UDC 378.6(437=161.2)"19":342.511(437) DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253730

Oleksandr KRAVCHUK

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of World History at Vinnytsia Mykhailo Kotsiubinskyi State Pedagogical University, 32 K. Ostrozky Street, Vinnytsia, Ukraine, postal code 21001(ol-kravchuk@i.ua)

ORCID: 0000-0003-3504-5041 **ResearcherID:** M-6141-2018

Natalia KUZMINETS

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine at Vinnytsia Мукhailo Kotsiubinskyi State Pedagogical University, 32 K. Ostrozky Street, Vinnytsia, Ukraine, postal code 21001 (1974natalika1@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0001-9939-2451 **ResearcherID:** AAX-9522-2020

Олександр КРАВЧУК

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри всесвітньої історії Вінницького державного педагогічного університету імені Михайла Коцюбинського, вул. К.Острозького, 32, м. Вінниця, Україна, індекс 21001 (ol-kravchuk@i.ua)

Наталія КУЗЬМІНЕЦЬ

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри історії України Вінницького державного педагогічного університету імені Михайла Коцюбинського, вул. К. Острозького, 32, м. Вінниця, Україна, індекс 21001 (1974natalika1@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Kravchuk, O. & Kuzminets, N. (2022). The President of Czechoslovakia Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk and the Establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, *22*, 91–102. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.22.253730

THE PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA TOMAŠ GARRIGUE MASARYK AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ECONOMICS

Abstract. The purpose of the research – to find out the role of Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk, the President of Czechoslovakia, in the establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, science, objectivity, general scientific (historical and logical) and special historical methods (retrospective, narrative and chronological). The research is done on the basis of archival and published sources, factual material of historical works, which revealed the role of the top leadership of Czechoslovakia in the development of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics. The scientific novelty of the study consists in setting the research topic and integrated use of different types of sources and special research works to solve it. This integrated use of different types of sources to objectively analyze the formation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in the context of the Czechoslovakia leadership policy towards emigrants. The Conclusions. The establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady took place

during the elaboration of President T. G. Masaryk's policy concept to support emigrants from the Romanov monarchy. The ideological basis of this action was the concept of the Slavic reciprocity, in which the President of the Czechoslovak Republic assigned his country the role of an organizer of higher education for the Ukrainian youth for their further re-emigration to their homeland. Despite a certain idealism of this plan, the political goal of which was not realized, because not all high school graduates could return home, and especially at that time to become a factor in the rapprochement of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Soviet state. However, the training of specialists was effective at the Ukrainian Academy of Economics. Its scientific and pedagogical staff and students made a significant contribution to the preservation and development of the Ukrainian intellectual potential, as well as the countries of their stay.

Key words: Ukrainian Academy of Economics, Ukrainian emigration, T. G. Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Republic, Poděbrady.

ПРЕЗИДЕНТ ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНИ ТОМАШ ГАРРІГ МАСАРИК І УТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГОСПОДАРСЬКОЇ АКАДЕМІЇ

Анотація. Мета статті – з'ясувати роль президента Чехословаччини Томаша Гарріга Масарика у становленні Української господарської академії у Подєбрадах. Методологія дослідження побудована на принципах історизму, науковості, об'єктивності, загальних наукових (історичний та логічний) і спеціальних історичних методах (ретроспективний, наративний, проблемно-хронологічний). Стаття підготовлена на основі архівних та опублікованих джерел, фактографічного матеріалу історичних праць, що дало можливість розкрити роль вищого керівництва Чехословаччини у розвитку Української господарської академії. Наукова новизна статті полягає у постановці теми дослідження та комплексному використанні різних видів джерел і спеціальних праць для її розв'язання. Це уможливило об'єктивний аналіз становлення Української господарської академії у контексті політики вищого керівництва Чехословаччини шодо емігрантів. Висновки. Створення Української господарської академії в Подєбрадах відбулося у період розробки президентом Т. Г. Масариком концепції політики підтримки емігрантів з теренів монархії Романових. Ідеологічним підгрунтям цієї акції була концепція слов'янської взаємності, у рамках якої президент Чехословацької республіки відводив своїй країні роль організатора вищої освіти української молоді для її подальшої рееміграції на батьківщину. Попри певну ідеалістичність цього задуму, політична мета якого не була реалізована, адже не всі випускники високих шкіл могли повернутися на батьківщину, а особливо у той час стати чинником зближення Чехословацької республіки та радянської держави. Однак підготовка фахівців в Українській господарській академії була результативною. Її науково-педагогічні працівники та вихованці здійснили вагомий внесок у збереження і розвиток українського інтелектуального потенціалу, а також країн свого перебування.

Ключові слова: Українська господарська академія, українська еміграція, Т. І. Масарик, Чехословацька республіка, Подєбради.

