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Daily life and working conditions of Ukrainian scholars in „displaced persons” (DP) camps (1945–1952)

Introduction

One of the foremost areas of inquiry in contemporary historical research is the examination of the everyday experiences of ordinary individuals and specific social cohorts. Such investigations provide insights into the socio-cultural milieu, encompassing facets like daily routines, cultural practices, and standards of living, which undoubtedly shaped labor productivity. With Russia's unprovoked full-scale war against Ukraine leading to several million Ukrainians once again becoming refugees in Europe, a pertinent focus of inquiry has been the examination of the daily lives of scientists who were compelled to flee their homeland during World War II and resided for several years in the occupied territories of Germany and Austria. This research delves into their efforts to organize scientific endeavors and uphold their identity. These inquiries remain relevant today, as the scientists situated in the western occupation zones of Germany and Austria emerged as pivotal figures in orchestrating cultural and educational activities within the camps. They influenced the development of the academic and scientific milieu, revitalizing or establishing numerous academic and educational institutions, which served as bastions for preserving national identity through the pursuit of science independent of communist ideologies.

Historiography

Following their liberation by the Allies, the postwar period in Germany and Austria witnessed the influx of over ten million refugees, sparking scientific interest among

researchers. However, much of the scholarship has focused on the history of the Jewish people, with limited attention paid to other refugee groups. Nevertheless, studies exploring the experiences of Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, and other nationalities in these camps have emerged. A body of literature exists within Ukraine and abroad that examines the Ukrainian refugee experience during this time. Publications outside Ukraine, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century, were predominantly authored by researchers of Ukrainian descent, many of whom had personal connections to the subject matter. A seminal work in this field is the bibliography titled *Political refugees and "displaced persons" 1945–1954*, published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) at the University of Alberta in 1982¹. This compilation, encompassing works predating 1982, serves as a valuable resource for scholars, offering guidance on existing research and cataloging archival collections and printed sources relevant to the topic. To this day, the comprehensive study of Ukrainian cultural life in Germany and Austria conducted by V. Maruniak², a German researcher of Ukrainian descent, continues to garner attention.

The CIUS collective monograph, edited by W.W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, and R. Senkus³, proved instrumental for our research, particularly the chapters on camp periodicals (R. Ilnytskyj), academic life (L. Wynar), and Soviet repatriation (M. Elliott and Y. Boshyk). Additionally, the insights of the esteemed Canadian researcher L. Luciuk, as presented in the monograph *Ukrainian displaced persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*⁴, offer valuable perspectives on the policy of refugee repatriation. Addressing the formation and preservation of Ukrainian identity in DP camps within the British occupation zone, J.-H. Antons' article contributes significantly to the discourse⁵. Noteworthy dissertations by Gnydiuk⁶ and J.L. Popowicz⁷ explore various aspects of Ukrainian life in the camps. Furthermore, examining the everyday life of Ukrainian refugees

¹ *Political refugees and „displaced persons” 1945–1954. A selected bibliography and guide to research with special reference to the Ukrainians*, eds. Y. Boshyk, B. Balan, Edmonton 1982.

² V. Maruniak. *Ukrainska emigratsiia v Nimechchyni i Avstrii po Druhii svitovii viini*, Vol. 1. Roky 1945–1951, Miunkhen 1985.

³ *The refugee experience: Ukrainian displaced persons after World War II*, eds. W.W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, R. Senkus, Edmonton 1992.

⁴ L.Y. Luciuk, *Ukrainian displaced persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*, Toronto–Buffalo–London 2000.

⁵ J.-H. Antons. *The nation in a nutshell? Ukrainian displaced persons camps in postwar Germany*, „Harvard Ukrainian Studies” 2020, Vol. 37, No. 1–2, pp. 177–211.

⁶ O. Gnydiuk. *Who is a „Ukrainian” child? UNRRA/IRO welfare workers and the politics of unaccompanied children of presumed Ukrainian origin in the aftermath of WWII (1945–1952)*, Florence 2018. Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization of the European University Institute.

⁷ J.L. Popowicz, *World War II, displacement, and the making of the postwar Ukrainian diaspora 1939–1951*, LSU doctoral dissertation, 2022, https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/5834 (accessed: 19.10.2025).

in specific camps, such as Regensburg⁸ and Mittenwald⁹, in several books enriches our understanding by including memoirs and documents. The cultural and everyday lives of displaced persons and refugees in West Germany during the second half of the 1940s are comprehensively depicted in O. Podobied's monograph¹⁰. Specific aspects of daily life, particularly those drawn from the materials of the journal "Dipiniada" (1946–1947), are illuminated by V. Tarasov¹¹. I. Rybachok delves into aspects of women's and children's everyday experiences¹². The educational efforts of the Ukrainian intelligentsia are examined by L. Strilchuk¹³ and O. Udot¹⁴, while I. Tiurmenko¹⁵ scrutinizes the legal landscape. K. Kobchenko explores the nuances of Ukrainian community dynamics¹⁶, and A. Kokosh delves into the lives of Ukrainian and Polish emigrants in camps¹⁷. Despite the breadth of existing scholarship, the everyday lives of Ukrainian intellectuals, including historians, and the conditions of their creative endeavors in the challenging postwar German environment have been overlooked by researchers, highlighting the study's continued relevance.

The source material for this study comprises correspondence, diaries, and memoirs of scholars who resided in the DP camps, along with materials sourced from camp publications and information disseminated by scientific institutions in manuscript form. Notably, most of these sources are being introduced into scholarly discourse for the first time, thus contributing to the scientific novelty of this work. These materials are stored in the archives of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (Germany), the archives of the Ukrainian Historical Association at the National University "Ostroh

⁸ Regensburg. *Statti – spohady – dokumenty. 1945–1949. Do istorii ukrains'koi emigratsii v Nimechchyni pislia Druhoi Svitovoi viiny*, ed. O. Kushnir, New York–Paris–Sydney–Toronto 1985.

⁹ Mittenwald. 1946–1951. *Z nahody 50-littia Taboriv Ukrainskykh bizhentsiv u Mittenwaldi, Nimechchyna*, Michigan 2001.

¹⁰ O. Podobied, *Ukrainska planeta DiPi: kultura ta povsiakdennia*, Zhytomyr 2018.

¹¹ V.V. Tarasov, *Povsiakdenne zhyttia u taborakh dlia peremishchenykh osib v okupovanii Nimechchyni (za materialamy zhurnalu „DiPiniada” 1946–1947 rr.)*, „Grani” 2016, No. 10(138), pp. 95–105.

¹² I. Rybachok, *Osnovni napriamy diialnosti Obiednannia ukrainskykh zhinok na emigratsii (1945–1950)*, „Naukovi zapysky Natsionalnoho universytetu »Ostrozka akademii«». Serii: Istorychni nauky” 2019, No. 28, pp. 47–55; I. Rybachok, *Ukrainski dity v Di-Pi taborakh Zakhidnoi Nimechchyni ta Avstrii (druha polovyna 1940-kh – pochatok 1950-kh rokiv)*, „Starozhytnosti Lukomoria” 2021, No. 5(8), pp. 126–139.

¹³ L. Strilchuk, *Prosvitynska diialnist ukrainskoi intelihtentsii v taborakh dlia peremishchenykh osib u zakhidnykh okupatsiinykh zonakh (1944–1951 rr.)*, „Naukovi visnyk Skhidnoievropeiskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Lesi Ukrainky. Serii: Istorychni nauky” 2016, No. 3(328), pp. 69–74.

¹⁴ O. Udot, *Prosvitynska diialnist Ivana Bahriianoho v period funktsionuvannia taboriv dlia peremishchenykh osib u zakhidnykh okupatsiinykh zonakh*, „Naukovi visnyk Skhidnoievropeiskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Lesi Ukrainky. Serii: Istorychni nauky” 2016, No. 3(328), pp. 137–143.

