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Home from Home

The history of an émigré Ukrainian community based
in the heart of Yorkshire – Huddersfield, 1948-2018

Michael Drapan

A dissertation submitted to the University of Huddersfield in
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA by Research

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Introduction

This dissertation constitutes the introduction and opening three chapters of a book that will be published in the near future and which will be available for purchase by the general public. The book project (featuring nine chapters in total, approximately 92,000 words) will depict the history of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield from 1948 to 2018. I use the introduction to discuss some of the complexities of researching this topic whilst the three chapters will provide answers to a number of research questions that are pivotal to the history of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield. These are detailed below:

Chapter One – When, why and how did the founder members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community leave their homeland during the years of the Second World War? And why were they so reticent to discuss their pasts with anyone, particularly their own relatives?

Chapter Two – Following approximately two to three years of internment in Displaced Persons and Prisoner of War camps in Germany, Austria and Italy and then in the United Kingdom, why and under what circumstances did they permanently settle in Huddersfield? How did their experiences in these camps help them to settle in the United Kingdom and to establish and organise a Ukrainian community in exile?

Chapter Three – Chapters One and Two follow a chronological narrative of leaving home and establishing the community in Huddersfield. However, the shaping of political identities both precedes and follows this period. Therefore Chapter 3 spans a wider time period, providing its own narrative line around the development of political ideology, identity, connections and differences which affected members of the community across a large part of their lives. In it I focus on the following research questions: What drove the creation of political identity among Ukrainians prior to, during and after Second World War? How did agreements and differences manifest themselves? What, if anything, were the consequences for the Huddersfield community?

I conclude the dissertation with an analysis of the research data that was gathered in its compilation, highlighting, in particular, where I believe gaps still exist. I also suggest ways in which my own subjectivity, family background and central role in community affairs position me as an insider within this research project.

Ukrainians in Huddersfield - a community of history

The book project's primary purpose is to address a communal desire, if not need, to leave a permanent record of how a relatively small but influential minority group established roots, flourished and gradually integrated into the life of a Yorkshire mill town. In doing so this body of émigrés not only preserved but nurtured deep cultural, religious, historical and political ties with its homeland some 2000 miles away to the east of Europe – ties which continue to this day.¹

The book project, however, is more than just a repository of multifarious records detailing the life and achievements of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community, it also attempts to highlight the challenges it faces now and into the future. There is also the possibility, or hope rather, that it might inspire both present and future generations of Ukrainians to maintain and build upon foundations that were painstakingly cemented as far back as 1948. If this proves to be the case it could contribute in some small way to the survival of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community and its hub, the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (commonly known as 'the Ukrainian Club') based in the Huddersfield suburb of Edgerton, where other clubs around the country have folded. What is more, not only does the book project aim to keep the club's origins alive, it hopes to share its rich past and present with the people of Huddersfield and beyond. As Ukrainians continue to play a full and active role in the diverse cultural makeup of their place of residence, this can only lead to greater understanding, tolerance and pride in the local civic community.

¹ This MA dissertation was originally part of an MA by Research in Public History, Oral History and Community Heritage. I switched MA programmes onto the MA by Research in History because the length of my submission exceeded the length available for the original programme. This accounts for the two-fold dimension of this project: an MA thesis, and beyond it but not included in the examination, a community history publication.

Its appeal, moreover, is not solely aimed at the Huddersfield Ukrainian community or local society in general. Because very little has been published about this neglected area of history it may prove useful for scholarly research, for as a typical mid-sized Ukrainian community living in Great Britain, Huddersfield is highly representative of other such communities. I would also like to think that this book project may be of interest to Ukrainians across the diaspora and even to people in Ukraine wishing to learn about the lives and achievements of kinsmen whose destiny was severely altered by the events of the Second World War. It should certainly serve a purpose to people who have tenuous connections with Ukraine, regarding themselves as primarily British, but wishing to learn more about their extended background.

East European Migration to the United Kingdom - historiography

Looking specifically at what has been written about the migration of East Europeans to the United Kingdom there is far less on Ukrainians compared to other migrants. Kushner and Knox (1999), in documenting the cultural contributions of refugees in Britain, focus in detail on those who settled in Hampshire and describe the impact these people had on the localities in which they lived and worked. However, although they discuss the Polish community, Ukrainians are barely mentioned.²

Linda McDowell's work (2005) centres on a group of Latvian migrant women.³ Here there are important links with my own research as McDowell's study, like mine, draws heavily on oral history and also deals with people who lived through the traumas of both German and Soviet occupation and enforced deportation. However, McDowell also points out that there were important differences between Latvians and other ethnic groups subjugated by the Germans, a good example being how the Germans treated female labourers. In reference to Latvians she writes:

² Kushner, T. & Knox, K. (1999). *Refugees in an Age of Genocide*. London: Frank Cass.

³ McDowell, L. (2005). *Hard Labour: The forgotten voices of Latvian migrant volunteer workers*. London: Cavendish Publishing Limited.

[...] the women who were part of the 1944 voluntary exodus, despite having no choice about working, were treated as a superior sort of worker. They were regarded as Aryans by the Nazis [...] rather than Slavs.⁴

Indeed, one of the women she interviewed (Vieda) openly states:

They were good to Latvian women really [...] but they were very cruel to Polish and Ukrainian women, they were really, you know.⁵

This corroborates incidents of cruelty experienced by former Huddersfield Ukrainians who were deported to Germany and Austria during the war and which are recounted in Chapter One.

More testimonial evidence procured through oral interviews, and supplemented with a collection of vivid and revealing photographs (some of which came from Ukrainian State archives and were hitherto unseen in the West) can be found in *Ukraine's Forbidden History*.⁶ The title, as Wendy Webster explains, was taken from an oral testimony that was recorded soon after the declaration of Ukrainian independence. It included the following words, "Ukraine's history was forbidden ... our art and literature has not been allowed to flourish."⁷ Webster states that the authors (Smith, Perks and Smith) "chart a history of enforced displacement, as well as mass murders, which, before the collapse of the Soviet Union, was generally silenced."⁸ Several chapters cover Stalinist purges, deportations and famines that occurred in Central and Eastern Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, the mass deportation of Western Ukrainians by the Nazis in the early 1940s, Soviet deportations and mass murders during the Cold War and conclude with the declaration of Ukrainian independence in 1991. These topics are also covered in my book project. Although in the present dissertation I confine myself to a focus on the period 1939-1948 in order to explore in depth the experiences of specific individuals from Huddersfield's Ukrainian community.

⁴ Ibid. p.60.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Smith, T., Perks, R., & Smith, G. (1998). *Ukraine's Forbidden History*. Stockport: Dewi Lewis Publishing.

⁷ Webster, W. (2007). Border Crossings: enforced displacement and twentieth-century history. *Women's History Review*, 9 (4), 825-833. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612020000200269>.

⁸ Ibid.

Ukraine's Forbidden History probably comes closest to my own research as it too involved speaking to Ukrainians who came to the United Kingdom after the war to help plug holes in the labour market. Former Displaced Persons and POWs from camps in Central Europe, who settled in the industrial north of England, were recorded, as were their descendants. Their testimonies, alongside conversations with people in Ukraine, echo sentiments relayed by Ukrainians in Huddersfield, especially regarding the initial reception given by Ukrainians to the invading German army in 1941:

There were German soldiers who made friends with the people when they came. We expected Germans to liberate us from Stalin's terrorism ...And even church bells were ringing for joy. But that joy didn't last very long, because one devil gone and a second had come.⁹

What is more, as in the case of the original founders of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community, Smith, Perks and Smith found that, following independence, more Ukrainians, both in the United Kingdom and in Ukraine, were willing to talk openly about the past. Although they did come up against barriers in different regions of Ukraine:

People in the main cities, such as Kiev and Lviv, were confident enough to talk frankly and be photographed. But in the Russified east of the country and in rural areas many people were still afraid of speaking openly about their experiences. [...] In another area villagers were reluctant to disrupt a close-knit community which had come uneasily to terms with its past.¹⁰

It can be argued that *Ukraine's Forbidden History* is broader in its coverage than my project and that it, too, includes revealing testimonies from forced labourers and former veterans of the Ukrainian Division (that had started life as the 14th Grenadier Division of the Waffen-SS Galicia) as well as giving a flavour of life in Ukrainian communities in the United Kingdom. However, unlike my study which focuses on one community and traces a set group of individuals over time, it does not delve in any great depth into the complex political, religious, cultural and social histories of Ukrainians in this country, for as Webster notes it is based

⁹ Smith, T., Perks, R., & Smith, G. (1998). *Ukraine's Forbidden History*, (p.28). Stockport: Dewi Lewis Publishing.

¹⁰ Smith, T., Perks, R., & Smith, G. (1998). *Ukraine's Forbidden History*, (p.5). Stockport: Dewi Lewis Publishing.

largely on brief extracts from oral history recordings. However, she confirms that it does offer some indication as to:

[...] changes in Ukrainian identities in Britain, and in relationships between diaspora and ‘homeland’, conveying a sense of complex changes and responses, and contrasting ideas of national identity between diaspora and ‘homeland’ as well as between eastern and western Ukraine.¹¹

I too discuss these changes in my final chapters of the History of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield, 1948-2018, but not in the dissertation.