The Problem Statement. The First Czechoslovak Republic is known for its tolerant attitude towards refugees. From 1919 emigrants from Ukraine, Russia and Belarus found support there, from 1923 – Bulgaria, during the period of 1933 – 1934 – Germany and Austria. One of the largest emigrant communities in the country was the Ukrainian, whose number at the beginning of the 1920s reached 20 thousand people (Topinka, 2010, p. 108). The peculiarity of the Czechoslovak leadership's policy towards them was the elaboration of a programme of cultural assistance to emigration. As a result, many refugees were educated in the Czechoslovak educational institutions and the Ukrainian universities were established for them – the only free institutions of this level in the world at that time. The state of education level in Soviet Ukraine and the lack of such institutions in western Ukraine should be taken into account.

The Ukrainian Academy of Economics (UAE) (1922 – 1935) was the first Ukrainian higher education institution established in the Czechoslovak Republic.

The period of the Academy formation covers the years of 1922 – 1924, when the period of study increased from three to four years. The Czechoslovak President Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk played a key role in its establishment. On May 9, 1923, he met with its staff and students in Poděbrady. At the meeting Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk explained his understanding of the ideological basis of the emigrant support programme.

The analysis of recent research and publications gives reasons to state that this issue has not become the subject of specific historical research. The role of T. G. Masaryk, the President of Czechoslovakia, in supporting the Ukrainian emigrants during various periods of time was mentioned in many publications. Among the scientific studies of the 1930s and the 1940s, we should single out O. I. Bochkovsky's monograph on the attitude of the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic to the Ukrainian issue (Bochkovskyi, 1930) and S. Narizhny's monograph on the history of the Ukrainian emigration (Narizhnyi, 1942). Both authors are the Ukrainian emigrants, who glorified the personality of T. G. Masaryk as the creator of the Czechoslovak state. They appreciated his attitude to emigration. Their works should be considered to belong to the state school of the Ukrainian historiography. After World War II the Soviet, Czech and Slovak historians did not study this issue due to political circumstances. Scholars were able to return to the issue only with the fall of the world socialist system. The goal of modern Czech and Slovak scholars is a deep and comprehensive study of all periods of T. G. Masaryk's activity. In the works of the Czech scholars (Zilynskyj, 2002; Doubek, 2016; Yerzhabkova, 1990; Kaleta, 2019; Ryhlyk, 1999; Sladek, 1991, 1993) and the Slovak scholars (Harbul'ová, 2013, Golenda, 1995) there is a general positive evaluation of the policy of the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic towards emigrants, among whom there were the Ukrainians from the former Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. Modern Ukrainian scholars (Boriak, 2004; Vidnyanskyy, 1997; Kemin & Sudilovska, 2020; Ulianovska & Ulianovskyi, 1993) on the basis of the latest achievements of world historical science, analyze the role of T. G. Masaryk in creating favourable conditions for the preservation and development of the Ukrainian education, science and culture in Czechoslovakia. Due to the absence of special works on the role of T. G. Masaryk in the formation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics, among the publications of the Ukrainian authors we single out the researches on various aspects of the history of this educational institution and some of its lecturers (Pasitska, 2019; Peschanyi, 2008; Utkin, 2015; Utkin, 2021; Truba, 2020; Shulha, 2019).

The purpose of the study is to elucidate the formation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in the context of T. G. Masaryk's emigration policy, the President of Czechoslovakia.

The sources of the study of this issue were archival and published materials on the history of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics, in particular, the record of its rector I. Shovheniv about the meeting with T. G. Masaryk in Poděbrady on May 9, 1923 (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 1, c. 133, p. 10), memories of this event (Hordiienko, 1977; Kozlovskyi, 1923). Important information for the study of the historical context of the Academy establishment is contained in the works of the first president of Czechoslovakia (Masaryk, 2005, 2007), the collection of documents "Tomaš Masaryk and the Ukrainians" (Topinka, 2010), as well as in the works of emigrants (Laschenko, 1966; Martos, 1999; Shapoval, 1958).

The Main Material Statement. The world conflict of 1914 – 1918, subsequent military and political events resulted in the emergence of refugees in Central and Eastern Europe

(Doubek, 2016, p. 15). In the Ukrainian case, it was a political and military emigration from national state formations destroyed by the military actions of Poland and Soviet Russia. T. G. Masaryk, a man of a democratic worldview, knew about the Ukrainian movement on the eve of World War I (Kravchuk, 2021, pp. 306-307). He personally knew the leaders of the Ukrainian States, and in 1919 as the president of the Czechoslovak Republic he was ready to recognize the independence of Ukraine, believing that independence "is better than the collapse under Moscow's incompetent centralism" (Korespondence T. G. Masaryk - Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937, 2013, p. 129). But the destruction of the Ukrainian statehood returned him to the previous concept of reception of the Ukrainian issue, set out in the work "New Europe. Slavic Point of View" (1918). In it, T. G. Masaryk expressed his vision of the postwar system of Europe on the basis of maintaining the political balance of the continent. At the same time, T. G. Masaryk considered the transformation of Russia into a federal state as a counterweight to the possible revival of aggressive pan-Germanism in Germany and a potential support for the newly created Czechoslovakia. To strengthen such federal Russia, T. G. Masaryk considered necessary its certain territorial transformation. Recognizing the independence of Poland and Finland, in his opinion, the Dnieper region and the western Ukrainian lands should remain in the status of autonomy within Russia (Bochkovskyi, 1930, pp. 164-171). However, expectations of Russia's democratization proved futile. The result of a deep internal political crisis was the establishment of a communist regime, the policies of which led to the emergence of refugees, in particular in Europe.

