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**DAILY LIFE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ARMY SERVICEMEN  
AT INTERNED CAMPS ON THE TERRITORY OF POLAND (1920 – 1924)**

**Abstract. The Purpose of the Research.** In every large-scale armed conflict there is capture of prisoners by opposing sides or their internment at specially established camps. Obviously, there is some difference between prisoners and internees. It consists in their different status, which entails not only legal consequences, but also everyday living conditions. Captivity means a severe restriction of a serviceman's personal freedom by an enemy state in order to deprive him of the opportunity to continue the struggle. Internment is carried out by a state that does not take a direct part in an armed conflict between warring parties. It provides for better conditions of servicemen's detention at specially established internment camps, although they are often far from those that could satisfy servicemen's daily life needs. Therefore, the **purpose** of the article is to highlight an everyday life of interned soldiers of the Ukrainian People's Republic Army, which at the end of autumn of 1920, after the defeat of the UPR in the war with Soviet Russia, retreated to the territory of the Republic of Poland. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity in analysis of the past, a critical approach to available sources, studies of participants and eyewitnesses. The author has used problem-chronological, logical, deductive and inductive methods. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in the fact that at the beginning of the 1920s the issue of functioning of the interned servicemen camps of the UPR Army on the territory of the Polish Republic, although occupied a very important place in the activities of the UPR government-in-exile, its relations with the Polish authorities, however, concerned military political aspects mainly. It was about the prospects of using the camps to preserve the Army structure and continue the fight against the Russian occupiers of Ukraine. Instead, a daily life of the camp residents was highlighted mainly against a background of the military and political activities of the UPR government-in-exile. Meanwhile, actual living conditions and everyday life of the internees significantly influenced realization of the goals set by the government, because it was about mobilizing human resources that remained at its disposal. **The Conclusions.** The status of the interned UPR Army as the Army of the allied state granted certain privileges to the Ukrainian military, which made better their moral condition after the retreat from Ukraine, and also contributed to the establishment of public, cultural and educational activities at the camps. However, due to a difficult

financial situation of the UPR government-in-exile, as well as limited financial capabilities of Poland, it was often impossible to provide daily household needs of the internees at a minimal level at least. As a result, this situation caused the effect of worsening not only the life of camp residents, but also their physical moral and psychological exhaustion, which prompted the Polish authorities, and subsequently the Ukrainian government-in-exile, to agree to their final disbandment in 1924.

**Key words:** Ukraine, the UPR Army, the Russian-Ukrainian war, internment camps, the Republic of Poland, servicemen, everyday life.

## ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ І ПОБУТ ВІЙСЬКОВИКІВ АРМІЇ УНР У ТАБОРАХ ІНТЕРНОВАНИХ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ПОЛЬЩІ (1920 – 1924)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження.** Кожен широкомасштабний збройний конфлікт не обходиться без захоплення ворогуючими сторонами полонених або ж їх інтернування у спеціально створених для цього таборах. Очевидно, що між полоненими й інтернованими є різниця. Вона полягає у відмінному статусі, що тягне за собою не лише правові наслідки але й побутові умови перебування. Полон означає суворе обмеження свободи особи військовослужбовця ворожою державою, аби позбавити його можливості продовжувати боротьбу. Інтернування ж проводить держава, що не бере безпосередньої участі у збройному конфлікті між воюючими сторонами. Воно передбачає м'якші умови утримання військовослужбовців у спеціально створених для цього таборах інтернованих, хоча часто далеко від тих, які могли б задовольняти їхні повсякденні побутові потреби. Тому метою статті є висвітлення повсякденного життя і побуту інтернованих військовиків Армії УНР, що наприкінці осені 1920 р. після поразки УНР у війні з радянською Росією відступила на територію Польської Республіки. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на засадах історизму, наукової об'єктивності в оцінках минулого, критичного підходу до наявних джерел, праць учасників та очевидців подій. Автор використав проблемно-хронологічний, логічний, дедуктивний та індуктивний методи викладу матеріалу. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у тому, що питання функціонування таборів інтернованих військовослужбовців Армії УНР на території Польської Республіки на початку 1920-х рр. хоча й посідали дуже важливе місце у діяльності еміграційного уряду УНР, його взаєминах із відповідними польськими органами влади, проте переважно стосувалися військово-політичних аспектів. Йшлося про перспективи їх використання для збереження армійської структури та продовження боротьби проти російських окупантів України. Натомість щоденне життя таборян висвітлювалось переважно як тло військово-політичної діяльності еміграційного уряду УНР. Між тим власне побутові умови й буденне життя інтернованих суттєво впливали на реалізацію поставлених урядом цілей, адже йшлося про мобілізацію того людського ресурсу, який залишався ще у його розпорядженні. **Висновки.** Статус інтернованої Армії УНР як армії союзної держави надавав певні привілеї українським військовикам, що пом'якшувало їхній моральний стан після відступу з України, а також сприяло налагодженню громадської і культурно-освітньої діяльності у таборах. Однак через скрутне фінансове становище еміграційного уряду УНР, а також обмежені фінансові спроможності самої Польщі, часто не вдавалося забезпечити повсякденні побутові потреби інтернованих бодай на мінімальному рівні. Своїм наслідком це мало погіршення не лише побуту таборян, але і їх фізичного та морально-психологічного виснаження, що й спонукало польську владу, а услід за цим і український еміграційний уряд погодитись із їх остаточним розформуванням всередині 1924 р.