Other comprehensive works on the subject of refugees and exiles, in particular EVWs, include Kay and Miles’s book *Refugees or Migrant Workers? The Case of the European Volunteer Workers in Britain, 1946-1951* (1988), Webster’s *Imagining Home: Gender, ‘Race’ and National Identity, 1946-1964* (1998) and *Mixing It: Diversity in World War Two Britain* (2018). The latter, for example, examines the experiences of a wide range of European exiles, refugees and émigrés in Britain during the war and its aftermath, including EVWs. Kathleen Paul, meanwhile, in *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (1997) takes a slightly different approach and focuses on official government policy-making regarding the EVW programme rather than describing personal experiences. She further points out how the government tended to favour East European migrant workers over black and Asian migrants from the Empire when designing recruitment schemes to overcome the post-war shortage of labour.¹²

Finally, there is also a THEMIS (Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems) Scoping Study Report (2011) that includes comprehensive data and an overall picture of Ukrainian migration patterns into the United Kingdom, but this too provides little detail on the life and history of established Ukrainian communities.¹³

¹¹ Webster, W. (2007). Border Crossings: enforced displacement and twentieth-century history. *Women’s History Review*, 9 (4), 825-833. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612020000200269>.

¹² Paul, K. (1997). *Whitewashing Britain: race and citizenship in the postwar era*. New York: Cornell University Press.

¹³ Kubal, A., Bakewell, O., & de Haas, H. (2011). *The Evolution of Ukrainian Migration to the UK*. Oxford: International Migration Institute.

Ukrainians in Huddersfield – a local history

Social historian Paul Thompson¹⁴ states that, “Through history ordinary people seek to understand the upheavals and changes which they experience in their own lives,”¹⁵ citing wars and personal migration as examples. This certainly applies not only to the first Ukrainian settlers in Huddersfield but also to their offspring, many of whom still feel ‘starved’ of information regarding the traumatic events that befell their parents and grandparents, especially during the 1940s, which in most cases resulted in their forced exile from their homeland. Thompson further suggests that, “Through local history a [...] town seeks meaning for its own changing character and newcomers can gain a sense of roots in personal historical knowledge.”¹⁶ This dissertation and the book project certainly adhere to this premise as in researching them I was challenged by a personal desire to learn more about the lives of my parents and to gain a better understanding of what caused them and thousands of their countrymen to leave their homes indefinitely. Sharing this information with family, friends, colleagues and the wider public has been my motivation, especially as locally-based historian of migration, Frank Grombir, who also edits the Huddersfield Local History Society Journal, notes that:

Essentially you are right in saying that your work would be the first major community study of a local Ukrainian group in England [...]. In terms of Huddersfield, apart from various newspaper articles in the [*Huddersfield*] *Examiner* and the odd reference in small scale publications and brochures, there has not been anything substantial written on the subject of the Ukrainian community.¹⁷

Indeed, a substantive audit undertaken by the Kirklees Heritage Forum lists numerous contributions from several Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities, as well as the Chinese and Polish communities, especially under the reference of Kirklees Moving Here Stories. Frank Grombir has himself researched the local Polish community and has an article published in the Huddersfield Local History Society Journal on the subject of local Estonian

¹⁴ Paul Thompson, recently retired Research Professor of Sociology at the University of Essex, played a leading role in the creation of the British Oral History Society in the early 1970s.

¹⁵ Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (Eds.) (1998). *The Oral History Reader*, (p.21). London: Routledge.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.22.

¹⁷ Grombir, F. (2019, July). Personal communication.

hospital workers.¹⁸ Very little is listed under Ukrainians but hopefully my work will go some way to redressing this situation and will attempt to support the following call made by the Huddersfield Local History Society:

[...] much of the history of these communities remains unrecorded. Memories are fading and written and visual records are disappearing. There are so many topics which could be investigated, so many documents and photographs which should be saved. What have been the experiences of South Asian, East European and African-Caribbean communities in the fields of education, employment, sport, music? Have the histories of [...] churches, temples, mosques [and] accounts of the celebration of [...] festivals been written?¹⁹

Ukrainians in Huddersfield - Ukrainian historiography

Neither have there been any significant publications from the wider Ukrainian community that have been written in English and that have specifically outlined the establishment and development of Ukrainian community life over the last seventy years. Lesa Melnychuk portrays the story of how Ukrainian migrant refugees were accepted in Western Australia after the Second World War and in this she focuses very heavily on the traumatic recollections of survivors of the *Holodomor* (The Ukrainian famine/genocide of 1932-3) and to a lesser extent of living and working as forced labourers under the Nazi regime.²⁰ She does not write about Ukrainian community life in Western Australia. The history of a specific community, based in a particular town, written by an active insider looking out, as opposed to an outsider looking in, could prove to be informative, useful and interesting.

Several almanacs and journals have been published over the years by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain²¹ most notably the *Ukrainian Review*, which have included

¹⁸ Grombir, F. (2012). "Brief Encounters". Baltic hospital workers in and around Huddersfield, 1946-1951. Huddersfield Local History Society Journal.

¹⁹ Huddersfield Local History Society. (2019). *Migrations*. Retrieved from <https://www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk/huddersfields-history/migrations/>.

²⁰ Melnychuk, L. (2012). *Silent Memories - Traumatic Lives: Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia*, (p.191). Welshpool, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum.

²¹ Founded in 1946, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB or CYB in Ukrainian) "is the largest representative body for Ukrainians and those of Ukrainian descent in the UK. It exists to develop, promote and support the interests of the Ukrainian community in the UK." <https://www.augb.co.uk>

articles on this subject, but these tend to focus on Ukrainians living in Great Britain as a whole rather than on one particular community in detail.²² An example of this is a short chapter entitled, *Ukrainians in Great Britain*, written by I. Dmytriw, which is part of a collection of selected articles that feature in a book called *Ukraine and the Ukrainians*, published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain to celebrate its 35th Anniversary.²³ A similar chapter entitled, *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom and Ireland*, written by Marta Jenkala, appears in an edited book called *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*, but again this provides a general overview of life in Great Britain that covers a broad spectrum of Ukrainian immigrants rather than researching the history of one particular community in depth.²⁴

The same can be said of almanacs and periodicals published by the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain,²⁵ the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain²⁶ and the Ukrainian Youth Association of Great Britain,²⁷ all of which have been written in Ukrainian and provide short résumés of the activities of individual branches that are heavily supported by photographic evidence.

More recently (beginning in 2008) Huddersfield-born Ukrainian, Roman Krawec, has built up an impressive database of information on the history of Ukrainians in Great Britain which is a work in progress. This constitutes a large number of entries that have been incorporated into an online encyclopedia entitled *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom*.²⁸ Further useful information can also be garnered from the closed Facebook group, *Ukrainian History UK*, where members often post photographs, provide information, or pose questions relating to the

²² *The Ukrainian Review*. (1954-1999). London: Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

²³ Dmytriw, I. & Wasyluk, J. (Eds.) (1981). *Ukraine and the Ukrainians*. London: The Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain.

²⁴ Pawliczko, A. (Ed.) (1994). *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*. Canada: University of Toronto Press.

²⁵ The Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (*OBBY* in Ukrainian) was established in July 1949 and in one form or another remained active until approximately 2010-11. It mainly consists of veterans of the Galicia Division but represents all former Ukrainian servicemen who settled in the United Kingdom after World War Two.

²⁶ The Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain (*OYЖ* in Ukrainian) although autonomous is affiliated to the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. It was founded in 1948.

²⁷ First founded in Kyiv in 1925, the Ukrainian Youth Association (*CYM* in Ukrainian) was rejuvenated in Munich in 1946 to cater for Ukrainians across the diaspora. Often referred to as a scouting organisation, today the Ukrainian Youth Association of Great Britain sees itself as voluntary,

²⁸ Krawec, R. (2008-2019). *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom online encyclopaedia*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/ukrinuk-e.htm>.

wartime activities of their parents and their subsequent settlement in the United Kingdom. However, both these endeavours are also wide-ranging in content and do not focus on one particular community in depth.

Ukrainians in Huddersfield - the interviewees

The first Ukrainians to settle in Huddersfield, according to Kushner and Knox, were part of a “heterogeneous mass of people displaced by the [Second World] war, primarily from Eastern Europe, who were unable to return to their place of origin.”²⁹ They were not classed by the government as refugees but merely as economic ‘manpower’ required in the rebuilding of an economy whose labour force had been seriously depleted by the war, as Linda McDowell suggests:

[...] the allied nations took a strictly utilitarian view of their potential new citizens, seeing them not in humanitarian terms as deserving respect and recompense for wartime disruption but instead as labouring bodies, as potential workers to aid in the post-war efforts of reconstruction.³⁰

And yet, despite originally viewing Ukrainian migrants as European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) with jobs to do, the government’s attitude to them became more accommodating as anti-communist foreign policy and security concerns escalated during the Cold War. Whitehall officials became increasingly sympathetic and mindful of the many deterrents that prevented these exiles from returning to their homelands permanently. As Kushner and Knox explain these included:

Reluctance to submit to the totalitarian regimes established under Soviet leadership; fear of persecution and the power of the security police at home; the lack of religious freedom; the way in which elections were carried out; the actual or possible presence of Soviet troops in the home country [...].³¹

These deterrents, however, did not prevent the vast majority of Ukrainians settling in Huddersfield from late 1947 onwards harbouring a ‘myth of return’, which for some would

²⁹ Kushner, T. & Knox, K. (1999). *Refugees in an Age of Genocide*, (p.217). London: Frank Cass.