The President of Czechoslovakia, being grateful to the Ukrainian statesmen for their assistance in forming the Czechoslovak Corps at the end of 1917 and at the beginning of 1918, supported the Ukrainian emigration. At the same time, he did not want to express his views on this policy openly, taking into account the external political factors. In 1921, a cultural and humanitarian organization, the Ukrainian Public Committee, headed by M. Shapoval, was established to provide assistance. Information about the famine in the Soviet state formations caused T. G. Masaryk's initiative to expand the scale of humanitarian aid, enshrined in the government decree of July 28, 1921. In official documents, it was considered as a programme to establish economic and cultural relations with Russia and Ukraine (Sladek, 1993, p. 32), known in historical works as "The Russian Humanitarian Action". It was about supporting emigrants from the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire, both Ukrainians and people from the former Habsburg monarchy. Officially, the programme was motivated by humanitarian and Slavic ideals, gratitude for the help in the liberation movement of the Czechs and the Slovaks during World War II (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 3). In addition, T. G. Masaryk sought to turn Czechoslovakia into a leading Slavic cultural center in Europe (Masaryk, 2005, p. 352). At the same time, a positive attitude towards the Slavic peoples of Eastern Europe was taken into account in the country (Masaryk, 2007, p. 295).

We believe that the elaboration of the policy concept towards emigrants also had a domestic political component. There was an urgent need to control the flow of emigrants and, in fact, refugees under the extremely difficult post-war socio-economic conditions in the Czechoslovak Republic.

In September of 1921 – October of 1922 the activity of the Prime Minister E. Beneš, who fully supported T. G. Masaryk 's political initiatives, was an important factor in further support for emigrants. In October of 1921 the Ukrainian Public Committee appealed to the President of the Czechoslovak Republic to provide the same humanitarian aid to the Ukrainian youth as it was provided to the Russian students (Topinka, 2010, pp. 108–109). There was founded the

Czechoslovak-Ukrainian Committee, which provided huge aid to students (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 73; Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 73).

The development of support for emigrants led to the further initiative of T. G. Masaryk to implement it in a broad international context. At the same time, the Czechoslovak authorities considered it expedient to provide humanitarian aid to emigrants and victims of famine under the auspices of the League of Nations, as evidenced by the Czechoslovak memorandum to this organization of January 28, 1922 (Vatsulik, 2012, p. 264).

The reception of the refugee issue in the European context is conceptually reflected in the memorandum "Aid to Russia by Europe and America", on which the President worked in January – at the beginning of February of 1922. He handed it over to Western leaders on the eve of the Genoa Conference (Masaryk, 2007, pp. 233–245). Despite declaring aid to Russia, the memorandum generally referred to the entire post-imperial space controlled by Moscow. It should be noted that the President mentioned the existence of the formally independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic, noting that "Ukraine is still an immature state" (Masaryk, 2007, p. 237).

In the memorandum, T. G. Masaryk actually advocated the restoration of Western countries relations with the Soviet state as one of the prerequisites for the stable development of postwar Europe. In his opinion, aid to the Soviet state served to support its "Europeanization". Believing that in order to rebuild the country, the Soviet government would be in contact with the capitalist states of the West and would undergo transformations gradually, T. G. Masaryk sought to support this process. In this issue he expected some emigrants' support from the former Romanov empire. The President understood the complexity of this problem, because "the Bolsheviks condemn the European regime (democracy, parliamentarism, evolutionary socialism)". Believing that the Soviet state formations would need specialists for reconstruction, the beginning of which the Czechoslovak president saw in proclamation of the New Economic Policy, he considered his country a centre for educating emigrants. Of course, prospects for establishing further relations, in particular economic ones, with Soviet Russia and Ukraine were taken into account. Convinced that Bolshevism could be defeated only morally, by social reforms and political education, T. G. Masaryk emphasized an urgent need for ideas and people in the Soviet state. According to him, it "needs not only material aid, but also cultural, moral and spiritual assistance" (Masaryk, 2007, p. 234), in particular, professional training of emigrants who were supposed to return to their homeland, use their knowledge for its development and, thus, contribute to its "Europeanization".

T. G. Masaryk wrote about certain prerequisites for normalization of the situation. Moscow had to abandon propaganda, Western countries – plans for intervention. Moscow was to guarantee freedom to the Europeans in Russia and its citizens, to ensure freedom of thought, to allow the return of emigrants, to stop repression.

He advocated coordinated comprehensive and constructive economic, spiritual and cultural assistance of Western countries to help overcome the postwar and revolutionary devastation, in order to support a new kind of Europeanization of Russia. An important role was given to the restoration of trade and cultural relations.

