12, 1949, having established a regular publication of the pre-war "Ukrainian Word." (Тимошик, 2002, с. 201).

In 1949, the UNS was transformed into a public and cultural and educational organization, the Ukrainian National Unity in France. This organization held educational events dedicated to the works of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, the "Ukrainian Sea", and the "Day of Ukrainian Arms". Representatives of the organization's branches established Thursday and Sunday Ukrainian schools, organized Ukrainian libraries, held concerts and theater performances, etc. (ЦДАГОУ, Ф.438/1).

Among the printed publications mentioned in Soviet office documents were the newspaper Ukrainian in France, edited by I. Popovych and Dubrovsky, and the magazine Soborna Ukraina, which receives much more attention in the sources. The first issue of this magazine was published with the Unificationist slogan: "Beyond parties, beyond groups, for the unification of all Ukrainians." Former UPR figures O. Shulhin and I. Stasiv, who were labeled "ardent nationalists," united around the magazine. In a letter from the Ukrainian SSR Government Plenipotentiary to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U K. Lytvyn, it was emphasized that the magazine was funded by Ukrainians in the United States, in particular by Halan and Mishuga. The materials also document the distribution of other Ukrainian patriotic literature in France (the newspaper Shlyakh, Svoboda, brochures, and magazines), which was published by the diaspora in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Argentina. The Soviet functionaries did not ignore I. Bahrianyi's pamphlet letter "Why do I not want to return to my 'homeland'?", which manifested the right not to return to the homeland as long as the bloody Bolshevik system prevailed there (ЦДАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 80-82).

Members of the Soviet mission in France, studying the attitudes of potential re-emigrants, recorded an active discussion of the fate of those Ukrainians who returned to their homeland. Information about their arrests and exile to Siberia spread. In confirmation of the difficult life of Ukrainians in their homeland, relatives cited the facts of the absence of letters from returnees or the distribution of letters with negative examples that were able to reach France. In Soviet documents, such information was called "provocative rumors."

At the beginning of April 1947, the apparatus of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U developed a draft of measures of a counter-propaganda nature, which were supposed to cover

all possible propaganda formats. The materials were prepared by the secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U for propaganda and agitation I. Nazarenko and the secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U for personnel O. Yepishev. Their proposals became the basis for the draft resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on political mass work among Ukrainians and were set out in a letter to L. Kaganovych dated April 10, 1947. It was about the decision to send to the disposal of the commission of the government of the Ukrainian SSR for the repatriation of the Ukrainian population from the territory of France a library of book novelties of mass political and literary literature; send propaganda materials in the form of brochures, magazines, photographs, gramophone records, films and chronicles about the life of the republic, as well as transfer a mobile film installation. The Committee on Radiofication and Radio Broadcasting was obliged to conduct special weekly radio broadcasts for Ukrainians living in France. It was recommended to include performances by Ukrainians who returned to their homeland in the program. For his part, the head of the Ukrainian SSR government commission, Rusko, had to organize hearings of radio broadcasts in France. Propaganda materials had to highlight certain aspects of life in the Ukrainian SSR, such as the course of economic and cultural development, especially in the western regions, the position of the Orthodox Church, living conditions and the level of employment of Ukrainians after moving to the USSR, assistance from the Soviet government, etc. For the category of needy Ukrainians, it was offered to provide assistance after registering for departure to the Soviet paradise, which at that time was undergoing another famine (ЦДАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 21-26).

A separate point was the decision to publish a film magazine in the Ukrainian language, entirely devoted to the meeting of re-emigrants from France, their accommodation and participation in social life in a new place. By the way, we should note that in September 1946, one of the stories of the film magazine "Soviet Ukraine" under number 47 and entitled "Return to the Motherland" showed footage of a meeting in the Odesa port of a ship on which Ukrainians and Belarusians had returned from France (Кіножурнал «Радянська Україна», 1946). In these film documents, an embellished, officially ceremonial version of the meeting of newly converted Soviet citizens is recorded. At the same time, the responsible persons on the ground feared that "rumors about the unorganized meeting and the poor provision of Ukrainians and Belarusians who returned to the Soviet Union could get abroad and be used by hostile elements in anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation for non-return."