³⁰ McDowell, L. (2005). *Hard Labour: The forgotten voices of Latvian migrant volunteer workers*, (p.2). London: UCL Press.

³¹ Kushner, T. & Knox, K. (1999). *Refugees in an Age of Genocide*, (pp. 217-8). London: Frank Cass.

nearly last a lifetime. They considered their exile in Great Britain as a temporary measure that had been imposed on them by ‘transient political circumstances’.³² Indeed, for some adaptation was seen as a betrayal of the country they had been forced to leave, which explains their reluctance to learn English or to fully integrate into British society. Many would hang on to an idealised view of their homeland which they would take to their graves, or for some, would only be altered when they witnessed with their own eyes the numerous disappointing changes that had occurred back home since their departure (following visits to Ukraine after the country’s independence was declared in 1991). Not all, however, were hostile to acculturation; some Ukrainians were keen to learn the English language and to fully adapt to British life, but it is possible that those who may have felt pressured to forget their culture and traditions developed feelings of anti-assimilation which led them to congregate in several localities around the district, to become more insular and less accepting of change, or, depending on factors such as gender, class, age and ethnicity, to adopt ‘multi-layered identities’ that were governed by varying degrees of local, national or global affinities.³³ It is the life stories of these first settlers that the dissertation will focus on and it will be their experiences before, during and just after the Second World War that will go some way to explaining how the Huddersfield Ukrainian community was established – a community that still has a purpose and an existence despite Ukraine gaining its independence in 1991.

Interviewing and the community

In writing this dissertation I began by tracing the journey of those Ukrainians who arrived in Huddersfield from 1947. It involved interviewing the last surviving founder members of the Ukrainian community and recounting their stories, which I was able to interweave with wider historical reading. These early immigrants, including my own parents, Stefan and Maria Drapan (deceased), and in-laws, Mykola and Rozalia Pankiw (deceased), tended to fall into two categories: like so many men who arrived in Huddersfield in the late 1940s and early 1950s, my father was a former member of the 14th Waffen-SS Grenadier Division Galicia (established on 28 April 1943 in Western Ukraine as a unit of the German army to fight against Soviet forces on the Eastern Front, it was renamed the 1st Division of the Ukrainian

³² Ibid. p.16.

³³ Ibid. p.412.

National Army during the last weeks of the war);³⁴ my mother and in-laws were part of a larger group of labourers who had either volunteered or had more than likely been forced to work under the Third Reich. I concentrate on the life stories of several members from both groups in my dissertation, with information not only garnered first hand but also from several first-generation children who have provided some important details regarding their parents' pasts. Over fifty former *Divizijnyky* (soldiers of the Galicia Division) settled in Huddersfield, many of whom provided the political, educational, cultural and social leadership on which the community came to depend, especially in its early years. They were more than ably supported by an even larger group of former labourers who jointly formed a community totalling over three hundred members.

Two leading authorities on the history of the Galicia Division (*Divizija*), Michael Logusz and Michael Melnyk,³⁵ have both written extensively on all aspects of the Division including the battles the soldiers were engaged in on the Eastern Front. It would be difficult to assume that my interviews with only a small number of surviving former *Divizijnyky* could add anything new or significant to their findings. However, Michael Melnyk, in reading a draft of my first two chapters has communicated personally and constructively on several occasions, suggesting that my research adds an important human element to a purely military perspective, commenting in the following terms:

[...] some new powerful first-person recollections add a human dimension [...] It is my firm conviction that writing about one community the way you have [...] adds a significantly larger breadth and scope to developing an overall understanding of how things came to be. [...] Covering all aspects of the history of the Ukrainians in Huddersfield, both male and female, and from all types of backgrounds is what sets your work apart and, in my opinion, where the real value lies.³⁶

³⁴ Krawec, R. (2010). *Galicia Division*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/former-e.htm#GalDiv>

³⁵ Logusz, M. (1997). *Galicia Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*. USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

Melnyk, M. (2006). *To Battle: The Formation and History of the 14th Galician SS Volunteer Division*. Warwick: Helion and Company. (2016). *The History of the Galician Division of the Waffen-SS Volume One: On the Eastern Front; Volume Two: Stalin's Nemesis*. Stroud: Fonthill Media.

³⁶ Melnyk, M. (2019, May). Personal communication.

Michael Melnyk, has even offered personal information regarding his own father, Petro Melnyk (deceased), a former *Divizijnyk* who was born only some ten miles away from my own father, and has also provided his own interpretation of why our parents were so reticent in discussing the past, in particular the war years, which I discuss in greater detail in Chapter One.

More recently, Michael circulated a circular to his readers and followers regarding progress on a fourth volume that he is currently writing on the Division. In it he states that he has had to re-evaluate his work after:

[...] it suddenly became apparent how much information I had completely missed and that there are some big holes in my last book. For example, Michael Drapan had included some superb information about the forced labourers who later joined the division which I had barely mentioned.³⁷

It appears that in interviewing several *Divizijnyky* I had stumbled on something that Michael classes as ‘virgin ground’, namely that some members of the Division had been forced labourers before volunteering or being conscripted into its ranks:

I cannot tell you anything about forced labourers because in all my years of researching (approaching thirty) I have never met a single one who was engaged in forced labour before joining the division.³⁸

These interviews which reveal the circumstances under which several former Huddersfield *Divizijnyky* enlisted into the *Divizija* are discussed in detail in Chapter One.

With regard to forced and voluntary labourers, this project has possibly come some twenty years too late. Only two female Ukrainian survivors of the war and the Displaced Persons Camps of Germany and Austria who settled in Huddersfield were able to be interviewed and they have both since passed away. Fortunately, newspaper accounts and first-generation children have provided further useful information, as have several surviving men. Had this project been started much earlier there would have been a wealth of knowledge to draw upon. As such I have supplemented my findings with related accounts from literature such as:

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

Lapan's *The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine* and Grinchenko's *Oral Histories of Former Ukrainian Ostarbeiter* - both included in A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (2010); Telka's *Ukrainian Labourers in Nazi Germany, 1939-1945* (2008); Isajiw, Boshyk, & Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (1992) and Lesa Melnychuk's *Silent Memories: Traumatic Lives (Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia)*.

Ukrainian women migrant workers also feature in the work of Wendy Webster who analysed recordings of European Voluntary Workers, including Ukrainians, who discussed their early working lives in the textile mills and their community involvement.³⁹ These recordings were part of the Bradford Heritage Project and do not include interviews with anyone from the Huddersfield Ukrainian community as such, but there are obvious correlations. The thesis of Janine Hanson⁴⁰ also utilises these recordings. However, from personal knowledge and past experience, it is possible some Ukrainian interviewees may have been more open with one of their own interviewing them than with an interviewer they were unacquainted with, especially if they were from outside the community. Taking my own parents as examples, I am convinced my father would not have agreed to be interviewed (especially as his use of spoken English was weak) whilst my mother would have put a very positive gloss on her statements, refusing to criticise or say anything negative about English society (her host country) or about her own community. Being aware of my community's past suspicions of strangers, and its fear of authority, as well as having an inside knowledge of the nuances and internal workings of the Ukrainian club and of individual members' religious and political feelings, have in one sense given me an advantage over external interviewers. However, I am also aware that my longstanding active role in community affairs may also have acted as a barrier to procuring certain parts of the truth about past events.

Lynn Abrams⁴¹ writes that by the 1980s scholars researching the experiences of groups traditionally disregarded by conventional histories – in these she includes ethnic minorities –

³⁹ Webster, W. (2000). Defining Boundaries: European Volunteer Worker Women in Britain and narratives of community. *Women's History Review*, 9 (2), (pp.257-276).

⁴⁰ Hanson, J. (1995). *Sympathy, Antipathy, Hostility. British attitudes to non-repatriable Poles and Ukrainians after the Second World War and the Hungarian Refugees of 1956* (PhD Thesis). The University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

⁴¹ Lynn Abrams is Professor of Modern History at the University of Glasgow.

were using oral history as their chosen methodology.⁴² Indeed, oral history is now such a tried and tested research practice that it is used across a range of disciplines, including, anthropology, ethnology, sociology and psychology.⁴³ This dissertation/book project largely falls into the category of oral history as it relies heavily on oral interviews and discussions with mixed generations of ethnic Ukrainians living in the local and wider community, for example: former and present community leaders; committee members; clergy; teachers and participants of various cultural, sporting and social groups. More specifically it focuses on interviews with ex-combatants, former forced labourers, the Italian wives of Ukrainian husbands who have also been prominent in the community, and incorporates views from across the ethnic, political, social and generational spectrum. However, it should be noted that although I have been mindful of drawing upon a broad sample of interviewees, I have been severely limited by availability, with very few of the earliest members of the community still surviving and several passing away before seeing the fruits of their labour in print. Only a small number of original members, for example, were born in central or Eastern Ukraine where Orthodoxy dominated over Catholicism (over ninety percent of Ukrainians settling in Huddersfield coming from Catholic Galicia - Western Ukraine) and they have long since passed away and most of their views and stories have been buried with them. Fortunately, some information regarding these Ukrainians has been shared by surviving children. The same can be said of Ukrainians who were never closely connected with the majority of the community that had signed up for membership of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) based at the Ukrainian Club in Edgerton. This also applies to members of the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) that had a club in the town for a short period (some of whom were Melnykivtsi, as opposed to Banderivtsi based at the AUGB and which I discuss at a later stage), and a relatively large number of British-born Ukrainians who, for whatever reason, chose to break contact with the Ukrainian community, despite having played an active role in it in their youth. By chance one or two of these people have recently emerged from obscurity and have been very supportive in providing information about themselves and their parents.