T. G. Masaryk also advocated the assistance in specialization among emigrants in some countries. Czechoslovakia was to play the role of intellectuals and specialists training in various branches of economy. "The leading idea is to accustom the Russian intelligentsia, and in particular the youth, to systematic work again in order to avoid fantasies and demoralization of difficult emigration" (Masaryk, 2007, pp. 243–244).

On February 25, 1922, the President T. G. Masaryk met with the delegation consisting of M. Shapoval, N. Hryhoriyiv, V. Starosolsky, and B. Matiushenko (Shapoval, 1958, p. 70; Martos, 1999, p. 196). The President was asked to extend the assistance programme to the Ukrainian scholars not only among the Russian scholars (Shapoval, 1958, p. 144). The delegation also emphasized that among the Ukrainian emigrants the number of peasants and workers reached 75%. They did not speak other languages and were cut off "from the world of culture and science". In this regard, a request was made to support the establishment of a higher agricultural school for emigrants and the publication of Ukrainian-language educational literature (Predstavnyky Ukrainskoho hromadskoho komitetu, 1922, p. 36). The President promised to consider the case and emphasized that "the Ukrainian refugees will not be left without guardianship, that cultural assistance to the Ukrainians will be similar to the others" (Shapoval, 1958, pp. 71, 144). The Ukrainian émigré newspaper "The Svoboda" (the USA) reported another important statement of T. G. Masaryk: "You know that I used to stand for the idea of Ukraine to be with Russia. But we are real politicians, we are convinced that the idea of a Great Russia vanished, so we will treat Ukraine on a par with Russia" (Ukraintsi u prezydenta Masaryka, 1922, p. 2).

Activists of the Ukrainian Public Committee began further arrangement of the case of an educational institution establishment together with the Prime Minister E. Beneš, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs V. Girsa, the leader of the Agrarian Party A. Shvehla, Minister for Agriculture F. Stanek, Minister for Education V. Shrobar) (Shapoval, 1958, pp. 72–74). The Ministry of Agriculture advised them to elaborate the programme of the project university following the example of the Agricultural Academy in Tabor (Martos, 1999, pp. 196, 198). Thus, the name "Institute" was changed into "Academy" in the draft statute of April 19, 1922. (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 35).

Selecting the city for its location, members of the Ukrainian Public Committee visited the towns of Tabor and Poděbrady on March 22–23, 1922. It was important for the Ukrainian emigrants to open an institution as soon as possible. "At that time we were happy with the hope that in about two years we will return to our homeland", B. Martos recalled (Martos, 1999, p. 201). A small resort town of Poděbrady was the most suitable for the Ukrainians, as the local authorities were ready to help in this matter.

On April 28, 1922, the constituent assembly of the Professorial Council of the Academy was held, which elected I. Shovheniv a rector of the institution (Martos, 1999, p. 201).

On May 3, 1922, the activities to establish functioning of the Academy began in Poděbrady (Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 137). The office, the rector's offices and the teaching staff office were originally located in the hotel "At the King of Jiřího" ("U Krále Jiřího"). There were three classrooms in the building of the local agronomic school, the same number of classrooms – in the town school (Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R., 1923, p. 36).

On May 16, 1922, the Ministry for Agriculture approved the charter of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics as a three-year private polytechnic college, which was to train specialists in various fields of economics and technology (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 2, c. 1, pp. 2–3; Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 138). It consisted of economic and cooperative, agronomic and forestry, engineering faculties (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 1, p. 45). Officially it began its activities on May 19, 1922 (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 35).

As of June 15, 1922, 193 full-time students and 33 students of matura courses were admitted to the Academy. Successful studying at matura courses provided students with a secondary education diploma and the right to study at higher educational institutions (Shapoval, 1958, p. 75). Subsequently, the number of students increased. Of the 707 applications for admission to the Academy, 270 were approved. Of the 422 applications for enrollment in matura courses, 122 were granted. Out of 70 candidates for teacher vacancies, 31 passed the competition (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci, 1924, p. 36). The Czechoslovak authorities allocated 132 000 korunas a month for scholarships and matura courses students, and 70 000 korunas for other expenses of the Academy (Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R., 1923, p. 8).

Classes at the Ukrainian Academy of Economics began on June 22, 1922 with introductory lectures to the courses, and on August 28, 1922 – teaching courses according to curricula (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 1, p. 38; Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R., 1923, p. 36).

In some period of time students and lecturers had the opportunity to meet with T. G. Masaryk. The President came to Poděbrady at the invitation of J. V. Graski, in the past – a professor at the Czech Polytechnic Institute in Prague, a member of the Imperial Council of the Habsburg Monarchy, and at that time – one of the heads of the resort administration) (Masaryk, 2007, p. 419). The visit was a continuation of a kind of visits programme to the regions of the country by the President, during which he addressed the public with explanations of democratic initiatives of the government and other issues.

The President arrived in Poděbrady by car from Prague in the afternoon. The town was preparing for the meeting of the President. In the morning, festively dressed residents of the surrounding villages arrived in the town. As B. Martos recalled, "schools, gymnastic societies, craft, cultural and political organizations, women and girls in colorful national costumes lined the streets" (Martos, 1999, p. 209). The houses were "decorated with national flags, garlands, flowers. There were portraits and busts of the President Masaryk everywhere" (Kozlovskyi, 1923, p. 2).