¹⁵ I. Tiurmenko, *Dokumentalna ukrainka pro stanovyshche ukrainskykh peremishchenykh osib u povoiennii Yevropi (1945–1957)*, „Eminak: naukovi shchokvartalnyk” 2018, Vol. 2, No. 3(23), pp. 51–57.

¹⁶ K. Kobchenko, *Ukrainci v epokhu Di-Pi: vid kultury povsiakdennia do tvorennia (trans)natsionalnoi hromady*, „Narodna tvorchist ta etnolohiia” 2020, No. 1(383), pp. 14–22.

¹⁷ A. Kokosh, *Problema taboriv DiPi u povoiennii Bavarii: ukrainskyi i polskyi dosvid*, [in:] *Multidimensionality of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation: genesis, particularities and prospects: Scientific monograph*, eds. T. Astramovich-Leik, Ya. Turchyn, O. Horbach, Riga 2022, pp. 213–226.

Academy” (Ukraine) and in the Archives of the Ukrainian Diocesan Museum and Library in Stamford (USA). The documents in the cases of these archives do not have consecutive page numbering.

In light of the necessity to comprehend the history of Ukrainian historical scholarship during the DP period and the circumstances shaping its operations, this article aims to investigate the social and living conditions, as well as the creative endeavors, of Ukrainian humanities scholars – particularly historians – who resided and worked within the Western occupation zones of Germany and Austria from 1945 to 1952. The objective is to delineate their scientific, public, and educational contributions and elucidate their professional relationships and interactions with colleagues.

Research methods

The research methodology is grounded in the renowned thesis of the French historian P. Nora, emphasizing that history, more than any other intellectual pursuit, is profoundly influenced by the factors driving interest in it: its developmental context, locations of prominence, circumstances of production, and individual mental and biographical underpinnings¹⁸. Accordingly, this study employs specialized historical methods alongside interdisciplinary approaches to comprehend, through a broad spectrum of sources, the nuances of scientific engagement among humanities scientists in DP camps. These methods facilitate an exploration of the motivations behind their commitment to Ukrainian studies and an examination of their living conditions and psychological well-being. The structure of the study adheres to a problem-chronological approach. At the same time, comparative historical analysis enables the juxtaposition of source materials to discern commonalities and disparities in scientific self-identification and realization among researchers with varied experiences of scholarly pursuits – both within Ukraine and within emigration research hubs established between the two World Wars. The historical-genetic, or retrospective, method was employed to delineate patterns and causal relationships in the formation of the DP camp environment, aiming to reconstruct the objective reality of daily life – a cornerstone of everyday history. Through an analysis of political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions, the study elucidates the historical milieu within the camps and the experiences of the scholars therein. This understanding of historical processes offers insights for drawing parallels with the contemporary migration of scholars, including the mass exodus following 24 February 2022. Unlike traditional studies of everyday life, which often focus on individuals with minimal historical impact, our research centers on renowned humanities scholars who have significantly influenced twentieth-century historical scholarship and, consequently, Ukraine’s cultural history.

¹⁸ P. Nora, *Teperishnie, natsia, pamiat*, Kyiv 2014, p. 153.

An essential methodological foundation for this study rests on comprehending the concept of “everyday life”, which has been addressed by historians and philosophers, cultural theorists, and sociologists¹⁹. Our understanding of this concept aligns closely with the elucidation provided by O. Udod, who defines it as encompassing not only living conditions but also the psychological dimensions of daily existence – a study of individuals’ attitudes toward the state, society, and prevailing value systems through the lens of their daily experiences²⁰. Consequently, in examining the everyday lives of scientists, we scrutinized not only their living conditions, diet, and material support but also the conditions and organization of their creative endeavors, their interpersonal relationships and communication with colleagues, academic solidarity, and their sense of identity.

Discussion

Ukrainian intellectuals residing in Germany and Austria during this period inhabited DP camps as well as private residences within the Western occupation zones. The largest concentration of such camps was in the American occupation zone of Germany, encompassing areas near cities such as Augsburg, Aschaffenburg, Württemberg-Baden, Gross-Hesse, Munich, Regensburg, and Rottenburg. Conversely, fewer camps were established in the British occupation zone, including locations like Hanover, Heidenau, Godesau, Göttingen, Munster, and Braunschweig, with even fewer in the French occupation zone, such as Lindau, Hesse, and South Baden. Ukrainian scholars predominantly resided in the American zone in Austria, comprising Upper Austria and Salzburg.

During this era, individuals from the so-called “second” (often referred to as the “old” or “interwar”) wave of emigration and the “third”, then deemed the “new” wave, comprising migrants from both Western and Eastern (Greater) Ukraine, converged in the western occupation zones. The “old” wave immigrants hailed from European nations and were typically political refugees who sought refuge in the West following the loss of Ukrainian statehood in the early 1920s. Conversely, the “new” wave consisted mainly of former military personnel or ostarbeiters who had ended up in Germany, including some who had been incarcerated in German concentration camps. Additionally, among the occupants of the camps were individuals who had fled their homeland to escape Soviet persecution, seeking sanctuary in foreign lands. The highest concentration

¹⁹ P. Lesnych, *Poniattia „povsiakdennist” u postradianskii istoriohrafii*, „Naukovyi visnyk Skhidnoievropeiskoho nationalnoho universytetu imeni Lesi Ukrainky. Serii: Istorychni nauky” 2015, No. 5(306), pp. 152–157; V.A. Alkov, *Povsiakdennia: problema definitsii ta predmetu na lokalnomu rivni*, [in:] *Hurzhivski istorychni chytannia. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*, No. 7, eds. V.A. Smolii, O.I. Hurzhii, A.H. Morozov, et al., Cherkasy 2014, pp. 98–101.

²⁰ O. Udod, *Povsiakdenne zhyttia kyian v umovakh okupatsii (veresen 1941 – lystopad 1943): pytan- nia metodolohii ta istoriohrafii*, „Problemy istorii Ukrainy: fakty, sudzhennia, poshuky: mizhvid. zbirnyk nau- kovykh prats” 2006, No. 15, p. 386.

of Ukrainian scholars was observed within this diverse mix of individuals, particularly among the representatives of the second wave. According to L. Luciuk, the number of individuals from Eastern Ukraine initially equaled, if not exceeded, the number from Western Ukraine. However, due to the repatriation of a substantial portion of individuals from Greater Ukraine in early 1947, approximately 72% of those remaining in the camps originated from Galicia and Volhynia, with an additional 3% originating from Bukovyna. Only 25% of the camp population hailed from Eastern Ukraine²¹. Interestingly, “(...) for the Eastern Ukrainians were routinely described as being among the ‘most skilled’ of the displaced persons, professors and teachers (...) artists, the chief technical men”²². This decline in Eastern Ukrainian representation was primarily a result of widespread Soviet repatriations, which individuals who had already endured persecution in the USSR sought to avoid. The USSR demanded the repatriation of individuals from its territory, a demand the Allies were reluctant to oppose to avoid souring relations. Simultaneously, the repatriation process aimed to alleviate the issue of displaced persons within Allied-occupied territories.

One of the primary modes of communication among researchers during this period was predominantly through correspondence. Several factors contributed to this preference. Firstly, most scholars resided in DP camps or various cities within the western zones of Germany. Notably, among humanities scholars, M. Andrusiak was situated in Ingolstadt, M. Antonovych and D. Doroshenko in Augsburg, B. Krupnytskyi in Himmelforten, P. Kurinnyi in Hochstadt, O. Ohloblyn, and initially N. Polonska-Vasylenko in the village of Trasfelden (near Munich), later relocating to Mittenwald. D. Olianchyn resided in Stuttgart, V. Petrov in Munich, V. Sichynskyi in Aschaffenburg, and D. Chyzhevskyi in Marburg²³. Secondly, public transportation in the war-torn country was subpar, with some railways suffering damage. Connections between cities were inadequately organized, requiring travelers to utilize multiple modes of transportation and expend significant time on the road to cover short distances²⁴, thereby discouraging travel. Initially, postal services were limited to domestic operations within Germany but later expanded to facilitate international correspondence.