Written documentary evidence in the form of journals and papers, along with resources housed in the library and archives of the Ukrainian Club has also been used to good effect.

⁴² Abrams, L. (2010). *Oral History Theory*, (p.4). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

⁴³ Abrams, L. (2010). *Oral History Theory*, (p.2). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

The archives contain a number of files which include minutes from committee meetings and the AGMs of several different organisations that were established for the benefit of the community from 1948. Also utilised as supplementary evidence are a range of audio-visual materials - film, radio recordings, newspaper articles and photographs. It has to be stressed, however, that the life-blood of the dissertation, the narrative content that has provided the most interesting, valuable and insightful and sensitive data, has been procured orally - through a mixture of formal interviews, ad hoc chats and discussions, communal and personal reminiscences.

Despite these resources, this dissertation does not in any way profess to be complete. Indeed, as Portelli suggests, with oral history there is, “a sense of fluidity, of unfinishedness, of an inexhaustible work in progress [...] floating as it does in time between the present and ever-changing past.”⁴⁴ It is so with this endeavour, and though I have tried to paint a complete picture that includes, what I believe to be, the core ingredients that governed when, how and why the Huddersfield Ukrainian community came into being, I know full well that I may have inadvertently overlooked, or perhaps not had access to, important factual detail – omissions that may remain hidden in the annals of time and which may lead some to claim my history is only partial.

In fact, it would be fair to class this research as a ‘recovery history’⁴⁵ as in large parts it has been dependent on interviewing specific people about past events because few or no conventional historical sources, in particular written accounts around the subject of wartime activities, exist. Some historians regard this type of history as unreliable as it is based largely on memory which cannot always be verified. However, interviews and conversations have often been the only means of procuring both important and interesting information that would otherwise have remained hidden.

It can even be said that in part this book follows a ‘reminiscence and community model’⁴⁶ whose main aim has been to leave a historical record before knowledge is lost forever but with some of my interpretations of what people have conveyed to me, in whatever form, also

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.1.

⁴⁵ Abrams, L. (2010). *Oral History Theory*, (p.5). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.15.

being used as evidence to support serious historical points (evidential model)⁴⁷ and to question long-held views as Perks and Thomson state:

When oral history is community-based it can be a liberating and participatory force, encouraging a reassessment of long-held beliefs or fostering new skills or breaking down racial and ageist stereotypes.⁴⁸

In so doing I have included anecdotal contributions and communal and personal reminiscences for oral history is at the end of the day subjective and fluid. However, I would also like to think that my interpretations of interviews have captured the meaning of the narrator accurately. Or, if not, that I have at least acted in good faith and have represented meaning as I have understood it, whether in Ukrainian or English, and have taken into account orality – the shape and rhythm of the speech, as these, as Portelli attests, reveal “important attributes of the story, the contents, the practice of telling and the culture which produces it (particular time and form).”⁴⁹ I have also tried to take note of the arrangement of the story in an interview and its dramatization, which may have involved diversions, ‘avoidance’, pregnant pauses, silences, gesticulations and emotive reactions. Occasionally, elder Ukrainian interviewees chose to respond in broken English to ensure I fully understood or to get their point across with more impact, for example, Anna Czerkas, who describes how Ukrainian workers were first treated in the textile mills in the late 1940s in the following terms, “It was horrible. We was called bloody foreigners.”⁵⁰ I convey this type of reported speech literally, whether it was communicated orally or in writing, to reflect the genuine tone and mood.

Methodology

Overall, twenty-eight people were recorded on a dictaphone. Twelve interviews were produced with surviving members of the early community, with only a few very elderly members not being interviewed as they were too infirm or their memories and communication skills were considered too fragmented to be reliable. Another sixteen interviews were conducted with first-generation children who are now in their forties, fifties

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (Eds.) (1998). *The Oral History Reader*, (p.361). London: Routledge.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.19.

⁵⁰ Interview with Anna Czerkas, of Marsh, Huddersfield, recorded on 4 May 2017.

and sixties who were also able to relay first-hand knowledge of their parents' and their own life stories.

Some interviews were semi-structured being guided by a specific set of prepared questions that were posed before the interview mutated into a conversation. Others were open-ended with the interviewee sharing his or her personal life story, or recounting past community events, although occasionally even these veered in different directions or were expanded upon following appropriate prompts. The intention, however, was always to create a democratic process where voices were not silenced or where the agenda was dominated by the interviewer. Some interviews even resulted in the recounting of personal or family achievements that were largely unrelated to the community's history, but these testimonies were part and parcel of the interview process whereby the interviewees were made to feel at ease, trusting of the interviewer and able to express themselves fully.

A fair number of conversations, discussions and 'chats' with community members were impromptu and as such were not recorded, but to omit these for the sake of protocol would also have resulted in the loss of valuable insights and recollections that were more often than not spontaneously triggered in a comfortable social setting (usually whilst drinking in the bar at the Ukrainian club or at a friend or colleague's house). Some conversations took place over the phone and there were also several written testimonies that were handed over in person or sent via email.

Where possible, written consent has been sought and granted by all interviewees or at least it has been offered verbally. The community was given regular reports regarding the progress of the project and members were intermittently asked to make contact if they did not wish to be mentioned by name or if they wanted certain information to be withheld.⁵¹ No-one came forward in this respect and several respondents were even able to confirm the accuracy of my writing by being able to check and sanction draft copies beforehand.

Indeed, the fact that I was personally acquainted with all interviewees who were largely very keen to cooperate in this project, regardless of age, gender or ethnicity, meant that I regularly operated in an environment of rapport and openness, with very few moments of awkwardness, suspicion or marked silence. Often arriving with tokens and gifts, and in turn being

⁵¹ Drapan, M. (2019, June). Personal communication on Facebook site: *Huddersfield Ukrainians*.

hospitably received with refreshments, I was able to engage in what Portelli describes as ‘deep exchanges’ on a number of levels,⁵² with give and take, collaboration, personal reminiscences, factual recollections, emotion and camaraderie on display.

Inherent in the intersubjective relationships at the heart of all oral history interviewing are power relations which it could be argued may have constrained certain people in their discussions with me (I have been Chairman of the Control Committee of the Huddersfield Branch of The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain for over thirty years, have acted as Head Teacher of the Ukrainian School, have been secretary and tutor of the Ukrainian Youth Association of Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and continue to represent the community as official MC and spokesman at public events). However, although constraints in discussion may have occurred, I was not consciously aware of any such instances (although I cannot deny the possibility, or in some cases the probability, of this. Or for that matter that certain people intentionally did not volunteer to be interviewed or deliberately withheld important or sensitive information). In fact, one or two interviewees and respondents actually took the opportunity to air past or present grievances, to highlight political, social and religious differences or to explain and to justify specific personal stances, but these were always made with good will and were reciprocated in kind. My dictaphone certainly did not elicit the same response as the one that met Robert Perks who interviewed in western Ukraine in the 1980s:

One woman from Stryi [...] seemed very on edge during the first part of the interview and only revealed later that she had first thought that we were from the KGB.

[...] It was only when she had seen my tape-recorder that she had known that we were who we said we were: it was far too sophisticated for the KGB! ⁵³

As the majority of surviving founder members had limited schooling as children and were from a part of the world where storytelling was a typical form of communication, some interviews come across as long, drawn-out tales with the overriding element being the dis-empowered (Ukrainians) battling against the dictatorial forces of authority (the Nazis and, in particular, the Soviet Russians). This could be seen as a kind of ‘master narrative’ which

⁵² Abrams, L. (2010). *Oral History Theory*, (p.10). Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge

⁵³ Perks, R. (1993). Ukraine's Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism. *Oral History*, 21.1, 43-53.

underpins the recounting of individual lives. Some of them, admittedly, have been heavily truncated, but they retain their authenticity and what distinguishes them from stories is that they are based on historical facts and not fiction. Similarly, with this book, although it incorporates elements of narration, it still relies on the accurate assembling and sampling of historical data and the reading of historical sources that have been validated against one another. However, as I am part of this history, total objectivity has not been possible or desirable. Indeed, subjectivity and intersubjectivity are unavoidable for the historian conducting interviews, as Abrams states:

Neutrality is not an option because we are part of the story. [...] the interview is a process that involves the dynamic interaction of subjectivities. [...] Both parties are playing roles by drawing upon their pasts and their own context to project particular 'selves' or identities. Intersubjectivity describes the interaction [...] between the two subjectivities of interviewer and interviewee. The interviewer actively constructs a subjectivity for him or herself and respondents actively devise appropriate performances in response.⁵⁴