At the main square of the town T. G. Masaryk was greeted by the mayor J. Koch and on behalf of the administration of the resort – J. V. Grasky (Masaryk, 2007, p. 419). Among the people who met the President there was N. Hryhoriyiv, the Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Public Committee (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171).

More than 400 representatives of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics (professors, students, matura courses students) – stood in front of the hotel "U Krále Jiřího", located near the resort building. The building was decorated with the Czechoslovak and Ukrainian national flags (Kozlovskyi, 1923, p. 2). For the Ukrainian community, T. Masaryk's visit was an opportunity to show their achievements and express gratitude for support (Zavorotna, 2020, p. 55).

After visting the castle, the resort building, listening to the greetings of the legionnaires and "The Sokil" society members, T. G. Masaryk, accompanied by the towns leaders, came up the Ukrainian community.

The Ukrainian Academic Choir, consisting of full-time students and students of matura courses, performed the anthem of the Czechoslovak Republic, which the President listened to carefully (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171).

A student H. Hordienko recalled that he was standing opposite to the President, and he had the opportunity to see the President very well: "He was a kind man, but with the appearance of a sage, maybe even modern Socrates, and his public office gave him majesty, some exceptional dignity. All this could not go unnoticed" (Hordiienko, 1977, p. 195).

N. Hryhoriyiv congratulated the President on behalf of the Ukrainian Public Committee. He expressed gratitude to the Czechoslovak people and the authorities for their help to the emigrants, owing to whom several educational institutions were established for the emigrants in the country. After that N. Hryhoriyiv introduced T. G. Masaryk to the professorship and studentship of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics and students of the matura courses (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171). The Rector, Professor I. Shovheniv addressed T. G. Masaryk with a short speech. He expressed gratitude to the President on behalf of the Academy for his help, and in a delicate way noted that "we would all like this help to continue as long as the Academy does not fulfill its task. ... " (Martos, 1999, p. 209) The Rector submitted a memorandum to the President on the current state of the Academy (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171). Also, I. Shovheniv emphasized the great importance of functioning of "the Ukrainian cultural center – the Ukrainian Academy of Economics" and declared: "Glory to the Czech-Slovak people and their President Masaryk!", and his words were supported by the present members of the Ukrainian community (Kozlovskyi, 1923, p. 2).

In response, the President said: "Thank you very much, gentlemen. I am fairly well informed about your school, how [it] is developing, I have got evidence of this development recently. I am glad that you have found not your homeland, of course, you cannot find it, but you have [found] good hospitality of the fraternal nation, which you can be satisfied with. And you tell to yourselves that you are satisfied and happy. I am glad that, despite all the misfortunes that have befallen Russia and your Ukraine, we can now make it more practical to carry out our pre-war Slavic programmes. The Slavic programme is not over and will not be over. We want you to be, I would say, more practical today than before; that those ideals, more or less abstract – and in Austria could not be different – are in fact confirmed nowadays. As far as it depends on me, I am happy to support you and your students" (Masaryk, 2007, p. 419).

After that, the President was greeted again with shouts of "Glory" (Kozlovskyi, 1923, p. 2). During a conversation with the administration of the educational institution T. G. Masaryk asked about the activities of the Academy (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 1, c. 133, p. 10).

Then the student choir performed the national anthem "Ukraine is not dead yet". After that, T. G. Masaryk, "bowing amiably", moved on to do the town (Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky, 1923, pp. 170–171). Representatives of the Ukrainian community began to disperse, and everyone felt, according to O. Kozlovskyi, "that the President Masaryk's words are true. The Czech-Slovak people are almost one of the Slavic peoples, who not only promote the idea of the unity of the Slavic peoples, but they also put it into practice; they put it into practice sincerely and uselessly" (Kozlovskyi, 1923, p. 2.).

After the President's visit to Poděbrady, the situation of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics improved. Funding for the Academy increased. If in 1922 70 thousand Czech korunas were allocated monthly, in 1923 – up to 100 thousand, in 1924 – up to 200 – 250 thousand korunas (Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R., 1923, pp. 8, 37; CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 133, p. 41). Taking into account the expenditures on student scholarships, in 1922 the budget of the Academy was more than 475 839 korunas, in 1923 – 2 331 166, in 1924 – 5 446 593 (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 1, c. 128, p. 50). The number of the Academy premises increased. From 1924 the study lasted for four years (the new charter of the Academy was approved by the authorities on September 11, 1925) (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 2, c. 1, p. 9; Narizhnyi, 1942, pp. 133, 139). The conditions created by the Czechoslovak authorities contributed to the transformation of the Academy into one of the intellectual centers of the Ukrainian emigration in the Czech lands (Zilynskyj, 2002, p. 32).

In general, as the lecturer of the Academy, former Minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic S. Goldelman, noted, the Czechoslovak assistance to emigrants was not philanthropic, but constructive and gave the Ukrainian intelligentsia the ability to show the world that it was capable of creative and constructive activities" (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 3, c. 1, p. 10).