From 1945 to 1 July 1947, the welfare of Ukrainian displaced persons (DPs) fell under the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Subsequently, from 1 July 1947 to 31 December 1950, management transitioned initially to an organizing committee and later to the International Refugee Organization (IRO). The primary

²¹ L. Y. Luciuk, op. cit., p. 149.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Arkhiv Ukrain's'koho Vilnoho Universytetu (The Archive of Ukrainian Free University – Arkhiv UVU), F. Tsentralne predstavnytstvo ukrainskoi emigratsii v Nimechchyni (TsPUEN), Spr. Dokumenty, Spysok naukovtsiv, profesoriv i spivrobitnykiv ukrainskykh vysokykh shkil, perebuvaichykh na emigratsii v Nimechchyni, 1945.

²⁴ I. Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, *Shchodennyky*, Kyiv 2019, pp. 268–269.

mandate of these organizations was to provide care for refugees, facilitating their repatriation to their homelands or resettlement in other nations. Unlike the UNRRA, the IRO prohibited forced repatriation, broadening the understanding of the “refugee” concept and documenting reasons for potential refusals of forced repatriation. However, obtaining the status of a displaced person was a prerequisite for refugees. This status was conferred upon individuals who had been forcibly conscripted for labor under Nazi, fascist, or allied regimes, or who had been compelled to flee their homeland due to religious, racial, or political persecution²⁵. The refugee (DP) status provided modest yet stable financial assistance, aid in resettlement to other countries, assistance with job searches, and, critically, the opportunity for legal residency in the host country. However, prior to this decision, the repatriation process was fraught with anguish for many emigrants, who encountered repression. Historian T. Hunchak, who was a teenager at the time, vividly recalled these events: “(...) we were in danger in Fisen [Füssen] when Soviet repatriation commissions came. They tried to convince the Americans that we were Soviet citizens and should return home. (...) People were running away to avoid being taken to the Soviet Union. There were even cases when some people committed suicide (...)”²⁶.

Some camps boasted an international composition, but the majority harbored a nationally homogeneous population. In 1945, Ukrainian camps featured self-governing bodies, educational facilities, and public organizations. On 30 October 1945, a congress of Ukrainian emigrants from three occupation zones convened in Aschaffenburg, adopting resolutions outlining the organization of Ukrainian public life and establishing a unified, apolitical institution to oversee the affairs of Ukrainian emigrants – the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany (CRUEG). Journalist and public figure Vasyl Mudryi assumed the role of chairman of the Central Committee, with biologist Mykhailo Vetukhiv elected as deputy chairman and historian Roman Ilnytskyi appointed as secretary. The Department of Culture and Tourism was entrusted to the renowned historian Dmytro Doroshenko²⁷. A parallel institution was established in Austria in 1946 – the Ukrainian Central Relief Association of Austria (UCRAA). Mykhailo Rosoliak assumed leadership of the association, with historian Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytskyi, later appointed as head of the UCRAA, serving as deputy. These public entities assumed responsibility for the legal, social, cultural, and educational welfare of Ukrainian displaced persons and for fostering connections with local authorities.

Ukrainian intellectuals residing in the western occupation zones of Germany and Austria inhabited both exclusively Ukrainian and mixed-nationality camps, often alongside Polish, Slovak, Lithuanian, and German individuals. While there were more “Ukrai-

²⁵ *Osnovni zavdannia IRO*, „Visnyk Oseli Regensburg” 1947, No. 21, p. 1.

²⁶ T. Hunchak, *Moi spohady – stezhky zhyttia*, Kyiv 2005, p. 28.

²⁷ *Na hromadskij nyvi. Do 25-littia Tsentralnoho Predstavnytstva Ukrainskoi Emigratsii v Nimechchyni*, Miunkhen 1972, p. 15.

nian” camps than “mixed” ones, scientists living in private residences outside the camps could still hold the status of displaced persons and receive assistance from international organizations. Occasionally, original Ukrainian communities, frequently comprised of students, emerged in German and Austrian towns as young individuals sought to pursue or complete their education. Establishing ethnically based camps proved beneficial for refugees and organizations like UNRRA and IRO, as it alleviated language barriers, mitigated ethnic tensions, fostered the development of national and cultural life, and facilitated the organization of refugees into cohesive communities. Throughout the camps, their organization and structure underwent evolution.

Initially serving as mere dormitories for individuals undergoing discipline, the camps gradually evolved into well-organized, self-governing communities. All camp residents possessed their own set of rights and responsibilities. Individuals reaching the age of 21 were entitled to participate in the election of governing bodies and actively engage in camp life and activities. The primary obligation of individuals under 60 was labor²⁸. This included duties such as serving as duty officers. However, certain limitations were imposed; for instance, changing residence within the camp required permission from a designated camp administrator, and leaving the camp temporarily necessitated consent from a police officer²⁹.

The operation of Ukrainian camps was initially governed by temporary framework regulations, subsequently replaced by the permanent Framework Statute ratified in 1949 by the CRUEG. According to the Framework Statute, the highest self-governing body was the camp council, comprised of 26 individuals elected annually in a democratic fashion during a general assembly. The camp council’s responsibilities included formulating and endorsing the camp budget, appointing the camp commandant and the oversight commission, and endorsing departmental representatives. Camp council sessions were convened every month.

The camp administration served as the executive arm of the camp council, entrusted with the direct oversight of all internal affairs. This body supervised the operations of all institutions and facilities situated within the camp’s confines. Its composition included the camp commandant, deputy commandants, department heads (housing, cultural, educational, financial, legal, and economic), and the administrative secretary, with weekly meetings convened. The commandant actively participated in camp council sessions, prepared monthly reports for UNRRA, and undertook other administrative duties. Oversight of the commandant and the administration fell under the purview of the camp control commission, which also possessed the authority to inspect the operations of all institu-

²⁸ Arkhiv UVU, F. Tabory, Spr. Tabir v Mannhaimi, Pravylnyk dlia hromadian Ukrainskoho Taboru v Mannhaimi, 10 V 1945.

²⁹ Arkhiv UVU, F. TsPUEN, Spr. Dokumenty, Taborovyi Pravylnyk, 1945.

tions and organizations within the camp. Additionally, to maintain legal order and adjudicate all non-military and non-civil disputes arising within the camp, a camp public court was established³⁰.

Ukrainian scholars actively engaged in the development of camp life. For instance, historian Volodymyr Matsiak, residing in the Ettlingen camp, served as chairman of the camp committee in 1950, subsequently assuming the role of police commandant³¹. Lawyer and sociologist Matvii Stakhiv participated as a member of the Public Court of the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany. Additionally, historian Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko, alongside her husband, economist Oleksandr Morhun, played a pivotal role as members of the initiative group of Ukrainians striving to establish a local Representation of Ukrainian emigration in Germany at the Dornstadt Altersheim³² (Altersheim – nursing home).

In their new surroundings, Ukrainian scholars promptly initiated the organization of scientific endeavors, finding fulfillment in their customary academic pursuits deemed essential and seizing opportunities to supplement their income through teaching and occasional modest honoraria. On 22 October 1945, a gathering of scholars convened in Munich, drawing 15 participants from diverse fields of expertise, including geographer V. Kubiiovych, art historian V. Shcherbakivskyi, philosopher I. Mirchuk, economist B. Martos, bibliographer V. Doroshenko, economist R. Dymynskyi, biologist I. Rozhin, among others. The agenda encompassed the reinstatement of Ukrainian educational and scientific institutions, such as the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, and the Theological Seminar. Deliberations also centered on the current needs and future prospects of Ukrainian science in emigration. V. Kubiiovych underscored the imperative of prioritizing Ukrainian studies, outlining key objectives, including the examination of Ukrainian worldview issues and the preservation of Ukrainian spirituality from adversarial influences³³. This assembly precipitated the establishment or reinvigoration of several scientific institutions in Germany, including the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, the Ukrainian Genealogical Institution (Ukrainska Rodovidna Ustanova), and the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Furthermore, the Ukrainian Free University was inaugurated in Munich, with most of its faculty relocating from Prague, alongside establishing the Ukrainian Technical and Eco-

³⁰ Arkhiv UVU, F. TsPUEN, Spr. Dokumenty, Ramkovyi Statut Ukrainskoho Taboru, 2 I 1949.