As an active and fully-fledged member of the Ukrainian community for over sixty years my voice and memories obviously resonate heavily throughout the book, but it is now generally accepted that:

Oral history practice has begun to break down some of the genre boundaries surrounding scholarly writing, encouraging historians to engage more with a wider readership and to push at the envelope of traditional academic outputs by foregrounding the voices of those who inform the research. And oral history has tested the limits of conventional historical writing by privileging personal experience, allowing for subjectivity, celebrating memory's inconsistencies and forcing the historian to be reflexive about research practice.⁵⁵

And despite being aware of the importance of historians anchoring their interpretations on historical facts based on accurate chronology, names and places, I have been prepared to make allowances for lapses in memory when interviewing the eldest members of the

⁵⁴ Abrams, L. (2010). *Oral History Theory*, (p.58). Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge

⁵⁵ Abrams, L. (2010). *Oral History Theory*, (p.31). Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge

community. Some inaccuracies, absences and even silences were expected. Passerini refers to the latter when describing interviews with Italian workers who lived through the years of the fascist government:

There were two types of silences: (a) whole life-stories were told without any reference to fascism, except for casual ones [...]. A second type of silence can be found in (b) interviews with persons having some perception of the encroachment of institutional power upon their lives. Life-stories of such persons often present a striking chronological gap between 1922-23 [...] and the outbreak of World War II when fascism rose to power. ⁵⁶

In my case my eldest interviewees had largely grown up under Polish rule but it would be Nazi and Soviet cruelties that would leave a lasting and chilling impression. Remarkably, these experiences were relayed without hesitation, only rarely did I feel a subject was glossed over, as when the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists⁵⁷ came under discussion or as in the case of Andriy Prychidnyj who preferred to steer clear of all political and religious issues. Admittedly, some of my respondents had no personal knowledge or experience of this party's activities, although others may deliberately have been reluctant to speak about them in any depth. Antisemitism (albeit briefly), the activities of the NKVD (Soviet Secret Police) which was active in Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) when it was absorbed into the Soviet Union in 1939 and those of the Nazis, especially following their occupation of Ukraine in 1941, were recalled. Forced labourers were also clear and honest in recounting their experiences whilst working under the Third Reich or when interned in Displaced Persons Camps after the war. Members of the First Ukrainian Division (originally the 14th Grenadier Division of the Waffen-SS) were only too happy to discuss their wartime exploits, the circumstances governing their enlistment and their experiences in POW camps before their eventual arrival in Huddersfield. Although it has to be pointed out that as memories are often composed they may have been selected and consciously or subconsciously arranged for best dramatic effect or as a result of stress and trauma. Evidence of this can be seen in interviews with several Italian women whose traumatic accounts of events during the bombing of Monte Cassino,

⁵⁶ Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (Eds.) (1998). *The Oral History Reader*, (p.59). London: Routledge

⁵⁷ The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded in Vienna in 1929 and was particularly active in West Ukraine throughout the 1930s-1950s. Its objective was to awaken a patriotic consciousness that would lead the fight for Ukrainian independence through a voluntary, self-sacrificial, disciplined and often conspiratorial approach.

prior to their departure for England as EVWs and their eventual marriages to Ukrainian men in Huddersfield, make for interesting, and at times shocking, reading.

Memory and trauma

As Louisa Passerini states:

The field of memory is a battlefield in many ways, and it would perhaps be more apt to say that this century has given rise to a contradictory mixture of memory and oblivion.⁵⁸

This has resulted in both individuals and communities responding to 'memory' and remembrance in hugely contrasting ways, ranging from monumental acts of commemoration to partial or total silences.

Eva Hoffman, moreover, talks of a growing body of investigation and self reflection by second generation descendants of Holocaust survivors, for example, who have experienced 'transferred trauma' and 'deferred mourning'.⁵⁹ In the 1990s Marianne Hirsch described the relationship that these second generation descendants developed with the personal, collective and cultural trauma experienced by the first generation as postmemory.⁶⁰ She claimed the stories, patterns of behaviour and images that were passed on to them were so deep they became memories in their own right, rather than just transmitted narratives. Indeed, in some cases they came to dominate the lives of descendants so much they displaced their own life stories and caused them to live with a trauma that happened before they were even born.⁶¹ Second generation children have spoken of a deep sense of shame and guilt, of the loss of dead relatives, a desire to redress the past and to heal their parents' wounds.⁶² And yet many found themselves in the situation where their parents were unable or unwilling to discuss their harrowing pasts:

⁵⁸ Passerini, L. (2003). Memories between Silence and Oblivion. In K. Hodgkin, & S. Radstone (Eds.) *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*. (pp. 238-258) . London and New York: Routledge.

⁵⁹ Hoffman, E. (2010). The Long Afterlife of Loss. In S. Radstone, & B. Schwartz (Eds.) *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. (pp. 406-415) . New York: Fordham University.

⁶⁰ Hammel, A. (2019). 'I believe that my experience began in the womb and was later absorbed through my mother's milk': Second Generation Trauma Narratives. *German Life and Letters*, 72(4), 556-569. doi: <https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1111/glal.12249>.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Hoffman, E. (2010). The Long Afterlife of Loss. In S. Radstone, & B. Schwartz (Eds.) *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. (pp. 406-415) . New York: Fordham University.

There was a casting of a shadow, a transference of an immensely heavy burden. There were signals conveyed along subterranean passages from survivors to their descendants that injected anxiety into the latter's veins.⁶³

Those that grew up in an 'atmosphere of silence', in particular, refer to a grief, pain and sadness that permeated their homes but which they could not exorcise for fear of retriggering haunting memories that had been intentionally blocked out by probing too deeply into their parents' past lives.⁶⁴ Some even fell victim to a self-imposed censorship for fear of not being heard if they did speak out.⁶⁵

This issue is compounded further when Laub points out that survivors who did not share their stories:

[...] become victims of distorted memory [...]. The longer the story remains untold, the more distorted it becomes in the survivor's conception of it, so much so that the survivor doubts the reality of the actual events.⁶⁶

Survivors who share their traumas, however, do show remarkable bravery in reliving episodes of sorrow, pain and violence, taking into account that they might become particularly defensive to minimize the sense of abuse they suffered. But it is also highly likely that their stories will also be,"imaginary, fragmented or disputed and loaded with symbolism."⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the fear of their history being forgotten overrides the stress of participating in its recall. One must also be mindful, as Portelli suggests that:

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Hammel, A. (2019). 'I believe that my experience began in the womb and was later absorbed through my mother's milk': Second Generation Trauma Narratives. *German Life and Letters*, 72(4), 556-569. doi: <https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1111/glal.12249>.

⁶⁵ Leydesdorff, S., Dawson, G., Burchardt, N., & Ashplant, T. (1999). Introduction: Trauma and life stories. In K. Rogers, S. Leydesdorff, & G. Dawson (Eds.) *Trauma and Life Stories: International Perspectives*. (pp. 1-26) . London and New York: Routledge.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

The discrepancy between fact and memory [...] is not caused by faulty recollections [...] but actively and creatively generated by memory and imagination in an effort to make sense of crucial events and of history in general.⁶⁸

Ukrainians who survived the war, both within Ukraine and around the world, tend to fall into the category of those who have adopted an ‘act of forgetting’, often providing only snippets of traumatic past events, or preferring to maintain a partial or total silence. This, as Passerini suggests, can be partly attributable to the fact that Nazi and fascist crimes have been highlighted far more than those committed by Stalin, and partly as a result of a failure on the part of ‘Western European lefts’ to acknowledge and investigate Stalin’s oppressive regime.⁶⁹ However, with the breakup of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communist regimes in the late 1980s and early 1990s there has been an increased focus on hitherto unrecognised victims coming forward regarding their traumatic communist pasts. Nonetheless, the following dilemmas, as Charles and O’Loughlin state, still remain:

Because trauma fragments memory, telling the story is impeded by what is unknowable and what is unspeakable. [...]

When trauma is cultural as well as personal it becomes even more invisible, each generation’s attempts at coping push the pain further below the surface. That pain, then, becomes increasingly ineffable, thereby haunting the succeeding generations.⁷⁰

Even so attitudes of Ukrainian survivors of the Second World War and the *Holodomor* of 1932-3 have gradually changed over time, and especially since *glasnost*, with more Ukrainians willing to divulge details of their traumatic pasts. From the late 1920s to the early 1990s Soviet citizens were cocooned in a silence caused by deprivation, loss through wars and famine, political repression, a fear of arrest and deportation and even denunciation by spiteful neighbours, to the extent that family members concealed information from one another. Family histories, documents and photograph albums are littered with gaps and

⁶⁸ Portelli, A. (1991). *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories*, (p.26). Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

⁶⁹ Passerini, L. (2003). Memories between Silence and Oblivion. In K. Hodgkin, & S. Radstone (Eds.) *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*. (pp. 238-258) . London and New York: Routledge.