The powerful intellectual potential of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics was illustrated by the publication of 658 scientific works by its lecturers in 1922 – 1932 (Peschanyi, 2008, p. 148). In the Academy there worked the founders of a number of disciplines which were new to the Ukrainian science at that time: Sociology (V. Starosolsky), Jurisprudence (O. Eichelman), Chemistry (I. Horbachevsky), Hygiene (B. Matiushenko), Statistics (F. Shcherbyna), new economic disciplines (S. Borodaevsky, O. Mytsiuk), National Studies (O. I. Bochkovsky) (Vidnyanskyy, 1997, p. 100; Narizhnyi, 1942, pp. 159–161). It snould be noted that O. I. Bochkovskyi became the author of a monograph on T. G. Masaryk (Bochkovskyi, 1930), and associate professor of the Academy M. Sayevych translated the memoirs of the President "World Revolution" into Ukrainian, which was published in Lviv in 1930.

By 1935, 559 engineers graduated from the UAE (Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 141). As H. Lashchenko noted, "at that time when many emigrants in other countries of their resettlement were forced to work physically and young people could not obtain higher education, in Czechoslovakia many thousands of young people graduated from higher and special studies institutions. And only, having a profession, armed with knowledge and diplomas, they went out into the world" (Laschenko, 1966, p. 13). In general, the Academy fulfilled its declared tasks. The majority of its graduates worked in Czechoslovakia (189 people) and Poland, in particular, in the ethnic Ukrainian lands that were the part of them during the interwar period (Narizhnyi, 1942, p. 141; Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia, 1931, p. 29). An entomologist S. Kolubayiv, a surveyor L. Hrabyna, and an engineer-inventor O. Yaroshevsky were among the graduates who remained to work in the Czech lands. A number of graduates worked in Transcarpathia, which in 1919 – 1939 was the part of the Czechoslovak Republic. A certain number of students, mostly after World War II, emigrated to Western countries, in particular, a botanist T. Pavlychenko, a librarian L. Bykovsky, an entomologist M. Haidak, an economist E. Glovinsky, a hydraulic engineer Z. Ivasyshyn, chemists O. Kumanovsky and S. Sozontov, a sociologist M. Kushnirenko, the representatives of the "Prague Poetic School" E. Malaniuk, L. Mosendz. They took an active part in the Ukrainian emigrant public life. The same concerns the teaching staff of the UAE, in particular, H. Dovzhenko, S. Dovhal, M. Zaitsev, S. Ivanys, B. Martos, Ya. Moralevych, V. Prykhodko, S. Tymoshenko and the others.

The Conclusions. The idea of establishing the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady began to be realized during T. G. Masaryk's elaboration of aid action concept to emigrants from the Romanov and Habsburg monarchies. The basis of this humanistic action was the Slavic idea, in which the President of the Czechoslovak Republic assigned to his country the role of an organizer of higher education for the Ukrainian youth for their further re-emigration to the homeland. If the support of emigrants had no political result to Czechoslovakia, its cultural and educational goal was achieved. Research and teaching staff, and students of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics made a significant contribution to the preservation and development of the Ukrainian intellectual potential and spiritual heritage, as well as the countries of their stay. The policy of the top leadership of the Czechoslovak Republic towards emigrants had a significant research potential. Studying materials from the archives of the Czech Republic, Ukraine, first of all, personal funds of leading figures of emigration, periodicals is one of the prerequisites for further comprehensive study of this page in the history of the Ukrainian emigration and the Czech-Ukrainian relations in general.

Acknowledgements. The authors would like to express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for the given advice during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial assistance for research, preparation and publication of the article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bochkovskyi, O. I. (1930). *T. G. Masaryk: Natsionalna problema ta ukrainske pytannia (Sproba kharakterystyky ta interpretatsii)* [T. G. Masaryk: The National Problem and the Ukrainian Issue (An Attempt at Characterization and Interpretation)]. Podiebrady: "Legiografie", 244 p. [in Ukrainian]

Boriak, T. (2004). Orhanizatsiino-finansovi zasady funktsionuvannia emihratsiinykh instytutsii u Chekho-Slovatskii respublitsi v 1920 – 1930-kh rr. [Organizational and Financial Principles of the Functioning of Emigration Institutions in the Czechoslovak Republic in the 1920s and the 1930s]. *Arkhivy Ukrainy – Archives of Ukraine, (4–6),* 175–184. [in Ukrainian]

Central'nij derzhavnij arhiv vishchih organiv vladi ta upravlinnya Ukrainy [The Central State Archives of Supreme Authorities and Governments of Ukraine – **CSASAG of Ukraine**]

Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci. (1924). Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci [Czechoslovak help to Russian and Ukrainian emigration]. Praha: "Legiografie", 128 p. [in Czech]

Doubek, V. (2016). *T. G. Masaryk a ruská otázka po roce 1917. Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Slované. Rusové a Ukrajinci* [Correspondence of T. G. Masaryk and the Slavs. The Russians and the Ukrainians]. (pp. 7–27). Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR. [in Czech]