**Ключові слова:** Україна, Армія УНР, російсько-українська війна, табори інтернованих, Польська Республіка, військовослужбовці, побут.

**The Problem Statement.** Every military conflict is accompanied by physical and mental suffering of servicemen: injuries, wounds, and mutilations. Obviously, this suffering is reflected on their personalities and is visible to the environment. However, there is another, no less tragic side, although it is not so noticeable at first sight – a moral suffering experienced by them, during their stay in captivity, spending time in places where freedom is restricted. Such places include military internment camps. After the hostilities cessation

at the Russian-Ukrainian front in November of 1920 and the retreat of the UPR Army to the territory of Poland, the servicemen were interned and located at several camps designated for this purpose. The Ukrainian military political leadership tried to preserve the military structure, and therefore considered the internment camps as a temporary location for the army, its reorganization, and retraining for the continuation of the fight against the Russian occupiers. On November 18, 1920, at one of the last meetings of the UPR government, it was noted that the army internment would preserve it and “give the opportunity to continue the liberation struggle under favourable conditions” (Petliura, 1999, p. 311). In addition, the goal was to take urgent measures to ensure the most favourable conditions for the servicemen stay on the territory of Poland. As S. Petliura explained in the letter to senior officials of the UPR, “the period of internment should be used for the army organization” (Petliura, 1999, p. 314). Although the issues related to the functioning of the interned servicemen camps of the UPR Army were covered in historiography, they remain to some extent insufficiently elucidated, as they mostly concern their organization, public and cultural and educational work among the camp residents, while their everyday life, material and household conditions mostly remained only the background against which this activity took place. At the same time, the everyday life of the interned servicemen had a significant impact on their moral and psychological state, and therefore on the prospects for the preservation of the UPR Army and its involvement in the hostilities. The full-scale armed aggression of Russia against Ukraine, which began in February of 2022, made these issues especially relevant.

**The Review of Sources and Recent Researches.** The source base of the research is published and unpublished archival materials related to the stay of the UPR Army servicemen at internment camps on the territory of Poland, memoirs of participants of the events under analysis, which highlight an inner life and daily life, a moral state of the interned Ukrainian servicemen. In the periodicals, including camp publications, there were submitted a lot of materials on the above-mentioned issues. However, they focused on the public cultural and educational life of the internees. The most complete materials related to the researched issue and little known to the general public were collected by V. Morynets and published in the collection of documents “Army behind Wires” (Morynets, 2018). The originals are kept in the Central State Archive of the higher authorities of Ukraine. The documents of a similar content are also kept in the Archive of New Acts in Poland. The value is represented by the published materials related to the activities of S. Petliura, the chief commander of the UPR Army. They shed light on his attitude to the needs of the interned Ukrainian Army, measures taken to improve its material and moral condition (Petliura, 1999).