³¹ Arkhiv UVU, F. Taboru, Spr. Ettlingen, Lyst Taborovoho komitetu v Ettlingeni do Tsentralnogo Predstavnytstva Ukrains'koi Emigratsii v Nimechchyni, 22 IX 1950.

³² Arkhiv UVU, F. Taboru, Spr. Dornshtadt, Lyst initsiatyvnoi hrupy ukrainsiv z Alteshaimu v Dornshtadti do Upravy TsPUEN, 30 X 1953.

³³ Arkhiv UVU, F. TsPUEN, Spr. Dokumenty, Protokol narady ukrainskykh naukivtsiv 22 zhovtnia 1945 r. u Miunkheni, 22 X 1945.

nomic Institute in Regensburg, among others. These newly established and revitalized scientific and educational institutions served as hubs for interdisciplinary collaboration, fostering scientific discourse, research endeavors, and academic pursuits.

In subsequent years, scholars engaged in recurrent discussions concerning advancing Ukrainian science in exile, preserving its scientific prowess, and adapting to a new socio-cultural milieu. These issues were deliberated upon during congresses of scientists from the three occupation zones convened on July 3–5, 1947, and 17 April 1949, under the chairmanship of D. Doroshenko. Of particular significance in elucidating the fundamental principles governing the development of Ukrainian science in exile was V. Kubiiiovych's report titled *The state and tasks of Ukrainian science in exile*, the complete text of which was published in the journal "Present and Past" ("Siohochasne i mynule") in 1948. The congress resolved to establish the Union of Scholars in Exile (subsequently renamed the Association in April 1949), endorsed its Statute, and elected its Executive Board. Board members included biologist M. Vetukhiv, literary critic L. Biletskyi, economist E. Khraplyvnyi, historian V. Dubrovskyi, and lawyer M. Stakhiv³⁴. The primary focus of the 1948 Congress centered on the mass emigration of scientists from the camps to other countries, its ramifications, and the prospects for Ukrainian science development in Germany. Among the resolutions adopted was the approval of the Presidium of the Union of Ukrainian Scholars in Exile, comprising chairman biologist M. Vetukhiv, first deputy historian and archaeologist V. Petrov, and second deputy philologist V. Hryshko³⁵. Through the efforts of the Union, the population of Ukrainian scholars in the Western occupation zones of Germany and Austria was documented. By mid-1947, their numbers totaled 277, decreasing to 240 a year later³⁶.

In 1945–1946, social and living conditions were challenging and not conducive to research endeavors. The camp population encompassed individuals across various age demographics, ranging from newborns to individuals over 60, with numbers fluctuating between 98 and 4000 people. Camps were situated in diverse locales, including military barracks, disused factories, fire stations, technical schools, and living quarters, which accommodated 10–20 individuals and multiple families simultaneously. Ukrainian scientists cohabited in camps alongside individuals from diverse professional backgrounds and possessing varied political and religious affiliations. According to the memoirs of ancient history researcher O. Dombrowskyi, as documented in materials preserved within the scientist's archive³⁷, he resided in the Mainz-Kastel camp in the city of Rhine within the American occupation zone from 1946 to 1949. Dombrowskyi noted: "(...) the social

³⁴ *1 z 'izd naukovtsiv na emigratsii*, „Ukrainski visti” 1947, No. 37(95), p. 3.

³⁵ *2-y z 'izd ukrainskykh naukovykh pratsivnykiv na emigratsii*, „Ukrainski visti” 1949, No. 35(292), p. 4.

³⁶ V. Maruniak, op. cit., p. 181.

³⁷ Arkhiv Ukrainskoho Istorychnoho Tovarystva (Arkhiv UIT), F.O. Dombrowskyi, Spr. Osobysti dokumenty, Frontier Card / United States Military Government of Germany Greater, 1945.

spectrum of our camp was remarkably diverse – ranging from presidents, ministers, and generals to common laborers and peasants, deprived of class, who abandoned their fields to escape the dictatorship of the proletariat”³⁸. N. Polonska-Vasylenko’s correspondence with O. Ohloblyn underscores the harsh conditions of camp life and the absence of private accommodations: “I am exhausted from living in the communal mess of the camp, and it feels suffocating in our room. I lack the energy even to request a separate room. Our entire camp existence is unlike yours: only nature offers solace”³⁹. In a letter to the Doroshenko family dated August 1945, N. Polonska described the lodging arrangements she endured: “On 29 May, we arrived in Trassfelden, a village near Tittling town. For two months, we resided in the vast dance hall of a local inn, along with 26 individuals – from Bohdan to a woman battling cancer. Below us lay a cowshed, above us, a leaky roof exposed to the sky. The drafts were unbearable, but bearable in the summer”⁴⁰. Here she also mentioned that her shoes, along with those of her “companions”, had fallen apart, necessitating walks barefoot⁴¹. Living conditions marginally ameliorated following the widespread resettlement of Ukrainians to the United States, Canada, France, and the United Kingdom, decreasing the displaced population in Germany and Austria. Nonetheless, individuals were still responsible for their livelihood necessities. Correspondence from archaeologist Borys Zhuk reveals that scholars had to manage to heat their camp rooms during winter, including gathering firewood⁴². Those scientists residing outside the camps in private homes experienced more favorable conditions.

One of the paramount issues in postwar Germany was the inadequate nutrition stemming from food shortages induced by agricultural devastation, economic downturn, and the influx of refugees and displaced persons. The adequacy and quality of refugees’ sustenance hinged upon the support rendered by international organizations. Camp administrations distributed ration cards, delineating varying calorie allowances for adults, children, and distinct occupational groups. Overall, food provisions in the camps surpassed those available to individuals lacking refugee status. In February 1948, a 24-hour strike unfolded among German employees and workers in Germany’s British and American occupation zones, advocating for enhanced food standards and wages. Notably, the nutritional standards for workers were on par with those for non-working individuals and were

³⁸ O. Dombrowskyi, *Spomyny*, ed. A. Atamanenko, comp. H. Klynova. New York–Lviv–Ostroh 2009, p. 181.

³⁹ A. Atamanenko, H. Klynova-Datsiuk, *Pidhotovka zahalnoi „Entsyklopedii Ukrainoznavstva”: teksty i liudy*, „Eminak: naukovyi shchokvartalnyk” 2022, No. 3(39), p. 152.

⁴⁰ Arkhiv UVU, F.1. Personalna archivna kolektsiia Natalii Polonskoi-Vasylenko (Morhun), Spr. 15. Lystuvannia, Lyst vid N. Polonskoi-Vasylenko do D. Doroshenka ta N. Doroshenko (avtorska kopii), VIII 1945.

⁴¹ Ibidem.

⁴² *Lystuvannia mytropolyta Ilariona (Ohienka)*, ukl. Yu. Mytsyk. Kyiv 2006, p. 220.

inferior to those in the camps⁴³, yet between 1945 and 1948, the ration per person in the camps averaged 2–2.5 thousand calories, falling below the standard⁴⁴.

Ukrainian scientists also grappled with inadequate nutrition, adversely affecting their creative endeavors and scientific pursuits. Sure, researchers without refugee status endured greater malnourishment than others. Historian D. Olianchyn, residing privately in Stuttgart, encountered such circumstances as he worked in a library and relied solely on “German cards” for sustenance. In a letter to Metropolitan Hilarion, bibliographer V. Doroshenko remarked: “The second destitute individual is Domet Olianchyn. You must be familiar with him – he is a historian. He solely subsisted on German ration cards, and due to malnutrition, he was utterly debilitated. Hunger rendered him incapable of work”⁴⁵. Colleagues at the establishment endeavored to assist the scholar personally and by garnering support from scientific institutions. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, who maintained a close relationship with D. Olianchyn, dispatched parcels containing oatmeal to aid him⁴⁶. The renowned historian Dmytro Doroshenko and his wife Nataliia conveyed a package of milk powder as “the most valuable commodity”⁴⁷. At the same time, the president of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, historian and archaeologist P. Kurinnyi, provided financial assistance from the Society of Supporters of the Academy in the form of royalties⁴⁸.