Golenda, J. (1995). Ukrajins'ka gospodars'ka akademija v Podebradach (1922 – 1935) [Ukrainian economic academy in Podebrady]. *Dukl'a, 5,* 29–36 [in Ukrainian]

Harbul'ová, L. (2013). T. G. Masaryk – ukrajinská otázka – ukrajinskí politíckí predstavitelia (1917 – 1920) [T. G. Masaryk – Ukrainian Issue – Ukrainian Political Representatives (1917 – 1920) *T. G. Masaryk a Slované* [T. G. Masaryk and the Slavs]. (pp. 101–110). Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i. a Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i. [in Czech]

Hordiienko, H. (1977). *Pid shchytom Marsa. Spohady* [Under the Shield of Mars. Memoirs]. Vol. 2: Moi Podiebrady (1922 – 1931). Filadelfiia: Ukrapress, 231 p. [in Ukrainian]

Kaleta, P. (2019). T. G. Masaryk and the Russian Aid Operation in Czechoslovakia. Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal. 11 (1), 23–31. doi: https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2019-003 [in English]

Kemin, V. & Sudilovska, M. (2020). Kulturno-osvitnia diialnist emihrantiv iz Halychyny v Chekhoslovachchyni mizhvoiennoi doby [Cultural and Educational Activities of Emigrants from Galicia in Czechoslovakia during the Interwar Period]. *Aktualni pytannia humanitarnykh nauk – Current issues of the humanities, 4 (27),* 97–103. Doi: https://doi.org/10.24919/2308-4863.4/27.203934 [in Ukrainian]

Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937. (2013). Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937 [Correspondence of T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918 – 1937]. Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i., 484 p. [in Czech]

Kozlovskyi, O. (1923). Prezydent Masaryk sered ukraintsiv v Podebradakh [President Masaryk among the Ukrainians in Poděbrady]. *Svoboda – Freedom, 26 maia,* 2. [in Ukrainian]

Kravchuk, O. (2021). Postat' T. G. Masaryka u spryjn'atti Ya. Ohorodnyka [Figure of Tomash Masaryk in Reception of Yakiv Ohorodnyk. *Rukopysna ta knyzhkova spadshhyna Ukrajiny [Manuscript and book heritage of Ukraine]*, (27) 304–318. Doi: https://doi.org/10.15407/rksu.27.304 [in Ukrainian]

Laschenko, G. (1966). Ravty prezidenta Masaryka. [Rauts of President Masaryk]. OVID, 4, Zhovten-gruden, 13–19. [in Ukrainian]

Martos, B. (1999). Zasnuvannia Ukrainskoi hospodarskoi akademii.[Establishment of the Ukrainian Economic Academy]. *Khronika 2000 – Chronicle 2000, (20–30),* 192–210. [in Ukrainian]

Masaryk, T. G. (2005). *Světová revoluce. Za války a ve válce 1914 – 1918.* [The World Revolution. During the War and in the War 1914 – 1918]. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 640 p. [in Czech]

Masaryk, T. G. (2007). *Cesta demokracie II. Projevy – články – rozhovory. 1921 – 1923*. [The Path of Democracy II. Speeches – articles – interviews. 1921 – 1923]. Praha: Ústav T. G. Masaryka. [in Czech]

Narizhnyi, S. (1942). Ukrainska emihratsiia. Kulturna pratsia ukrainskoi emihratsii mizh dvoma svitovymy viinamy [Ukrainian Emigration. Cultural work of Ukrainian Emigration during the Interwar Period]. Praha: "Knihtisk", 336 p. [in Ukrainian]

Pasitska, O. (2019). Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady. Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal, 11 (1), 112–119. Doi: https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2019-014 [in English]

Peschanyi, O. O. (2008). Ukrainska hospodarska akademiia v Podebradakh [Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady]. *Istorychnyi arkhiv. Naukovi studii: Zb. nauk. pr.Chornomorskoho derzhavnoho universytetu imeni P. Mohyly – Historical archive. Scientific studies: Coll. Science. Proceedings of the Black Sea State University named after P. Mohyla, (2), 146–151 [in Ukrainian]*

Predstavnyky Ukrainskoho hromadskoho komitetu. (1922). Predstavnyky Ukrainskoho hromadskoho komitetu u prezydenta chesko-slov. respubliky. [Representatives of the Ukrainian Civil Committee to the President of the Czech-Slovak Republic]. Nova Ukraina – New Ukraine, 30 bereznia, 36. [in Ukrainian]

Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky. (1923). *Providyny Prezydentom Ch. S. Respubliky. Ukrainskoi Hospodarskoi Akademii v Podiebradakh* [Provided by the President of the Cz[ech-]Sl[ovak] Republic Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady]. *Nova Ukraina – New Ukraine, cherven*, 170–171. [in Ukrainian]

Ryhlyk, Ya. 1999. T. G. Masaryk, Rosiya ta ukrayins'ke pytannya (1917 – 1923) [T. G. Masaryk. Russia and Ukrainian Issue, 1917 – 1923]. *Khronika 2000 – Chronicle 2000, (29–30),* 64–70. [in Ukrainian]