In Ukrainian historiography, the issue under analysis was raised by emigrant and diaspora historians of the mid-20s – the second half of the 30s of the 20th century. The publications were of a memoir-publicistic nature. In modern historiography, the above mentioned is much more studied. However, the authors focused on the military and political aspects of the functioning of internment camps mainly. Relatively few of them turned to the description of a daily life of inhabitants, and were limited to stating difficult conditions of a camp life, instead the authors focused on cultural and social activities of various kinds of societies of interned servicemen of the UPR Army, which cannot be interpreted as an everyday life in a narrow sense. In modern Ukrainian historiography, this issue is the most fully presented in the works by Ihor Sribniak (Sribniak, 1997; Sribniak, 2017; Sribniak, 2018a; Sribniak, 2018b; Sribniak & Paliienko, 2021), and in the monograph by M. Pavlenko (Pavlenko, 1999). Certain aspects of the life of interned servicemen at the initial stage of their stay at the camps are covered in

articles by Viktor Holubko and Vitaliy Kosovych (Holubko & Kosovych, 2021), as well as by Vitaliy Vyzdryk and Kostiantyn Kurylyshyn (Vyzdryk & Kurylyshyn, 2021). Tetiana Dobko and Oleksandr Dudnik conducted the analysis of the publications of combatant periodicals published in the diaspora regarding the presence of materials on the history of the armed struggle of the Ukrainian servicemen in 1917 – 1921 and their subsequent fate (Dobko & Dudnik, 2019). Mykola Lytvyn, Oleksandr Rubliov (Lytvyn & Rubliov, 2019), Viacheslav Vasylenko and Mychailo Vikhliaiev analysed the fate of emigrants who participated in the liberation struggles in their publications (Vasylenko & Vikhliaiev, 2019).

The Polish historians succeeded in this regard. Among them, the researcher of the Ukrainian origin Oleksandr Kolianchuk should be singled out (Коляничук, 2000), as well as Zbigniew Karpus (Karpus, 1997), Jan Jacek Bruski (Bruski, 2000). However, they focus (except for O. Kolianchuk) on military and political issues, and not on an everyday life of the camp residents.

**The Purpose of the Research.** Relying on the historiographic work of predecessors and available source material, the author set the goal of highlighting a daily life of interned servicemen of the UPR Army on the territory of Poland during their stay at the camps (1920 – 1924). In particular, this concerns their daily life, material situation, moral and psychological aspects, stay at internment camps, their influence on interpersonal relationships.

**The Research Results.** In the autumn of 1920, the hostilities at the front of the Ukrainian-Polish-Soviet war ended. On October 18, the separate armistice with Soviet Russia concluded by the Polish side in Riga put the UPR Army in a hopeless situation. The Ukrainian Army lacked both human and material resources. However, the higher military political leadership of the Republic decided to continue military operations against the Russian Red Army. By mid-November of 1920, the Ukrainian Army controlled part of south-western Podillia and occupied a 130-kilometer front line from Mohylev-Podilskyi through Yaltushkiv to the west of Lityn. Its total number was approximately 35,000 rank-and-file and 3,888 officers, and in combat formations even less: 2,100 officers, 9,323 rank-and-file riflemen, 2,560 cavalry (Salskyi, 1933, p. 330). At the same time, the number of Russian forces was 10,000 infantry, 1,300 cavalry in the first front line, in the second front line, respectively, 9,000 soldiers and 800 cavalry, in the army reserves, about 6,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. A total of 25,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry (the total number of the Red Army was approximately 3 million at that time) (Holubko, Hrytsiuk, Kryvyziuk & Lysenko, 2019, p. 258). Therefore, the rival had a huge advantage in weapons and military resources in general. Despite this, the Ukrainian command set an offensive along the entire front line on November 11. However, it was overtaken by the Red Army, who launched offensive actions along the entire front on November 10. In fact, a counter-battle began, which, due to the loss of the offensive initiative by the Ukrainian side, and most importantly, very limited resources, could not be successful. The enemy broke through the Ukrainian front at the right wing near the village of Obukhiv. Attempts by the commander, General-Khorunzhy M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko, to reduce it in order to increase firepower did not yield tangible results. Therefore, on November 12, he issued an order for a general retreat. It was about the cover of the last larger towns – Proskuriv and Kamianets-Podilskyi, where the UPR government was located. As a participant of the events, then the chief of staff of Kyiv (Insurgent) Rifle Division 4, Lt. Col. Oleksiy Lushnenko, notes in his memoirs, “although attempts were still made to go on the offensive, no one believed in success anymore, and everyone began to look west, beyond the Zbruch River, and look for shelter there” (Lushnenko, 2020, p. 138). On November 14 – 18, the enemy