Food assistance in the form of lard, sugar, milk, and cocoa was also provided to Ukrainian scholars by the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC – Zluchenyi Ukrains'kyi Amerykans'kyi Dopomohovyi Komitet v Zakhidnii Yevropi), a Ukrainian international public organization founded in 1944 in Philadelphia, which commenced operations on the European continent in 1947. Among the primary functions of UUARC are material and legal assistance to Ukrainian refugees, aid with resettlement to the United States and other countries, and housing⁴⁹. In addition to regular donations, Ukrainian scholars also received individual one-time donations of food, mainly for Christmas or Easter: in 1949, 105 Ukrainian scientists residing in the three occupation zones of Germany and Austria received 90 pounds of lard⁵⁰. The following year, the scientists received 1 pound of lard, 1 pound of sugar, 3 pounds of milk powder, and 1 pound

⁴³ Arkhiv UVU, F. Tabory, Spr. Korigen, Lystok informatsiino-osvitnioho viddilu taboru Korigen, 5 II 1948.

⁴⁴ O. Podobied, op. cit., p. 225.

⁴⁵ *Lystuvannia mytropolyta...*, p. 124.

⁴⁶ Arkhiv UVU, F.D. Olianchyn, Spr. Lystuvannia, Lyst vid D. Olianchyna do N. Polonskoi-Vasylenko, 4 VIII 1947.

⁴⁷ Arkhiv UVU, F.D. Olianchyn, Spr. Lystuvannia, Lyst D. Doroshenka do D. Olianchyna, 16 VII 1947.

⁴⁸ Arkhiv UVU, F.D. Olianchyn, Spr. Lystuvannia, Lyst P. Kurinnoho do D. Olianchyna, 3 II 1949.

⁴⁹ Arkhiv UVU, F. Zluchenyi Ukrains'kyi Amerykans'kyi Dopomohovyi Komitet v Zakhidnii Yevropi (ZUADK), Spr. Dokumenty, Zvit z dialnosti Zluchenoho Ukrainskoho Amerykanskhoho Dopomohovoho Komitetu v Zakhidnii Yevropi za 1949 r., 1949, ark. 1.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, ark. 28.

of powdered eggs per person per month⁵¹. Humanitarian aid also encompassed clothing and medicines.

Even though international organizations partially provided food and clothing for camp residents, the availability of money empowered the residents. The financial situation of Ukrainian scholars, primarily historians, was often unsatisfactory. For instance, in a letter to D. Olianchyn, O. Ohloblyn noted: "Of course, it is true that our position as scholars and historians is extremely helpless. We bear the great and sacred burden of national ideological work, and in gratitude for this, we have an inattentive, if not completely indifferent, and sometimes simply dismissive attitude on the part of the ruling factors. (...) Of the humanities, we historians are in the worst position. After all, our philologists, clever linguists, can always earn some good money on a dictionary or on the anniversary of a writer (...) "⁵². In postwar Germany, conditions for creative work were also challenging. Frequent changes of residence hurt the research work of scientists. This was because the IRO created large camps, often merged or liquidated, necessitating scientists living in temporary camps to move to another camp and area.

Most scholars were compelled to teach simultaneously at multiple higher education institutions, given that teaching offered only a modest salary. Their places of employment included the Ukrainian Free University, the Theological-Pedagogical Academy, and other educational establishments. Historians, archaeologists, and art historians such as D. Doroshenko, B. Krupnytskyi, O. Ohloblyn, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, M. Andrusiak, M. Terletskyi, M. Antonovych, V. Petrov, P. Kurinnyi, V. Shcherbakivskyi, and Y. Pasternak, along with lawyers L. Okinshevych, Y. Padokh, L. Shramchenko, O. Baraniv, and Yu. Fedynskyi, were among those who taught in the UFU⁵³. Additionally, some historians conducted classes at the Theological and Pedagogical Academy. Here, individuals could attend lectures delivered by D. Doroshenko, O. Ohloblyn, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, B. Krupnytskyi, P. Kurinnyi, L. Okinshevych, and others⁵⁴.

The monetary reform of 1948 in the Western occupation zones of Germany negatively impacted the living standards of Ukrainian scientists. This reform encompassed the introduction of Deutsche marks, a reduction in the money supply, the elimination of inflation and the black market, the cessation of state price regulation, and spurred production growth, heralding the "West German economic miracle". Consequently, Ukrainian scientific and educational institutions, where many scientists were employed, faced challenging financial circumstances and experienced a significant slowdown in their activities.

⁵¹ Ibidem, ark. 38.

⁵² Arkhiv UVU, F.D. Olianchyn, Spr. Lystuvannia, Lyst vid O. Ohloblyna do D. Olianchyna, 11 XII 1947.

⁵³ H. Klynova-Datsiuk, *Ukrainskyj vilnyj universytet Di-Pi periodu*, „Naukovi zapysky Natsionalnoho universytetu »Ostrozka akademii«». Seria: Istorychni nauky” 2020, No. 31, pp. 81–82.

⁵⁴ Arkhiv UVU, F. Bohoslovskia i pedahohichna academia Ukrainskoi Avtokefalnoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Miunkheni, Spr. Dokumenty, Profesorskyi sklad Bohoslovskoi akademii UAPT v Miunkheni, 1947.

The dire financial situation of Ukrainian researchers in postwar Germany was a recurring topic at meetings of the CRUEG.

Famous Ukrainian and foreign public and political figures of the time occasionally showed interest in the lives of refugees in the camps. These visits allowed camp residents to communicate their problems to the guests and sometimes to seek support for research projects. Eleanor Roosevelt, an influential public figure and the wife of US President Franklin Roosevelt, who chaired the UN Commission on Human Rights at the time, was genuinely concerned about the plight of Ukrainian DPs and their reluctance to return home. On 28 October 1948, she visited the Ukrainian camps in Stuttgart to observe the refugees' living conditions⁵⁵. In May 1948, the Ukrainian Somme Kaserne camp in Augsburg received a visit from the renowned Greek Catholic bishop and patron of science, Ivan Buchko. During his meeting with representatives of Ukrainian scientific institutions in exile, archaeologist P. Kurinnyi provided an overview of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences activities and presented the archbishop with the Academy's publications⁵⁶. Thanks to Ivan Buchko, several long-term research projects received funding, including the National Science and Technology School project to develop the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies⁵⁷. Educational literature was also published with financial assistance from the Ukrainian American Relief Committee in Western Europe⁵⁸.

An essential and challenging aspect of our study is understanding the motivation behind scientific work and the psychological state of researchers during this period, which can be partially discerned through surviving narratives. This was influenced by various factors, including living conditions, access to sources and libraries, and the researchers' age. Younger individuals were often more adaptable to adverse living conditions. The motivation for all, particularly humanities scholars, stemmed from a desire to contribute to advancing Ukrainian studies. Hence, younger generation representatives who aimed to pursue academic careers considered the field's significance for Ukrainian studies when selecting their research areas. For instance, according to R. Volchuk, a renowned American orientalist of Ukrainian descent and founder of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in the United States and the Institute of Oriental Studies in Ukraine, Omelan Pritsak, "studied Arabic and Turkic languages primarily to research the history of Ukraine from these rich sources, which are mostly unknown and unused"⁵⁹.

Simultaneously, older researchers were motivated by patriotism and the need for self-realization. However, residing in camps due to fleeing from their homeland or the

⁵⁵ „Ukrains'ki visti" 1948, No. 87(344), p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Z ukrainskoho zhyttia*, „Chas" 1948, No. 35(152), p. 12.

⁵⁷ A. Atamanenko, H. Klynova-Datsiuk, op. cit., p. 153.