Shapoval, M. (1958). Shchodennyk vid 22 liutoho 1919 r. do 31 hrudnia 1924 r. [Diary from 22 February 1919 to December 31, 1924]. Comps. Inzh. Sava Zerkal. (Vol. I). New York, 157 p. [in Ukrainian]

Shulha, V. (2019). Ukrainian Economic Academy (1922 – 1935) as a Model of Development of Agrarian Education and Science by Ukrainian Diaspory. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East Europe Historical Bulletin]*, *12*, 108–115. Doi: https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.12.177564 [in English]

Sladek, Z. (1991). Russkaya i ukrainskaya emigratsiya v Chehoslovakii [Russian and Ukrainian Emigration in Czechoslovakia.]. *Sovetskoe slavyanovedenie – Soviet Slavic studies, 6*, 24–36. [in Russian]

Sladek, Z. (1993). Russkaya emigratsiya v Chehoslovakii: razvitie "russkoy aktsii" [Russian Emigration in Czechoslovakia: the Development of the "Russian Action"]. *Slavyanovedenie – Slavic studies, 4,* 28–38. [in Russian]

Topinka, Ye. (Comps.). (2010). *Tomash Masaryk i ukraintsi. Arkhivni dokumenty* [Tomash Masaryk and the Ukrainians. Archival documents]. Lviv.: Vydavnytstvo "Tsentr Yevropy", 440 p. [in Ukrainian]

Truba, **R**. (2020). Markian Terletskyi in the Cultural and Educational Environment of Galicia and Czechoslovakia during the 20 – 30-ies of the XXth Century. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, *17*, 90–100. Doi: https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058x.17.218205 [in English]

Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R. (1923). Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia v Ch.S.R. [Ukrainian Economic Academy in Ch.S.R.]. Praha: Vydannia Ukrainskoho Hromadskoho Komitetu v Ch.S.R., 63 p. [in Ukrainian]

Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia. (1931). Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia [Ukrainian Economic Academy]. Praha-Podiebrady: Nakladom Ukrainskoi Hospodarskoi Akademii. [in Ukrainian]

Ukraintsi u prezydenta Masaryka. (1922). Ukraintsi u prezydenta Masaryka [Ukrainians are in [reception] President Masaryk]. Svoboda – Freedom, (121), 26. maia. [in Ukrainian]

Ulianovska, S. & Ulianovskyi, V. (1993). Ukrainska naukova i kulturnytska emihratsija u Chekho-Slovachchyni mizh dvoma svitovymy viinamy [Ukrainian Scientific and Cultural Emigration in Czechoslovakia during Interwar Period]. In D. Antonovych (Ed). *Ukrainska kultura: Lektsii.* (pp. 477–498). Kyiv: Lybid. [in Ukrainian]

Utkin, O. (2021). Profesor B. Martos: orhanizatorska ta naukovo-pedahohichna diialnist [Professor B. Martos: Organizational and Scientific and Pedagogical Activity]. *Ukrainskyj istorychnyj zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Journal, 4*, 163–174. Doi: https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2021.04.163 [in Ukrainian]

Utkin, O. I. (2015). Ukrainska hospodarska akademiia v Chekhoslovachchyni: stvorennia ta diialnist [Ukrainian Economic Academy in Czechoslovakia: Creation and Activity]. *Istoriia nauky i biohrafistyka* – *History of science and bibliography*, *1*. URL: http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/INB_Title_2015_1_17. [in Ukrainian]

Vatsulik, Ya. (2012). Memorandum Vatslava Girsy o pomoshchi russkim i ukrainskim emigrantam, napravlennyy v Ligu Natsiy [Vaclav Hirsa's memorandum on Aid to Russian and Ukrainian emigrants, sent to the League of Nations], *Russkaya aktsiya pomoshchi v Chekhoslovakii: istoriya, znachenie, nasledie* (pp. 263–268). Praha. [in Russian]

Vidnyanskyy, S. V. (1997). *Ukrayins'ke pytannya v mizhvoyennij Chekhoslovachchyni* [Ukrainian Question in interwar Czechoslovakia. Thesis for Doctorate in History]. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 108 p. [in Ukrainian]

Yerzhabkova, B. (1990). Ukraintsi v Prazi mizh dvoma svitovymy viinamy [The Ukrainians in Prague during Interwar Period]. *Vyzvolnyi shliakh – The way of liberation, 7 (508),* 860–874; *8 (509),* 993–1007. [in Ukrainian]

Zavorotna, N. (2020). *Scholars in Exile. The Ukrainian Intellectual World in Interwar Czechoslovakia.* Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 260 p. [in English]

Zilynskyj, B. (2002). *Ukrajinci v Čechách a na Moravé: stručný nástin dějin* [The Ukrainians in Bohemia and Moravia: a brief outline of history]. [Praha]: Sdružení Čechů z Volyně a jejich prátel, 76 p. [in Czech]

The article was received May 10, 2021. Article recommended for publishing 23/02/2022.