broke through the Ukrainian defenses line, occupied Kamianets-Podilskyi and Proskuriv. Government formations moved to Volochysk. From then on, the issue of internment of the Army and its further maintenance came into the practical plane. On November 18, at the meeting of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR, held in the village of Fridrikhivka near Volochysk, at the Ukrainian-Polish border, after a lively discussion, a decision was made to transfer the army to the territory of Poland, which meant its internment (Petliura, 1999, p. 311). There were discussed conditions that the Ukrainian side had to present to the Poles in the event that the government and the army crossed the Zbruch River. The leadership of the UPR realized that in order to maintain the interned army, it was necessary to have the financial and material means, and immediately sought to ensure to the Polish side as much as possible the preservation of the integrity of the army units, its property, weapons, and to obtain a loan from the Polish government (Petliura, 1999, p. 312). It was supposed to create a commission to hand over weapons and property after crossing the border (Verstiuk, 2006, p. 315). They were to be transferred to the deposit of the Polish government, which the Ukrainian side hoped to use as a source of its financing.

On the night of November 21, 1920, the Polish authorities gave permission for the Ukrainian units to cross the border – to cross the Zbruch River. The Army crossed the border between Volochysk and the village of Ozhyhivtsi. The crossing was finished in the evening. The Army was determined the area of location: the Army headquarters with the commander General M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko arrived in the village of Klymkivtsi, and the majority of the troops in the vicinity of the villages of Nove Selo – Klymkivtsi (Salskyi, 1933, p. 360). Nearby, near the village of Toky, it was disarmed. A little later, Department II of the Polish General Staff issued an instruction outlining the treatment of Ukrainian servicemen who crossed the Zbruch River. First of all, it was emphasized that they were internees, not prisoners, and belonged to the allied army. In addition to a number of organizational points related to preservation of the interned army, creation of camps, there were also separate instructions for arranging a daily life and lifestyle of the interned servicemen. They were to be located at specially adapted houses and barracks, which would meet “the needs of hygiene and be arranged accordingly” (Morynets, 2018, pp. 5–6). The interned units had to take care of their own food, i.e. equip kitchens, their own cooks, but were supposed to receive food supplies from the Polish army camp. Interned servicemen were prohibited to be outside the camp. Instead, officers were given the opportunity to receive passes to leave the camp once a week within a radius of up to seven kilometers. At the same time, they were deprived of the right to wear insignia on their uniforms. The senior command staff were given permanent passes and were allowed to live outside the camp as private individuals (Morynets, 2018, pp. 5–6). The instructions of Department II also contained certain specific wishes, which, according to their authors, were supposed to maintain discipline among the internees and diversify their everyday life. It was about holding sports exercises, competitions, founding schools, reading rooms, theatres, other circles, workshops, chapels.

According to the Polish data, approximately 30,000 people crossed the Zbruch River on November 21 (Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), Sygn. 296/1-39, k. 5), in particular, 20,000 Ukrainian troops (including 2,000 the Don Cossacks under command of Ataman O. Yakovliev) (Karpus, 1997, p. 89). Since, according to the terms of the preliminary peace treaty in Riga dated October 12, 1920, a 15-kilometer demilitarized territory was established along the Soviet-Polish border, the internees were moved to Ternopil area. There, temporary “points of deportation” were established in Lunyntsi, Romanove Selo and Klebanivtsi. From there

they were to be transported to designated camps scattered across twenty locations throughout Poland (Kolianchuk, 2000, p. 54). The majority of the camps had been established since World War I for prisoners of the Russian army, or before that they had been used as barracks of the Austro-Hungarian army. These were the camps in Aleksandrów Kujawski, Kalisz, Łañcut, Pykulyczy, Piotrków, Wadowice. Their living conditions varied from completely uninhabitable to more or less tolerable.