⁵⁸ Arkhiv UVU, F. Zluchenyi Ukrains'kyi Amerykans'kyi Dopomohovyi Komitet v Zakhidnii Yevropi, Spr. Dokumenty, Zvit z diialnosti Zluchenohto Ukrainskoho Amerykanskohto Dopomohovoho Komitetu v Zakhidnii Yevropi za 1950 r., 1950, ark. 5.

⁵⁹ R. Volchuk, *Spomyny z povoiennoi Avstrii ta Nimechchyny*, Kyiv 2004, p. 32.

last countries of residence resulted in a lack of literature and sources, particularly for historical research, the loss of a significant portion of unpublished texts, and unsuitable conditions for scientific work, especially evident at the onset of their stay in or near the camps. This led to feelings of depression and despondency. The renowned Ukrainian historian D. Doroshenko articulated this sentiment in 1945 in a letter to Metropolitan Hilarion (Ohienko), then residing in Switzerland: "You seem to have no idea of the terrible moral condition of us all, who live under the constant threat of forced return to the 'homeland', amid constant inspections, resettlements, evictions, in an atmosphere of complete disenfranchisement"⁶⁰. The scholar lamentably recalled, "for 1½ years I have not worked at all, gradually becoming wild, not writing or reading anything except newspapers. All my manuscripts have perished, and I have not taken a single written or printed page with me, fully understanding that I have bid farewell to scientific or literary work forever"⁶¹. The orientalist historian V. Dubrovskyi also lamented to the same Metropolitan Hilarion (Ohienko): "Now there are no conditions to write anything professional; we live in a small town: forests, mountains, and the sky above us. My entire work for a quarter of a century – mainly the monograph *Hetmanate of Danylo Apostol* and other works in manuscripts – all remained at home"⁶². It was challenging to conduct scientific research requiring the utilization of archival sources under the prevailing conditions. However, there were instances where studies, whose manuscripts were brought out of Ukraine, could be published. The monograph by legal historian L. Okinshevych, titled *A significant military society in Ukraine-Hetmanate in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries*, was published in Munich in 1948 as volume 157 of the "Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society". The author mentioned to M. Chubatyi in the United States that the work was composed in 1932 and "quite by chance I have preserved it"⁶³.

The absence of libraries and archives significantly complicated research endeavors. While Ukrainian archives could partially compensate for the inability to access foreign archival collections, this often proved challenging immediately after the war due to damage to many archives, transportation difficulties, and insufficient funding. Consequently, scientific associations and individual scholars endeavored to facilitate research by establishing libraries at scientific and educational institutions such as the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and the Ukrainian Free University. Scholars actively contributed to filling these collections. The renowned bibliographer V. Doroshenko played a pivotal role in shaping the Shevchenko Scientific Society library. In a letter to Metropolitan Hilarion (Ohienko) in Switzerland, he expressed: "I am very

⁶⁰ *Lystuvannia mytropolyta...*, p. 127.

⁶¹ Ibidem.

⁶² Ibidem, p. 150.

⁶³ The Archive of the Ukrainian Diocesan Museum and Library in Stamford, F. Professor Mykola Chubatyi, box O, fol. L. Okinshevych, Letter from L. Okinshevych to M. Chubaty, 25 IV 1948.

glad that you have started publishing books. Please note that in my wanderings I do not forget about the library of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and collect all kinds of publications for it. If God allows us to live to see the liberation of our native land, we will take the collected goods home”⁶⁴. Thanks to the efforts of V. Doroshenko, by 1949, the society’s library boasted 1421 books, 5600 journals, and over 200 other publications⁶⁵. The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences possessed a significantly more extensive library collection, with 29 620 items of printed matter by the beginning of 1948⁶⁶. Whenever feasible, the libraries of Ukrainian scientific organizations provide books to readers⁶⁷. However, due to the dispersion of scholars across different camps and cities in West Germany, libraries struggled to furnish scholars with literature. Scientists, in a cooperative spirit, addressed this issue through various means, including lending books from their libraries, sending prints, and occasionally providing handwritten extracts from scientific publications.

Meanwhile, proficiency in a foreign language, mainly German, could significantly enhance scientific creativity. Access to European libraries and archives, notably German ones, facilitated the incorporation of new unpublished sources into scientific discourse, the study of publications about Ukraine, and the preparation of research. In addition to article publications, several doctoral dissertations were defended at UFU: V. Seniutovych-Berezhnyi presented *The Nobility of the Volyn Land* under the supervision of O. Ohloblyn (1947), T. Mackiw discussed *The Cossacks in the light of German literature of the eighteenth century* (1950), O. Wintoniak explored *German plantain travelogues about Ukraine in the second half of the eighteenth century* (1950), and V. Lyzohub focused on *Ukraine in the first half of the nineteenth century in the descriptions of German plantain travelogues*, among others. Young Ukrainian scholars also defended their qualification papers at German universities. Invited by the renowned Ukrainian philosopher and philologist D. Chyzhevskiy, orientalist O. Pritsak seized the opportunity in 1947 to study the orientalist literature of the Prussian State Library, relocated from Berlin to Marburg⁶⁸. In March 1948, he successfully defended his doctoral dissertation on “Karakhanid Studies” at the University of Göttingen. O. Pritsak’s dissertation received high praise from the German orientalist Hans Heinrich Schader⁶⁹.

⁶⁴ *Lystuvannia mytropolyta...*, p. 122.

⁶⁵ V. Maruniak, op. cit., p. 178.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 180.

⁶⁷ *Z laboratorii tvorennia „Entsyklopedii Ukrainoznavstva”*, Kyiv 2018, p. 42.

⁶⁸ A. Atamanenko, S. Hodzhal, *Lystuvannia Marka Antonovycha i Dmytra Chyzhevskoho: „(...) ye i tsi-lyi riad naukovykh prats, yaki krim Vas nikhto napysaty ne zmozhe”*, [in:] *Akademichna tradytsiia ukrainskoho zarubizhzhia: istoriia i suchasnist. Liber Amicorum na poshanu prezidenta UVAN u SShA prof. Alberta Kipy*, eds. I. Hyrych, L. Rudnytskyi, New York–Kyiv 2021, p. 385.

⁶⁹ *Z polia nauky, „Ukrains’ki visti”* 1948, No. 32(184), p. 5.

The leadership of the CRUEG attached great importance to cultural and educational work in the camps, actively involving scientists. Each camp had a referent responsible for this area. The cultural and educational work in the camps depended on the residents and their abilities and desires to preserve their national and cultural needs. This work was best organized in the camps of the American occupation zone and least in the French. This was due to the absence of large concentrations of Ukrainian emigration, Ukrainian camps, and the intelligentsia capable of implementing it. The Bad Kreuznach camp was an exception, where 532 Ukrainians lived. Conversely, within the territory of large national camps, there were more opportunities to organize and develop national life, including establishing schools, gymnasiums, various professional courses, English language courses, and higher education self-study schools known as people's universities. Incidentally, people's universities were one of scientists' first places of work.