⁷⁰ Charles, M., & O’Laughlin, M. (2014). Fragments of Trauma: An Introduction. In M. O’Laughlin, & M. Charles (Eds.) *Fragments of trauma and the social production of suffering: trauma, history, and memory*. (pp. 3-24) . Lanham, USA: Rowman and Littlefield.

missing pages. Obviously, much has changed over all these people's lifetimes, not least regarding Ukraine's recent history, and it is important to take into account that these changes have influenced why people are now willing to speak, what they remember and how it is now perceived. Portelli writes:

Changes which may have subsequently taken place in the narrators' personal subjective consciousness or in their socio-economic standing, may affect, if not the actual recounting of prior events, at least the valuation and the 'coloring' of the story. Several people are reticent [...] when it comes to describing illegal forms of struggle, such as sabotage. This does not mean they do not remember them clearly, but that there has been change in their political opinions [or] personal circumstances [...]. Acts considered legitimate and even normal or necessary in the past may be therefore now viewed as unacceptable [...]. In these cases, the most precious information may lie in what the informants hide, and in the fact that they do hide it, rather in what they tell.⁷¹

It is little wonder then that there has been an 'outpouring of suppressed memories'⁷² since independence was declared in 1991 which has enabled some people to unburden themselves. This has resulted in more revelations of the life of Ukrainians during, and soon after the end of the Second World War, being exposed. And there is little doubt that, like the survivors of the Holocaust, Ukrainians who survived the war years experienced traumas of their own.

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⁷¹ Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (Eds.) (1998). *The Oral History Reader*, (p.69). London: Routledge

⁷² Leydesdorff, S., Dawson, G., Burchardt, N., & Ashplant, T. (1999). Introduction: Trauma and life stories. In K. Rogers, S. Leydesdorff, & G. Dawson (Eds.) *Trauma and Life Stories: International Perspectives*. (pp. 1-26) . London and New York: Routledge.

struggle, such as sabotage. This does not mean they do not remember them clearly, but that there has been change in their political opinions [or] personal circumstances [...]. Acts considered legitimate and even normal or necessary in the past may be therefore now viewed as unacceptable [...]. In these cases, the most precious information may lie in what the informants hide, and in the fact that they do hide it, rather in what they tell.⁷³

Although aware of this possibility, I cannot recall any specific examples (other than those previously mentioned) where this may have occurred.

It is the case that both Ukrainian men, and particularly women, who settled in Huddersfield post-1947 suffered shock or stress, especially at the point of their arrest by the Nazis and being taken away for forced labour. Some, like Sophia Semenytsh, were as young as twelve when they left their homelands and most were fully aware that if they tried to escape from German roundups they would be shot.⁷⁴ Melnyczuk speaks of self-inflicted illnesses (scabies caused by rubbing the skin with herbal preparations and burning the skin with caustic soda) or rushing into marriage and becoming pregnant, as a means of avoiding deportation.⁷⁵ Furthermore, there were many women, and men, who were threatened with family members being taken in their place or being shot if they did not cooperate.⁷⁶ Being separated from their families at a young age in an atmosphere of violence and intimidation and then being stripped naked before being deloused and herded on to cattle wagons before being sent to foreign lands would also have resulted in concealed memories. Those in the camps of Germany and Austria would then face starvation, malnutrition, abuse and pitiful housing. These terrible conditions were compounded further for those women who were fearful of being forced to work in brothels as prostitutes.⁷⁷

Understandably, these memories became the stuff of bad dreams and nightmares, some of which would remain eternally vivid but others which would become distorted and fragmented over time. Deonizyj Dumskyj can recall several traumatic incidents that he experienced

⁷³ Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (Eds.) (1998). *The Oral History Reader*, (p.69). London: Routledge

⁷⁴ Interview with the late Sophia Semenytsh, last residing in Moldgreen, Huddersfield, recorded on 21 March 2017.

⁷⁵ Melnyczuk, L. (2012). *Silent Memories - Traumatic Lives: Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia*, (pp.135-6). Welshpool, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p.137.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p.139.

during the war but the one that he remembers with the most clarity is the day in 1943 when all the young men from his village (he was only sixteen at the time) were taken at gunpoint by the Nazis and led to the local river where they were ordered to dig trenches:

We were forced to do this whilst in open view of Russian soldiers who shot at us from the opposite bank. I feared for my life, as did my poor mother.⁷⁸

Lindsey Dodd describes trauma as:

[...] a duality: an objective stressor, and a subjective response, manifests through particular symptoms. The stressor is an event or series of events, that involves ‘actual’ or threatened death or serious injury or other threat to one’s physical integrity’ or that of another person. [...] A traumatised response shows ‘intense fear, helplessness, or horror’.⁷⁹

Deonizij’s shocking experience clearly meets this definition of trauma and the clear and vivid details provided in his narrative merely strengthen the case, for these are:

[...] descriptions which Jane Robinett associates with traumatic events: as though time stands still, and all details are recorded in a flash.⁸⁰

Anna Czerkas, on the other hand, in speaking of the kindness she received from a German woman who took her under her wing whilst she was based in Ludwigshafen, Germany, and procured her a job in a hotel kitchen, suddenly veered off at a tangent at this point and her recollections became somewhat vague and fragmentary. It is possible that she too was showing symptoms of trauma that fall under the category of ‘avoidance’: whereby a person becomes detached and is reluctant to talk about certain events.⁸¹ However, her son, Michael

⁷⁸ Dumskyj, D. (2019, December). Personal communication. Deonizyj Dumskyj is a former chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, past secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and past and current member of several committees at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club) in Huddersfield.

⁷⁹ Robinett, J. (2007). ‘The narrative shape of traumatic experience’, *Literature and Medicine*, 26 (2), 290-311, p. 293, cited in Dodd, L. (2013). ‘It did not traumatise me at all’: childhood ‘trauma’ in French oral narratives of wartime bombing. *Oral History*, 41 (2), 37-48. doi: <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/19768>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Dodd, L. (2013). ‘It did not traumatise me at all’: childhood ‘trauma’ in French oral narratives of wartime bombing. *Oral History*, 41 (2), 37-48. doi: <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/19768>.

Czerkas, who was present during the interview, interjected at this moment and relayed a particularly stressful event that his mother experienced during her time at the hotel - an event which she may have deliberately wished to forget :

My mum told me a story [...]. My mum and her friends smuggled some food out of the hotel to give to these Jewish people who were starving, got caught by the manager, and were told, 'If I ever see you doing that again it will be ... ' (Michael simulated a slit throat).⁸²

Over the last twenty years such revelations have been transmitted to second and third generation Ukrainians who in turn have developed a real enthusiasm and curiosity for uncovering details about their own personal family backgrounds and sharing information concerning the *Divizija*, life in labour and DP camps and early émigré life in the United Kingdom post-1947. One only has to see the huge interest generated by internet sites such Ukrainian History UK where documents and photographs are uploaded on a daily basis. However, unlike the descendants of Jewish Holocaust survivors, but fully accepting that, “trauma is contagious and transmissible from survivors to listeners, witnesses and subsequent generations,”⁸³ I would argue that second and third generation Ukrainians, especially in the West, are less torn by feelings of shame, guilt, hurt, anxiety, anger or depression but more by remorse for not having spoken with their parents whilst they were alive and for not having insisted on discovering the full details of their parents’ life stories and recording them whilst they had the opportunity.

This is exemplified in the growing number of second and third generation Ukrainians from Huddersfield who have visited Ukraine over recent years. They have not only been keen to make contact with extended family members but to discover their parents’ birthplaces, to learn about their pasts, particularly their childhoods, in the hope of making sense of, and empathising with, what they lived through, as Diana Hakimian states:

⁸² Interview with Anna Czerkas, of Marsh, Huddersfield, recorded on 4 May 2017 in the presence of her son, Michael Czerkas (born) who briefly interjected on her behalf.

⁸³ Ibid.

I needed to go back to my Dad's village to see it. His house does not stand anymore because it was taken over. All his family were sent to Siberia.⁸⁴

Some, like Roman and Ihor Krawec, Evhen Iwaniw and Bohdan Czerniuch have even visited farms in Germany and Austria where their parents were stationed during the war. Bohdan Czerniuch declared that on travelling to the farm where his mother was placed between 1942 and 1948 (near Salzburg in Austria):

A farmer came running out shouting, 'Helena! Helena! Helena!'⁸⁵

This was the name of Bohdan's mother and the farmer, who was a child during the war, instantly recognised a striking resemblance between mother and son.

There must, however, be some Ukrainians who have suffered from transferred trauma, especially, but not only, in Ukraine. Melnyczuk provides the example of Anna, the daughter of Ukrainian migrant refugees who settled in Western Australia after the war.⁸⁶ They had deliberately not discussed their family history with Anna until the *glasnost* period as a result of a latent fear of Soviet authorities. Anna admitted to inheriting a similar deep-seated fear within herself that was manifested in 'a lack of confidence and social inhibition' that she puts down to her mother's upbringing.⁸⁷ How true this is of second generation Ukrainians living in the United Kingdom I am uncertain, but Anna Drapan still remembers how, as a young girl at junior school, she had to play a game that involved stepping forward if she had an uncle, aunt, grandmother etc. by such or such a name. Not knowing anything at that time about her family in Ukraine she recalls feeling very awkward. Regardless, she decided to play along and invented a series of falsehoods for fear of being humiliated if she did not participate:⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Interview with Diana Hakimian and Maria Szpak of Gledholt and Birkby, Huddersfield, recorded on 19 July 2017.