Interned Ukrainian servicemen encountered the first everyday troubles in Galicia while waiting to be sent to camps. All of these troubles were the most evident during the Army's crossing the Zbruch River and its stay at the border. The Polish soldiers, taking advantage of the chaos, looted private belongings of servicemen, officers and their families. The Kamianets-Podilskyi Youth School belongings were looted, as it was reported to the head of the Ukrainian military liquidation mission in Warsaw, by its chief, General Mykola Shapoval (Morynets, 2018, pp. 23–26). Lieutenant-Colonel Dmytro Krasnovskyi, head of the arms transfer commission, reported to the Minister of Defense a similar situation. He complained not only about non-compliance with the terms of handing over weapons, the lack of registration and protection by the Polish side, but also about the Poles' open looting and robbery of the Ukrainian servicemen – both rank-and-file and officers. “Under the guise of handing over weapons”, he reported, “everything that was of a market value was looted, and when the Polish soldiers took money (marks), they added that they were doing it in accordance with the order to take back the money of the Polish Republic...” (Morynets, 2018, p. 72). The reality of the internees' stay among the Ukrainian population, who was generally sympathetic to them, was a little brightened. Characteristic is the entry in the operational unit chief's diary of Rifle Brigade 11 headquarters, Khorunzhyi O. Holenko, who, after crossing the Zbruch River, was in the village of Koshliaky and asked to stay at a local Ukrainian family house during the night. “It made me very happy that even though my fate is bad, there are good people who can cheer up my soul. They treated me well. I was treated to some coffee and milk. Got up early. The hostess prepared a very tasty breakfast. Dumplings with lard, fried meat and coffee” (Morynets, 2018, p. 184). During the first days of internment, officers were allocated certain sums of money to be maintained at a satisfactory level at least. Monetary and material support and some food products were given from reserves which were preserved during the crossing of the Zbruch River. The rest goods could be bought among the local population by selling cloth and leather from army supplies. In general, the internees tried to get rid of their military and personal property as much as possible because, convinced by their recent experience, they feared that the Poles would take it from them. The situation became unbearable when the internees left for their destinations. While waiting for transport, they were housed in overcrowded houses or former Austrian barracks without heating. In addition, they ran out of money and food supply. O. Holenko, being among the internees in Ivachiv Horishny near Ternopil, made a note under the date of December 15, 1920: “We got up early. The only concern is how to get food. Potatoes are on the table, we have nothing else to ... I had some tea and saccharin, no sugar” (Morynets, 2018, p. 193). Due to the unpreparedness for taking in lodgers at the camps, as well as the lack of railway cars, the terms of transportation into the interior part of Poland were delayed. As late as mid-December of 1920, many servicemen remained in Ternopil area. In the report to S. Petliura the army commander M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko noted that “people are under extremely difficult conditions: they are located at overcrowded houses – thirty people in a house, infectious diseases broke out, in particular typhus; in terms of food, Ternopil area

is completely exhausted, it is impossible to buy any food and fodder, and the Cossacks are starving, as a result scurvy broke out as well" (Petliura, 1999, pp. 338–339). As the way out, it was suggested moving the army divisions in small units to the area south of Lviv, where the situation with food and fodder supplies was better. However, this suggestion was not realized. In order to prevent the outbreak of a typhus epidemic, the Polish military authorities vaccinated the internees, which stopped its spread.

However, as it often happens in crisis situations, not only the noble sides of a person's character manifest themselves, but immoral acts manifest themselves as well surface. Under the conditions of the disaster of the military administrative apparatus and the chaos caused by this, many servicemen succumbed to panic, committed unworthy acts, the most common of which were theft of military and state property, speculation of the stolen. Employees of various rear units who had access to exported army supplies overindulged.