Special attention was paid to the organization of writing and sending so-called patriotic letters from Ukrainian re-emigrants to their acquaintances and relatives who were in France with a call to return to their homeland (ЦДАГОУ, Ф. 1/23/4352, арк. 21-26). Later, the practice of writing "patriotic" letters grew into detailed recommendations and instructions. The Soviet leadership did not ignore those Ukrainians who avoided repatriation and did not want to return to their homeland. Thus, in a letter dated September 2, 1947, from the head of the repatriation department of the RM of the Ukrainian SSR, M. Zozulenko, addressed to the heads of the repatriation departments of the regional executive committees, it was recommended that "letters of repatriated Soviet citizens to acquaintances and relatives in France <...> with appeals to return to the Motherland, be sent to us in an envelope with the appropriate address. The stamp of the local post office must be placed on the envelope and stamps must be paid off with the stamp. The envelope should not be sealed. Letters should be sent openly, not in a secret order, not to allow these letters to be stitched together" (Кравченко, 2021, с. 44). In another instruction dated October 9, 1947, recommendations were given regarding the content of the letters. It was emphasized that they should contain positive facts about successes in the reconstruction of villages and cities, as well as flourishing life in the Soviet state (Прокопчук, 2003, с.70).

In the instructions dated March 24, 1948, M. Zozulenko indicates what the letters should be in terms of form and content: Letters should be written in ink. At the beginning (at the top of the letter), you should show the address, surname, first name and patronymic to whom the letter is addressed. The address and name of the sender should be indicated at the end of the letter. On each envelope, the address should be written in a foreign and native language, and at the bottom, the sender's address should be written only in the native language. It is necessary to ensure that when sending letters to us, they are not soiled, not punctured and generally not spoiled. It is desirable that a personal photo of the sender or a group photo with the family be attached to the letters (Кравченко, 2021, с.44).

It is worth noting that not all re-emigrants agreed to write such letters. The sources have Mine No. 46 of Ivanovo mine management in Donetsk region worker's wife comment: "It's bad to live here, I can't raise my hand to write a letter to my sister to come here from France." Andrusyna, a repatriate, expressed similar impressions: "In France, we were given newspapers and magazines to read, in which everything was depicted so well, but in fact we were deceived. In France, we had everything: a good apartment, a professional job, we received white bread, meat and it was good for us, but here it is bad" (ДАДО, Ф. 326/7/380, арк. 51–66).

The curtailment of the work of the Soviet repatriation mission was connected with certain, no less important functions performed by its employees - intelligence and subversive activities. They contributed to actions that contributed to the destabilization of domestic political life, participated in the organization of anti-government strikes by French communists, and too openly helped their French comrades in overthrowing the bourgeois system (Ткачов, 2008, с.56). The French leadership did not show opposition until a certain time, waiting for the right moment. After taking control of the Soviet camp in Beauregar, the mission was suspended. Colonel N. Filatov's group was recalled from the country at the insistence of the French government, two members of the mission, Filatov and Sorokin, were accused of subversive work against France. 24 activists of the pro-Soviet Union of Soviet citizens were immediately deported to East Germany. Among them were I. Krivoshein, A. Pokotilov, A. Ugrimov, N. Kachva and others. They were arrested on November 25, 1947, and taken through the western occupation zones to the Soviet repatriation camp in Brandenburg, from where they were taken to the USSR in February 1948. At the end of April 1948, the members of their families left Marseille on the steamship "Russia" (Полян, 2002, с. 481).

So, summing up the results of the study, it should be noted that after the Second World War, the Soviet Union began to implement the repatriation mechanism, actively developing the process of repatriation and re-emigration from European countries, and in particular in France, where there was a significant and heterogeneous Ukrainian community. This community was formed in this European country under different circumstances. A significant number of them were so-called labor migrants from the western Ukrainian lands.

After the war, the Soviet authorities organized a not always voluntary, but effective mechanism for the return of citizens of the newly acquired Soviet territories, which included Western Ukrainians, the vast majority of whom were labor migrants. A covert, and sometimes open, ideological and informational rivalry began between the Soviet repatriation mission and Ukrainian political emigration for influence over Ukrainians. Official structures, such as the repatriation mission of the USSR and the commission for the resettlement of Ukrainians in France, and conditionally unofficial public organizations, such as the "Ukrainian National Front", carried out active ideological and propaganda work aimed at Ukrainian economic migrants.