⁸⁵ Interview with Michael and Bohdan Czerniuch of Kirkburton and Shelley, Huddersfield, recorded on 29 November 2019.

⁸⁶ Melnyczuk, L. (2012). *Silent Memories - Traumatic Lives: Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia*, (p.228). Welshpool, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Drapan, A. (2020, February). Personal communication.

I knew nothing about my relatives in Ukraine as a child. The game brought to mind mention of names such as Maria, Pawlina, Mykola and Mychajlo but I knew those names would not be called out.⁸⁹

Dealing with a sensitive topic

The purpose and tone of the book project are of celebrating the achievements of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield. However, as with most exiled communities, over their seventy-year history Huddersfield Ukrainians have intermittently faced challenges regarding ‘sensitivities’ of a political, religious, regional and social nature. These are discussed in varying degrees throughout the project, with possibly the most controversial being the role of the *Divizija* (The 14th Grenadier Division of the Waffen-SS Galicia, later to be renamed the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army) in the fighting on the Eastern Front during the last years of the Second World War. The dissertation pays particular attention to allegations that it had been involved in war crimes and examines the government’s motives and actions that eventually resulted in a large number of its members being permanently relocated to Britain. As over fifty of these men arrived in Huddersfield from 1948 and became highly influential in the running of community affairs, their contribution to community life cannot be overlooked and their stories have to be recounted. These former combatants would come to dominate internal politics at the Ukrainian Club for over forty years, with the vast majority of Chairmen of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), the central organisation behind the running of the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club), coming from the *Divizija*’s ranks.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to research this particular topic in the depth I would have liked as only four surviving *Divizijnyky* were capable of being interviewed - Volodymyr Szpak, Andriy Prychidnyj, Stefan Klymczak and Wasyl Tertiuk of Welwyn Garden City - the latter has never been part of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community but his testimony has been included as he has provided very important detail regarding how he and my father, Stefan Drapan (deceased), were recruited. A short but revealing autobiographical piece of writing by former soldier Mychajlo Fryszczyn (deceased) was also given to me by his family. I have attempted to use information gleaned from all these former soldiers to portray the complexities surrounding becoming a volunteer in the *Divizija* at a time when choices were

⁸⁹ Ibid.

restricted, pressures were confusing and outcomes were unknown. Over time there have been numerous slurs made against the *Divizija* for being ideologically collaborationist with the Nazis and of participating in atrocities involving the massacre of Poles and Jews but I can confirm that these men did not so much as hint at any Nazi fascist leanings, nor of any involvement or knowledge of war crimes, or give the impression that they had something to hide. Admittedly, the number of *Divizijnyky* I interviewed was heavily restricted by availability and the fact that they all live locally. However, because this project is specifically about the Huddersfield Ukrainian community it is understandable why I focused solely on its members rather than the *Divizija* as a whole. In doing so I found myself partially relating to Wasyl Nimenko when he writes about his father's secret past life (also a former *Divizijnyk*) in the following terms:

Part of me felt that it was more sensible to let sleeping dogs lie rather than to wake them up and attract the attention of people who may not understand. [...] Throughout my childhood I tried to ask him questions, but eventually I stopped because I got no answers.⁹⁰

However, I have to admit that whilst growing up I rarely asked my father about his past and certainly never discussed his wartime activities, which in hindsight I now deeply regret - the same can probably be said of many of my Ukrainian friends and colleagues. Historian David Cesarini, in particular, is highly critical of how the government, and more specifically the Foreign Office, granted permission for over eight thousand *Divizijnyky* to be shipped from POW camps in Italy in 1947 and to be resettled in the United Kingdom as European Voluntary Workers, claiming:

The EVW programmes which were intended to relieve the critical shortage of manpower in Britain, were turned into a chute down which to eject 'politically embarrassing elements'; British mines, farms and factories were to be the immediate dumping ground.⁹¹

He further states that, while genuine DPs (Displaced Persons) and distressed relatives struggled with red tape and bureaucratic delays to get into the United Kingdom, former

⁹⁰ Nimenko, W. (2015). *Searching in Secret Ukraine*, (p.5). Hitchin: Goalpaths Books.

⁹¹ Cesarini, D. (1992). *Justice Delayed*, (p.108). London: William Heinemann Ltd.

Ukrainian soldiers had been transformed from “international pariahs to potential citizens of Great Britain.”⁹²

Such allegations about the *Divizija*, and in particular those of *The Times* journalist Tom Bower, are addressed in Chapter Two, whilst the circumstances which governed why and how five specific Huddersfield *Divizijnyky* joined up – those where evidence has been unearthed – are described in Chapter One.

In concluding my introduction, I reiterate my main purpose; that is, that my dissertation, and subsequent work, not only explain when, how and why a Ukrainian community was established in Huddersfield but also portray how over the last seventy years the Huddersfield Ukrainian Club has acted as a fulcrum of Ukrainian culture, religion, education, politics and social affairs. My work also aims to address a number of hitherto unanswered questions about the life of Ukrainians in the locality and attempts to provide inspiration to those tasked with the responsibility of ensuring the community’s continued existence. More importantly, I hope to do justice to the unsung members of the community, across all generations, that deserve to have their significant, voluntary and often unrecognised contributions preserved in writing.

⁹² Ibid. p.107.

Chapter 1: Leaving Home (1939-1945)

The make-up of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community at the time of its establishment

The origins of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield can be traced back to 1946 when the British Government first invited European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) to seek employment in the United Kingdom in sectors experiencing labour shortages as a result of the upheavals of the Second World War.⁹³ This policy proved especially attractive to many Ukrainians who had first-hand experience of the harsh realities of life under a cruel dictatorship, be it Stalin's Russia, Hitler's Nazi Germany or both and were at that time dispersed and confined in Displaced Persons Camps or Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Austria and Italy. Indeed, temporarily homeless and penniless, the vast majority were only too happy to travel west to seek opportunities to start new lives whilst keeping their hopes, dreams and ambitions alive of one-day returning home to a Ukraine that was free from the shackles of the newly enlarged Soviet Union. To many this voyage to a new world, therefore, was only a temporary stop-gap, believing they would be reunited with their families in an independent Ukraine in the not too distant future. Meanwhile, the industrial West Yorkshire town of Huddersfield with its large number of well-established textile mills and engineering firms, offered such an opportunity and when it opened its doors to prospective new residents and workers, Ukrainians thankfully accepted the offer with both hands.

Ukrainian EVWs who began arriving in Huddersfield from 1947 formed a very diverse group. For example, there were four times as many men as women and though most were single a small number had married in Ukraine, in the camps of Germany and Austria, where some had even started families, or at the first work camps and hostels on arriving in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, the majority were Ukrainian Catholics who had been born in West Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) but there was also a minority who originated from Central Ukraine and tended to follow the doctrines of the Orthodox Church. Largely of agricultural stock few had finished their schooling in Ukraine before being put to work on their family smallholdings, but again a small number had been educated in fee-paying grammar schools (*gymnasiums*) and colleges (*lyceums*) intending to follow professional careers but for the war.

⁹³ Krawec, R. (2010). *European Voluntary Workers*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/evw-e.htm>.

Such differences were also reflected in how and why these EVWS came to leave their homeland. In this respect most of them could be broadly categorised as follows:

- Forced labourers taken to Germany and Austria by the Nazi regime
- Volunteer labourers who took the opportunity to leave their homes to seek employment in the Third Reich
- Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces
- *Divizijnyky* – former combatants of 14th Waffen-SS Grenadier Division Galicia (later renamed the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army)
- Ex Red Army soldiers conscripted by the Soviets, who were later captured by the Germans
- Members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)⁹⁴
- Ukrainian political activists and intelligentsia who had either been imprisoned in German concentration camps or had fled west from Soviet occupation.

It can be said that the majority of the earliest settlers arriving in Huddersfield from 1947 tended to be from the first two categories, that is, they were either forced labourers, or to a lesser extent volunteer labourers who had been taken to different parts of the Third Reich to work on farms and in industries supporting the Nazi war effort.