Finally, at the end of December of 1920 – the beginning of January of 1921, the internees were located at camps. According to calculations carried out by the Polish Military Ministry, from February of 1921, about 15,500 Ukrainian servicemen were at the camps (Karpus, 1997, p. 27). The Polish command tried to satisfy the request of the Ukrainian side and settle the Ukrainian military separately from the Russian Red Army internees and prisoners. The Ukrainians were located at camps in Wadowice, Łańcut, Pikulyczy, Kalisz, Aleksandrów Kujawski, Częstochowa (mainly civilian government officials), Piotrków. Due to devastation of the majority Polish lands during World War I, their difficult economic condition, the first year of the internees' stay at some of the camps was extremely difficult. The situation became catastrophic as early as January of 1921, when the financial reserves that some parts of the interned Ukrainian army still had ran out practically. The government of the UPR, being in exile, was helpless to do anything. In the correspondence with the leading government and army formations, in the memoirs of the internees, there were complaints about terrible living conditions. Pidkhorunzhy Petro Korsun described the conditions of his stay at Piotrków camp: "When you take a good look at our life, it's a very bad impression: a large hall with bunk beds, on which there are old mattresses torn from sacks stuffed with straw, there are no blankets or sheets, it's cold... Two dirty tables for two halls and two or three bowls for washing – that's the whole interior of our abode" (Morynets, 2018, p. 237). The report of the sanitary department of February 13, 1921 provides the idea concerning the stay conditions of interned servicemen. It concerns the camps in Częstochowa, Pikulyczy, Aleksandrów Kujawski, Kalisz, Wadowice and Łańcut. Pikulyczy camp near Przemyśl was the first one on the way to relocate interned servicemen. There were the Austrian barracks, which were part of the Przemyśl fortress complex, and nearby there were built wooden barracks for prisoners of war. In December of 1920 – January of 1921, interned servicemen of the UPR Army came there. The living conditions turned out to be terrible: the windows on the roofs of the buildings were bent, which caused rainwater to flow into the premises, and there was terrible dampness. In January of 1921, 3,013 Ukrainian servicemen, including 99 women and children, were stationed in Pikulyczy camp (Kolianchuk, 2000, p. 58). Due to the lack of fuel, it was not possible to cook food and heat a huge room 30 m long. In the rooms, the internees slept on bunk beds. Due to the overcrowding, unsanitary conditions prevailed, parasites spread, and even infectious diseases broke out, but were extinguished successfully. A major role in this was played by the Ukrainian medical personnel who were in the camp and worked according to the permission of the Polish administration. The situation was similar in Wadowice camp (south-west of Krakow). There was a camp for prisoners of war

which had been built by the Austrians. The internees lived in abandoned brick barracks. In the report of the Sanitary Administration, it was noted that the ceiling and walls of the barracks were leaky, due to which people caught cold caused by draft and cold, and “the sanitary condition of the barracks is very bad. Dampness and dirt in the barracks. For rank-and-file, as well as for the Cossacks, there are only bunks, there are no beds at all, mattress covers and blankets are given to a few only. There is a terrible bathhouse” (Morynets, 2018, p. 43). The internees did not have enough underwear, they ran out of medicines that had been brought during the troops retreat from Ukraine. Living conditions in the Szczypiorno camp near Kalisz were even worse. At the end of 1921, part of the servicemen from Kalisz camp and Aleksandrów Kujawski camp were relocated there. The internees were housed in dilapidated cold wooden barracks and dugouts. The camp in Aleksandrów Kujawski was also overcrowded. The internees lived in wooden barracks covered with tar. Designed for 2,000 people, it accommodated 3,200 people (Morynets, 2018, p. 40). Due to the lack of beds, bunk beds were arranged. However, officers, rank-and-file, women and children lived separately. The camp had its own bathhouse, laundry, dispensary, and was electrified. Perhaps this “comfort” was explained by the fact that the commander of the Sich Division 6, Colonel-General Marko Bezruchko – a famous defender of Zamość from the Bolsheviks in August of 1920 – was appointed as its commandant. He enjoyed special respect among Polish military circles. The situation was similar in Kalisz camp, whose chief was General Oleksandr Udovychenko. In Wadowice camp there were relatively satisfactory conditions for internees. There were brick and wooden barracks with electricity supply and necessary technical and sanitary equipment. However, it often happened that its inhabitants suffered from the cold because the Polish side did not comply with the norms provisions for supplying the camps with fuel, and servicemen had to use everything that could burn: benches, tables and even elements of the very barracks buildings.

In the camps food supply differed and depended on the location, administration, and internal structure. In general, food supply was handled by the relevant services of the Polish Military Ministry. However, in reality, they did not always follow the prescriptions of food standards and its quality. For example, if in Aleksandrów Kujawski food was provided properly – officers had a two-course lunch, dinner and, moreover, a small daily allowance, then things were bad for others. Thus, in the message of the Ukrainian sanitary administration of January 21, 1921, which checked the camps condition, it was noted that in Wadowice camp interned officers and rank-and-file of the Ukrainian Army received  $\frac{3}{4}$  pound of bread, 125 gr. meat, which “often turns out to be smelly, and the bread is covered with mold and bitter, which makes people sick, especially their stomachs” (Morynets, 2018, p. 43). Pidkhorunzhy Petro Korsun, staying at Piotrków camp, made entries in his diary about the lack of food. Under the date of April 3, 1921, he wrote: “The stomach is almost empty; I want to eat and I want to cry like a child. Hunger leads to the point that you look to see if there is anywhere on the window or table, even a crumb of bread you would eat anyway, but unfortunately no one leaves it; because everyone is also hungry” (Morynets, 2018, p. 255). Cash given to officers and rank-and-file was often delayed. In addition, it was meager and under the conditions of galloping inflation it was absolutely not enough.