The Soviet propaganda machine tried to neutralize and discredit the activities of the Ukrainian diaspora and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the issue of the return of Ukrainians by all possible actions at the time. The activity of the Ukrainian forces was

noticeable and fully resonated with the mood of people who did not want to move to the USSR after a long stay in the European reality.

The tools of influence of the Soviet repatriation mission and partly of Ukrainian political emigration on representatives of Ukrainian economic emigration included almost the entire possible and tested arsenal, mainly verbal, textual and pictorial means of propaganda influence. Easy-to-perceive static and dynamic means of the figurative ideological spectrum were used on both sides – visual agitation and entertainment means.

At the same time, Ukrainian socio-political emigration, in addition to the above-mentioned forms and techniques, was distinguished by a national cultural and educational component, opening Thursday and Sunday Ukrainian schools, organizing Ukrainian libraries, etc.

The circle of techniques of Soviet ideological influence included the manipulative practices of citizens' personal correspondence with their relatives and friends in France. Writing letters under the dictation of Soviet officials with appeals to return to the USSR has been one of the main means of agitation for return since 1946.

Бібліографічний список

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УКРАЇНСЬКІ ТРУДОВІ МІГРАНТИ У ФРАНЦІЇ ЯК ОБ'ЄКТ ІДЕОЛОГІЧНОГО ВПЛИВУ СОВЕТСЬКОЇ РЕПАТРІАЦІЙНОЇ МІСІЇ ТА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ЕМІГРАЦІЇ ПІСЛЯ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

Мета дослідження. У статті на основі комплексу джерел та наукового доробку дослідників розглянуто основні форми і методи ідеологічного впливу радянської репатріаційної місії та української політичної еміграції на представників української економічної еміграції у повоєнній Франції. Особливу увагу приділено заходам радянських місіонерів щодо ідеологічної обробки та схилення до переїзду у “соціалістичний рай” економічних мігрантів. Методологія дослідження ґрунтується на поєднанні загальнонаукових (синтетичний, аналітичний, логічний) та спеціально-історичних (хронологічний, історико-порівняльний) методів.

Основні результати дослідження. Авторками виявлено роль прорадянської організації «Український національний фронт» в агітаційно-масовій роботі серед цільової аудиторії та фінансові дотації з боку радянських органів.

Показано, що вагомою частиною роботи репатріаційної місії був збір інформації про громадські організації безпосередньо української еміграції, її друковані видання та окремих активістів. Саме вони, а також греко-католицька церква вважалися головними опонентами у питанні репатріації українців оскільки саме вони конкурували у боротьбі за думки та настрої не тільки мігрантів, а й членів власне УНФ.

З'ясовано, що існувало приховане, а подекуди й відкрите ідейно-інформаційне суперництво за вплив на українців, між советською репатріаційною місією та українською політичною еміграцією. Офіційні структури, як то репатріаційна місія СРСР та комісія з переселення українців у Франції й умовно неофіційні громадські організації, на кшталт “Український національний фронт”, здійснювали активну ідейно-пропагандистську роботу, спрямовану на українських економічних мігрантів.

Радянська пропагандистська машина, усіма можливими на той час діями, намагалася нейтралізувати та дискредитувати діяльність української діаспори та української греко-католицької церкви у питанні повернення українців. Активність українських сил була помітною й цілком резонувала настроям людей, які не бажали переїжджати в СРСР, після тривалого перебування в європейській дійсності.

Висновки. Інструменти впливу радянської репатріаційної місії та частково української політичної еміграції на представників української економічної еміграції, охоплювали майже весь можливий та апробований арсенал, переважно вербальних, текстуальних і зображальних засобів пропагандистського впливу. Українська громадсько-політична еміграція, окрім вищезазначених форм і прийомів відрізнялась національною культурно-освітньою компонентою відкриваючи четвергові та недільні

українські школи, упорядковуючи українські бібліотеки тощо. До кола прийомів радянського ідеологічного впливу належали маніпулятивні практики особистого листування громадян зі своїми рідними і близькими у Франції. Написання під диктовку радянський функціонерів листів із закликами до повернення в СРСР, з 1946 року було одним із головних засобів агітації за повернення.

Ключові слова: *Українські трудові мігранти у Франції, совєтська репатріаційна місія, українська політична міграція.*