That is why educational work with displaced persons and youth was one of the essential directions of scientists' work. Its primary forms included lectures on scientific and popular topics at Ukrainian studies courses, conducting scientific forums, academic evenings, etc. At the initiative of the Cultural and Educational Department of the CRUEG, Ukrainian studies courses were actively held in Ukrainian camps in the American zone from 1946 to 1948. They aimed to acquaint camp residents, especially youth, with the history and culture of the Ukrainian people. Authoritative scholars supervised the courses. For example, in the camps of Aschaffenburg, journalist and publicist Arkadii Zhyvotko, and after his death in June 1948, historian and art critic Volodymyr Sichynskyi, led the courses⁷⁰. The organizers of the courses invited esteemed scholars to deliver lectures, presenting their topics in a popular scientific format, primarily focusing on contemporary events in Ukrainian history. Through these courses, the Cultural and Educational Department aimed to engage and financially support Ukrainian intellectuals who faced challenges adapting to emigrant life and lacked other professional opportunities for earning income. Notable lecturers included M. Bytynskyi, who spoke on *Zaporozhzhian Sich as a knightly order* (15 January 1947, Bois-Bruede camp), A. Zhyvotko, who discussed *Foreigners' impressions of the beauty and richness of the Ukrainian language* (30 January 1947, Artillery camp), M. Hlobenko, who delivered a lecture on *P. Kulish: commemorating the 50th anniversary of his death* (14 February 1947, La Garde camp), and others⁷¹. Additionally, in 1947, fee-based correspondence courses in Ukrainian studies were offered, covering topics such as Ukrainian history, grammar, literature, press history, and national studies at the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (Ukrainskyi Tekhnichno-Hospodarskyi Instytut) in Regensburg. It is worth noting that similar courses

⁷⁰ Arkhiv UVU, F. TsPUEN, Spr. Dokumenty, Zvit z diialnosti kulturno-osvitnioho referenta OPUE v Ashafenburzi za lypen 1948 r., ark. 2.

⁷¹ *Bilshe uvahy kursam ukraïnoznavstva*, „Nedilia” 1947, No. 61, p. 2.

were conducted during the interwar period at the Ukrainian Economic Academy (Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademia) in Poděbrady and attracted many students⁷².

Organizing scientific conferences and public exhibitions in the camps became a cherished tradition to commemorate significant dates, with camp residents serving as the audience. A specific procedure was established for these events. Organizers were required to submit an application to the camp's Cultural and Educational Department for permission seven days before the event⁷³. Most often, these conferences focused on essential events in Ukrainian statehood. One such event was the National Revolution of 1648–1657, led by B. Khmelnytskyi, whose 300th anniversary was celebrated in 1948 across all Ukrainian DP camps as per the directive of the CRUEG. Ceremonial memorial services were held for the hetman's soul in Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches, along with a prayer service for the restoration of the Ukrainian state and people, followed by a scientific conference. Leading historians from the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences convened a conference in the Somme Kazerne camp to honor the memory of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. B. Krupnytskyi presented *Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, the founder of Ukrainian foreign policy*, and P. Isaiev spoke about *The battle of Berestechko according to new data*⁷⁴. Every January, the camps also observed the events of the National Democratic Revolution of 1917–1921, including the bravery of gymnasium students and cadets at Kruty and the Day of Unification of the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic) and WUPR (Western Ukrainian People's Republic). In 1950, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, represented by P. Kurinnyi, proposed a joint celebration of these significant dates to the camp council in Leipheim⁷⁵. Collaboration between academic institutions and the camps was essential as it allowed scientists to showcase their research to a broad audience of displaced persons.

In addition to anniversary and traditional events, a series of scholarly forums organized by members of Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences Historical Section took place in the Ukrainian camps of the American occupation zone, mainly in Mittenwald. On 11 July 1947, the conference "Ukraine and the West" was held, featuring presentations by D. Doroshenko, P. Kurinnyi, B. Krupnytskyi, V. Matsiak, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, and others⁷⁶. August 6–7, 1948, witnessed a multidisciplinary forum led by historian and archaeologist P. Kurinnyi, with speakers including N. Kordysh, D. Horniatkevych, and P. Kurinnyi himself. The moderator underscored the significance of Kyiv as a cultural and state center, drawing comparisons to the role of Moscow⁷⁷. On November 14–15, 1948,

⁷² *Pozaochnyi kurs istorii Ukrainy*, „Ukrainski visti” 1947, No. 11(69), p. 2.

⁷³ *Oboviazky meshkantsiv Oseli*, „Chas” 1946, No. 4(18), p. 1.

⁷⁴ *Spilna konferentsiia*, „Ukrainska trybuna” 1948, No. 40(162), p. 4.

⁷⁵ Arkhiv UVU, F. TsPUEN, Spr. Dokumenty, Lyst do Taborovoi Rady ukrainskoho DiPi taboru Liaphaim, 4 II 1950.

⁷⁶ *Naukovi konferentsii UVAN*, „Litopys Ukrainskoi Vilnoi Akadenii Nauk” 1947, No. 7, p. 12–13.

⁷⁷ *Z ukrainskoho zhyttia*, „Chas” 1948, No. 35(152), p. 9.

a conference of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences commemorating the 30th anniversary of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (AUAS) took place. Speakers such as L. Biletskyi, D. Horniatkevych, and D. Chyzhevskiy highlighted the institution's history, the biographies of its founding members, and President V. Vernadskyi. N. Polonska-Vasylenko and P. Zaitsev shared fond memories of the AUAS's early years⁷⁸.

Ukrainian scholars at the DP also engaged in the practice of holding academic evenings with the Ukrainian community, primarily in Munich. These events served educational purposes, including commemorating prominent figures and acquainting the community with the main research areas of scientific institutions. Discussions followed the presentations. From 1947 to 1948, 16 academic evenings were conducted with the support of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, featuring 20 reports⁷⁹. These evenings were organized by the renowned psychologist Oleksandr Kulchytskyi, who also led the worldview section. L. Okinshevych managed the historical and social section, while V. Yaniv directed the artistic and literary section. The series of academic evenings commenced on 2 October 1947, with a presentation by V. Petrov titled *The problem of the cultural age*⁸⁰. The memorial evening dedicated to Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi was a particularly noteworthy event on 12 December 1947. I. Mirchuk revealed previously unknown aspects of the Metropolitan's life based on materials from the Vienna archives, and V. Shcherbakivskiy shared warm memories of two significant encounters with him in 1908 and 1917, which played a crucial role in shaping and nurturing him as a young historian⁸¹. In 1948, due to the mass exodus of Ukrainians from Germany, the format of academic evenings underwent some changes, featuring a single report in the form of a colloquium followed by discussions.

The scientists devoted significant attention to educational work with young people and collaboration with Ukrainian student communities and organizations. One of the most active student communities was located in Erlangen. The community's primary objectives included nurturing Ukrainian students' intellectual and moral development, promoting physical fitness, and providing material assistance. To achieve these aims, various events were organized, such as exhibitions, scientific gatherings, and training sessions. Ukrainian scholars and artists were invited by the cultural and educational department of the community to give presentations to the students. Among the speakers were D. Doroshenko, who addressed *Viacheslav Lypynskiy and his state ideology* (17 June 1946), U. Samchuk, who spoke on the *Artistic Ukrainian movement* (27 June 1946)⁸²,

⁷⁸ *Yuvilei Vseukrainskoi Akademii Nauk v Avhsburzi*, „Ukrainska Trybuna” 1948, No. 81(203), p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Z prats akademichnykh vechoriv*, „Chas” 1948, No. 53(170), p. 5.

⁸⁰ *Pershii akademichni vechory v Miunkheni*, „Chas” 1947, No. 45(110), p. 5.

⁸¹ *Z ukrainskoho zhyttia*, „Chas” 1947, No. 85(207), p. 5.

⁸² Arkhiv UVU, F. Tabory, Spr. Erlangen, Povidomlennia pro zvychaini chervovi skhodyny ukrainskoi studentskoi hromady v Erlanheni, 24 VI 1946.

O. Kulchytskyi, who presented *Psychology on the threshold of a new era* (3 July 1946), M. Shlemkevych, who discussed *Western Ukraine and its historical purpose* (27 May 1948), and Yu. Sherekh (Yu. Sheveliov), who tackled *Problems of provincialism* (20 May 1948)⁸³, among others. In order to acquaint Ukrainian students with the accomplishments of Ukrainian science and culture, scholars initiated lectures in Heidelberg in 1946. The lectures were delivered by D. Chyzhevskiy, L. Biletskyi, V. Seniutovych-Berezhnyi, and Ya. Rudnytskyi, followed by lively discussions⁸⁴. Scholars also supported the student movement in emigration. On 21 June 1945, at the instigation of the renowned ethnographer Zenon Kuzelia, the Commission for Assistance to Ukrainian Students resumed its activities, aiming to provide financial aid to talented students and active scholars⁸⁵.