Since the internment camps were designed by the Ukrainian government-in-exile to preserve the army structure for the continuation of the armed struggle, it was forbidden to release soldiers from service. All camps were fenced with barbed wire, the Polish guards stood at the gates. Of course, all this had a depressing effect on the morale of their inhabitants. “You



sit and grieve or dream, but actually you don't want to do that for some reason since you got into these barracks. A kind of dullness, a kind of stagnation even of the brain activity, it seems that someone hit your head with a dope, some dope got into it...”, noted Petro Korsun in his diary (Morynets, 2018, p. 237). A small, isolated, overpopulated space gave birth to all kinds of excesses. However, the command tried to counteract this by resuming drills and military training, including teaching at a youth school, which was supposed to train officers. But the army, imprisoned by wires, found itself in a pitiful situation, and began to show signs of decay. This became especially noticeable in the winter – spring of 1921, after the first months of internment. In the report of the accounting department of the Polish General Staff for March 1, 1921, it was noted: “It should be emphasized that the mood of the military masses is unsatisfactory at the camps. The ideological level decreased significantly... People are thirsty for information... Desertion is getting bigger and bigger...” (AAN, sygn. 296/1-39, k. 28). Isolation from the outside world, lack of money, and the most important feeling of hopelessness oppressed the camp residents greatly, especially the rank-and-file, who were imposed strict restrictions on their freedom to leave the camp. In the end, the officers who had better opportunities in this regard due to lack of money were unable to rent accommodation outside the camp and fell into apathy. Playing cards, drinking alcohol, narcotic substances (morphine and cocaine), which were bought when there was money, became the usual pastime of the campers' free time. Against this background, quarrels often broke out in the camp, there were thefts, and immoral behaviour. This fact, in particular, is reflected in the report of the head of the counter-intelligence department of the active army rear, lieutenant colonel H. Khomiak, regarding the internment camp in Łańcut. It reported glaring facts of disreputable behaviour of some officers, who discredited the army. For example, Colonel Mykola Smuhliv, who was assigned to the senior chota at the Rear Headquarters of the UPR Army (Tynchenko, 2007, p. 413) “a drunken man amid quarrel, as if he were a tree was thrown on the upper bunks”, a drunk centurion Kyrylchuk begins to quarrel with his comrades, and when, amid the last Russian quarrel, the senior officer asks him “Who are you?”, he replies: “I am the UPR”, the centurion Shulayiv “undresses naked, shouts out “Attention!” and when the public gathered around him, he pulled out his penis and showed it to senior officers, women and children” (Morynets, 2018, pp. 32–33). There are mentioned many similar cases in the report.

Despite the material troubles that caused tension in the internees environment, conflicts often erupted against the background of the use of the Russian language. Communicating in Russian by a part of officers in everyday life caused special disgust among rank-and-file, for whom it was equated with national renegade. On linguistic grounds, there were quarrels and even fights between the patriotic Ukrainian military and those who adhered to pro-Russian sentiments, and the latter openly demonstrated them. Thus, General Hryhoriy Yanushevskyi, who was appointed head of the Joint Youth School in Kalisz, in a letter to S. Petliura dated June 30, 1922, reported on the measures he had taken regarding its Ukrainization. “The Russian language was dominant in this school, including official relations, not to mention a private life. The Russian songs were mostly used by sergeants in the office... In the Cavalry Division, the Russian songs had to be brought out almost by repression” (Morynets, 2018, p. 135). The problem was so acute that S. Petliura drew attention to it. In this regard, he issued appropriate orders to the Inspector General and Military Minister. In a letter dated September 17, 1922 the Chief Ataman noted that “the one who allows a foreign language in a family life is also not trusted by us and we must keep a watchful eye on him. In any case, this

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evil must be fought: oblige them (officers – *Author*) to avoid such a habit and remember that in the eyes of the higher military authorities, such behaviour will be considered a negative attestation” (Morynets, 2018, p. 159).

Since at the internment camps there were mostly young men and much less women, problems often arose against the background of an intimate life. About 200 women and 50 children lived in Łañcut camp permanently. Among women there were wives of officers and rank-and-file. privates. Due to a lack of money, they were forced to live in barracks with their children and adapt to camp conditions (Sribniak, 2018, p. 48). At the same time, there was a group of women who were not in a formal marriage relationship. Therefore, as noted in the above-mentioned report of the head of the Rear of the Active Army, “living in a civil marriage which often changed, is a common phenomenon” (Morynets, 2018, p. 32). And “the moral state of the majority of women in our country is also hereditary (scandalous – *Author*) and they are in no way inferior to men... The majority of them are “lovers and seekers of strong feelings”, a moral rot, driven to us by a political wave. During the whole day, in our barracks, only the Russian language is heard, screams, squeals, noises and passionate whispers of love” (Morynets, 2018, p. 33). A moral behaviour of men was not better either. The consequence of this moral behaviour was the spread of venereal diseases among internees.

Senior military commanders even tried to control a young officer’s choice of a life partner. It was about the fact that she had an appropriate moral reputation and did not disgrace officer corps. It was not something unique. At that time, similar procedures were practiced in the Polish army, which obviously could serve as an example for the Ukrainian command as well (Kusiak, 1992, pp. 55–64). In order to somehow neutralize such things and prevent a moral deterioration of interned servicemen, the command tried to preserve military discipline, continuing drills, literacy training, cultural and educational work. As the most radical measure, malicious violators (including women) were sent to the camp in Dombie specially established for such elements. In April of 1921, S. Petliura visited the internment camps. This visit eased the situation a little, but it could not help matters. The ban on discharge from the army, a difficult financial situation, and strengthening of the Bolshevik propaganda regarding the return to homeland undoubtedly had a demoralizing effect on the internees. Against this background, conflicts arose between those who decided to return home and those who stayed.

According to the decree of the Polish government dated October 9, 1921, the camps of prisoners of war and internees were to be liquidated, and those who remained were transferred from the Military Ministry to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Among them, the Ukrainian camps remained in Strzalków, Kalisz and Szczypiorn (Karpus, 1997, p. 153). A formal change in the camps re-subordination did not affect living conditions of their inhabitants: Poland could not provide the funds for their maintenance. Because of that, it became a practice for campers to leave for temporary work outside the camp borders. At the end of 1922, the authorities gave permission for registration of internees to go to work in France. At the camps, agitation began in search of mediators who would arrange this matter. In December of 1923, the Polish government decided on the final liquidation of the camps. For this purpose, as early as January 1, 1924, the maximum reduction in the number of internees was foreseen. Former internees who, due to their health, age and certain family circumstances, could not leave during the winter could still stay in Kalisz and Szczypiorn for some time. Handicraft workshops, which had previously been established with the permission of the Polish authorities and were to become a source of support for the internees, were handed over to them. After an actual liquidation of the camps, the internees acquired the status of political

emigrants with the right of unlimited movement in the country. On the basis of the Ministry of Internal Affairs decision of August 11, 1924, all the internment camps still existing on the territory of Poland were liquidated. From then on, the Ukrainian village in Kalisz, which was located in part of the former camp No. 10, became the coordination centre for former interned military personnel, organized specifically for this purpose. 800 – 1200 residents lived permanently there and there was an appropriate infrastructure as well (Kolańczuk, 1995, p. 51). In turn, on a national scale it was subordinated to the Ukrainian Central Committee in Warsaw, which had its departments in other regions.

**The Conclusions.** By the mid-1920s, the internment period of the UPR Army servicemen was over. Hopes that the internment camps would preserve the Army structure and it could be used to transfer to the territory of Ukraine and continue the fight against the Russian occupiers did not come true. First of all, it could not be done due to lack of finances. Deplorable living conditions undermined a moral and physical condition of the internees. The status of the allied army could also do little good, since the possibilities of Poland were limited to support it by its own sources. In the end, the political situation developed in such a way that the task of continuing to openly support the restoration of the UPR also became burdensome.

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