For researchers, the camp residents served as repositories of crucial information about Ukraine, including its history and geography. This led to the gathering of oral testimonies regarding various aspects, such as the settlements of Galicia and Zakerzonnia, population figures in Ukrainian settlements, and interethnic relations. To facilitate this, researchers from the Institute for National Studies of the Shevchenko Scientific Society regularly visited the camps to work on mapping the national border. Information was cross-referenced from multiple sources to ensure the accuracy of the testimonies. Additionally, memories of the Soviet regime were compiled. These oral testimonies and recollections of camp residents provided valuable empirical material and served as significant sources for scientific research.

Despite occasional contradictions among researchers, they embarked on various projects, one of the most notable being the preparation of texts for the comprehensive three-volume Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies and materials for a collective textbook on the history of Ukraine. Volodymyr Kubiiovych, one of the editors-in-chief of the encyclopedia, assembled a formidable team of authors who diligently prepared scientific materials for the reference work over an extended period. They deliberated on all matters concerning the quality of the content through regular correspondence. At the behest of the regional office of the UCRA in Austria, Ukrainian historians such as N. Polonska-Vasylenko, V. Shcherbakivskiy, O. Pritsak, B. Krupnytskyi, V. Matsiak, and D. Olianchyn invested considerable effort in producing a manual on the history of Ukraine under the editorship of O. Ohloblyn⁸⁶ (UHA Archive, 1948; UFU Archive, 1948). The course aimed to be “based on the latest achievements of historical science, yet crafted in a manner ac-

⁸³ Arkhiv UVU, F. Tabory, Spr. Erlangen, Zvit kulturno-osvitnoho referenta ukraïnskoi studentskoi hromady v Erlanheni vid 25 X 1947 do 25 X 1948.

⁸⁴ *Inavhuratsiia akademichnykh vykladiv u Haidelberzi*, „Ukrainska Trybuna” 1948, No. 81(203), p. 5.

⁸⁵ *Dopomozhimo studentam i naukovtsiam*, „Ukrainski Visti” 1950, No. 10(371), p. 2.

⁸⁶ Arkhiv UIT, F. Borys Krupnytskyi, Spr. Lystuvannia, Lyst vid O. Ohloblyna do B. Krupnytskoho, 21 VII 1948; Arkhiv UVU, F. D. Olianchyn, Spr. Lystuvannia, Lyst vid P. Solukhy do D. Olianchyna, 15 IX 1948.

cessible and engaging to every educated Ukrainian”⁸⁷. Unfortunately, due to financial constraints, the project was not realized.

Conclusions

In summary, Ukrainian scientists during the DP period lived both in the camps and in private accommodations. The living conditions in the camps were difficult and unfavorable for scientific work as the scientists did not have individual separate rooms but lived with neighbors. The problem of insufficient food rations sharply arose among the population of post-war Germany, including scientists. Significant food support to Ukrainian intellectuals in difficult circumstances was provided by the CRUEG, scientific institutions, and friends. Food norms were sometimes insufficient and consequently had a negative impact on the creative process.

Thanks to the work of Ukrainian intellectuals, a number of Ukrainian scientific and educational institutions were founded and revived – the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Genealogical Institution, Ukrainian Free University – which had a significant impact on the development of Ukrainian science in the second half of the 20th century and the preservation of national identity. Ukrainian scientists combined scientific work with teaching and education activities, which allowed them to work with youth, shape their worldview, prepare the younger generation of scientists, and receive modest funding for living expenses. The socio-psychological atmosphere within the community of historians was favorable for scientific creativity, and the formation of warm friendly relations was facilitated by the long-term collaboration of scientists in joint projects, organization of scientific forums, etc.

The monetary reform of 1948 had a negative impact on the standard of living of Ukrainian scientists. It became one of the decisive factors for emigration to England, Australia, Argentina, Canada, the United States, France, and other countries. Ukrainian scientists who could not leave remained in West Germany, continuing to develop Ukrainian science, integrating it into the European space, and thereby serving Ukraine.

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Daily life and working conditions of Ukrainian scholars in „displaced persons” (DP) camps (1945–1952)

Summary: The article analyzes an exceptional period in the history of Ukrainian science, when refugees from Ukraine and other European countries occupied by Soviet troops were placed in “displaced persons” (DP) camps in Germany and Austria. Despite harsh living conditions, camp residents conducted scientific research, founded or revived research organizations, continued the work of the Ukrainian Free University (transferred from Prague), and established or revived scientific journals. Displaced persons of various nationalities, including Ukrainians, have attracted significant scholarly interest, but the daily life of Ukrainian scientists in DP camps in postwar Germany and Austria, including the sociocultural environment that undoubtedly influenced their work, remain insufficiently investigated. This article draws upon previously unexplored sources to fill gaps in the biographies of many scholars and provide an overview of the scientific milieu in DP camps.

Keywords: migration, displaced persons camps, Ukrainian scholars, scientists, refugees, UNHCR, IRI

Das Alltagsleben ukrainischer Wissenschaftler und die Bedingungen kreativer Arbeit in „Lagern für Umsiedler“ (1945–1952)

Zusammenfassung: Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, eine einzigartige Periode in der Geschichte der ukrainischen Wissenschaft zu untersuchen, als Flüchtlinge aus der Ukraine und aus europäischen Ländern, die von sowjetischen Truppen besetzt waren, in Lager für Vertriebene in Deutschland und Österreich kamen. Trotz der neuen und schwierigen Bedingungen organisierten die Wissenschaftler das wissenschaftliche Leben, stellten die Arbeit von Organisationen wieder her oder gründeten neue, setzten die Tätigkeit der aus Prag verlegten Ukrainischen Freien Universität fort und gründeten oder nahmen wissenschaftliche Verlage wieder auf. Trotz des großen Interesses am Leben der Vertreter verschiedener Nationen, darunter auch der Ukrainer, in den Vertriebenenlagern, bleiben der Aufenthalt der Wissenschaftler im Nachkriegsdeutschland und -österreich sowie das soziokulturelle Umfeld, in dem sie lebten und das zweifellos ihre wissenschaftliche Arbeit prägte, in der Literatur unzureichend erforscht. Die vorliegende Studie stützt sich auf bisher unerschlossene Quellen, um die Biografien vieler Forscher um unbekannte Fakten zu ergänzen und einen Einblick in die allgemeine wissenschaftliche Landschaft zu geben.

Schlüsselwörter: Migration, Lager für intern Vertriebene, ukrainische Wissenschaftler, Forscher, Flüchtlinge, UNHCR, IRI

Życie codzienne ukraińskich naukowców i warunki pracy twórczej w „obozach dla przesiedleńców” (1945–1952)

Streszczenie: Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie wyjątkowego okresu w historii ukraińskiej nauki, kiedy uchodźcy z Ukrainy i krajów europejskich okupowanych przez wojska radzieckie trafili do obozów dla przesiedleńców w Niemczech i w Austrii. Mimo nowych i trudnych warunków uczeni organizowali życie naukowe, przywracali funkcjonowanie organizacji lub je tworzyli, kontynuowali działalność przeniesionego z Pragi Ukraińskiego Wolnego Uniwersytetu, zakładali lub wznawiali wydawnictwa naukowe. Pomimo znacznego zainteresowania życiem przedstawicieli różnych narodów, w tym Ukraińców, w obozach dla przesiedleńców pobyt badaczy w powojennych Niemczech i w Austrii, a także środowisko społeczno-kulturowe, w którym żyli, co niewątpliwie wpłynęło na ich pracę naukową, aspekt ten pozostaje niedostatecznie zbadany w literaturze. Niniejsze badanie opiera się na wcześniej nieopracowanych źródłach, a jego celem jest uzupełnienie biografii badaczy o nieznanne dotąd fakty i zapewnienie wglądu w ogólny krajobraz naukowy.

Słowa kluczowe: migracja, obozy dla uchodźców wewnętrznych, ukraińscy uczeni, naukowcy, uchodźcy, UNHCR, IRI