An initial reluctance to speak

Recollections of how and why Ukrainian EVWs first left their homeland and finally arrived among the billowing chimney stacks of Huddersfield are at once interesting, varied and often harrowing. Unfortunately, many of the founder members of the Huddersfield community have passed away and their stories have gone with them, resulting in certain minority groups, for example, those born outside West Ukraine or serving in the Red Army or Polish forces

⁹⁴ Ukrainian Insurgent Army [UPA] – this was primarily an army of resistance that was organised in 1942-3. Its military activities were mainly directed against Soviet and German forces in Western Ukraine. Disbanded in 1949, certain units were still operating clandestinely in Soviet Ukraine until the mid-1950s.

not being personally covered. What is more, in the past there was a reticence on the part of practically all Ukrainian immigrants to discuss and share their personal, emotional and possibly controversial memoirs. Fortunately, since Ukraine gained its independence in 1991, there has been a greater willingness among all generations of Ukrainians, and those associated with them, to speak about former times. It has recently become less challenging to record people's war memoirs or their thoughts on life in Britain since the community was established in 1948. This initial reluctance to speak of the past probably stems from an original fear of repatriation, the fear of being sent back to live under a repressive regime and of negative personal or family consequences should one 'go public'.⁹⁵ Historian Michael Melnyk informed me of his own father's real horror at the prospect of repatriation that persuaded him (Petro Melnyk) and his best friend (Mychajlo Duskursky) also a former *Divizyjnyk*, to purchase a boat, pack it with provisions and to moor it in a secret location on the Norfolk Broads near to Great Yarmouth, in case of such an eventuality.⁹⁶

A common theme that emerges when interviewing Ukrainians born in post-war Britain is that our parents – the first generation of post-war arrivals – never spoke about the war. The only interviewee who recalls hearing snippets of a rather sensitive and disturbing conversation is John Markowycz Jnr who happened to be playing under the kitchen table when he inadvertently overheard one of his father's friends recounting a traumatic personal event. John remembers how his father, Ivan (John) Markowycz Snr, and two of his compatriots were reminiscing about the war over a bottle of samohonka (home distilled vodka) when one of them, Mychajlo (Michael) Czerniuch Snr, revealed that he had been lined up against a wall in front of a Soviet firing squad. The soldier assigned to shoot Mychajlo missed but the latter still intentionally slumped to the ground and feigned death. He was placed on top of a mass of bodies and taken away by horse and cart but as it was dusk the bodies were left unburied which gave him the opportunity to make his escape. John further remembers how his mother, suddenly noticing that he was still playing under the table, shouted, "*Ivan! Na Horu! Spaty!*" ("John! Upstairs! Get to bed!").⁹⁷

⁹⁵Lapan, T. (2010). The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *HITLER'S SLAVES: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (pp.238-249). New York: Berghahn Books.

⁹⁶ Melnyk, M. (2019, May). Personal communication.

⁹⁷ Interview with John Markowycz Jnr (born 26 May 1962) of Meltham, Huddersfield, recorded on 21 June 2019.

John's account is certainly an exception (even though it was never meant for his ears) as it was rare for our parents to tell us anything about their early lives, or if they did, it tended to be vague, as if they were consciously hiding something or fearful of saying too much. As Melnychuk states a 'code of silence' emerged which she states was "a method of protecting against the disorder of life and violence to which people had been subjected".⁹⁸ It may also be linked to the fact that forging and faking identity papers, especially dates of birth, were commonplace, as these actions may have prevented forced repatriation, enforced slave labour and conscription, or may have assisted in the procurement of more favourable employment.⁹⁹ Angelina Kybaluk, (née Matteo), only discovered the true age of her husband, Ivan Kybaluk, towards the end of his life, when after a serious illness, he revealed that the date of birth in his personal documents was false. He informed her that he had taken the place of his father when the Nazis imposed a quota for forced labour on the village of Zalizni, in the Ternopil region of West Ukraine. Leaving home with his uncle on 2 June 1942, but soon separated, he found himself in a job selection queue in Germany where an old Ukrainian advised him that in order to procure better employment he should register as nineteen years old and not sixteen (See Appendix 2: Image 1). From this time on his records list 1923 as his year of birth (See Appendix 2: Images 16-18). This remained his secret until the day he expressed the wish, that when his time came to leave this earth, his monumental stone be inscribed with his genuine date of birth (22 June 1926).¹⁰⁰ Burying Ivan in Lockwood Cemetery, Huddersfield, his family have ensured that his last wishes have been respected.

It is also likely that many Ukrainians wanted to move forward with their lives, to integrate and further their education, but more importantly that of their children, rather than burdening them with haunting memories of the past that they wished to wipe from their memory banks.¹⁰¹ Many community members, including my own parents, were also fearful of jeopardising the lives of family members back in Ukraine. Not surprisingly, therefore,

⁹⁸ Melnychuk, L. (2012). *Silent Memories - Traumatic Lives: Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia*, (p.191). Welshpool, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum.

⁹⁹ Grinchenko, G. (2010). Oral Histories of Former Ukrainian Ostarbeiter. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (pp.250-261). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Angelina Kybaluk (born 7 April 1936) of Birkby, Huddersfield, recorded on 17 August 2017.

¹⁰¹ Thonfeld, C. (2010). Former Forced Labourers as Immigrants in Great Britain. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (pp.324-335). New York: Berghahn Books.

suspicious sentiments do still resurface, even in the present, as one *Divizijnyk* recently warned at the conclusion of his interview, “Be careful who you speak to.”¹⁰²

Michael Melnyk also states that:

In the United Kingdom there was always a reluctance to admit to having served on the side of the Germans because the complexities of Eastern European politics to this day have never been understood by the British public. [Furthermore] Ukrainian veterans of the Galician Division were thankful to be alive (especially after the forced repatriations of the Cossacks) and with some having wives and families in Ukraine, thinking they would never see them again and not wishing to burden their English families with their tainted past they seldom or ever talked about the past.¹⁰³

He further adds that there were a number of former *Divizijnyky* who were sworn to secrecy and were not able to discuss their wartime and post-war experiences as a result of being recruited by British government agencies to engage in highly classified and sensitive actions, namely: in espionage against the Soviet Union; as sappers employed in clearing mines littered across Britain’s southern and eastern coastlines.¹⁰⁴

With regard to the former, Melnyk states that in the late 1940s and 1950s Western secret intelligence services, in particular the British, enlisted veterans of the *Divizija* in clandestine Cold War activities against the Soviets. MI6’s Northern Division, moreover, pulled the strings regarding Operation Integral - run by Harry Carr - which involved sending agents into Soviet Ukraine:

Recruitment was undertaken in conjunction with ‘K3’ a secret courier and intelligence unit which was developed and encompassed people from different sections of OUN-B.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Interview with Stefan Klymczak (born 9 January 1925) of Longwood, Huddersfield, recorded on 27 September 2017.

¹⁰³ Melnyk, M. (2019, May). Personal communication.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Melnyk, M. (2016). *The History of the Galician Division of the Waffen-SS. Volume 2: Stalin's Nemesis*, (p. 289). Stroud, UK: Fonthill Media.

Some eighty recruits were given parachute training, tuition in radio code transmission, decryption, photography and unarmed combat in preparation for being dropped in Ukraine and linking up with the UPA to gather information about the Soviets and to stir up rebellion.¹⁰⁶

Although initial drops that began in July 1948 proved successful, they were doomed to failure in the long term. A Soviet agent had infiltrated 'K3' and there was a mole within the leadership of MI6 itself. Master spy Kim Philby was responsible for tipping off the Soviets providing them with precise information regarding the date, time and destination of subsequent drops. This enabled Soviet security forces to speedily capture the agents on landing and to shoot the majority of them.¹⁰⁷

I have no information as to whether any former members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community were recruited as agents but former branch secretary of the AUGB and Social Club *Kalyna* chairman, Deonizyj Dumskyj, remembers how his closest friend (Mychajlo Rybak born in the village of Mozoliwka in 1928) surreptitiously informed him that he was due to be dropped in Poland but was never seen or heard of again. Deonizyj tried writing to several organisations for information regarding his whereabouts but to no avail.¹⁰⁸

Concerning the sensitive subject of clearing coastal minefields, I can confirm that former community member Dmytro Dudyszczyn, a veteran of the *Divizja* who returned to his homeland permanently in his later years, told me on several occasions that he had served as a civilian deminer in the British army before coming to Huddersfield. According to Roly Evans:

As in other European countries many prisoners of war (POW) were co-opted into the dangerous clearance efforts. In 1946, around 1,200 Ukrainian POWs were employed as deminers in the United Kingdom. Although all were eligible for repatriation by 1948, some chose to stay as civilian employees of the Royal

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Melnyk, M. (2016). *The History of the Galician Division of the Waffen-SS. Volume 2: Stalin's Nemesis*, (p. 295). Stroud, UK: Fonthill Media.

¹⁰⁸ Dumskyj, D. (2018, February). Personal communication. Deonizyj is a former chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, past secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and member of several committees at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club) in Huddersfield.

Engineers in a unit called the Mixed Services Organisation. Some would remain working with the Royal Engineers into the 1980s.¹⁰⁹

Leaving their homes behind - recollections of Huddersfield Ukrainians

To understand and empathise fully with the ordeals of Ukrainian immigrants, moreover, one has to be cognisant of the historical environment in which they were living at the time of their departure. As previously stated, most Ukrainians arriving in post-war Huddersfield originated from West Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) which until 1939 was under Polish rule. With the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact on 28 September 1939, between the dictatorships of Hitler and Stalin, following the successful Nazi invasion of Poland, the Soviets were able to enlarge the Soviet Republic of Ukraine by absorbing the lands of Eastern Galicia (West Ukraine), formally completing the annexation by 15 November 1939. Western Galicia, however, remained in defeated Poland and so came under Nazi occupation (See Appendix 1: Image 1). Numerous Ukrainians from this region would be among the first people from Eastern Europe to find themselves either voluntarily or forcibly tilling the land under the supervision of German or Austrian *bauers* (farmers), toiling underground in cavernous coal mines, sweating amid the blazing furnaces of steelworks or crammed into armament, uniform, boot, transport and canning factories spread across the Third Reich.

They would have witnessed first-hand the repressive actions of Heydrich's *Einsatzgruppen* (Security Police) in eliminating educated echelons of defeated enemies – Poles, Jews and Ukrainians alike. What is more, they would have come under the control of Hans Frank's 'General Gouvernement'¹¹⁰ whose task, under the direct command of Heinrich Himmler, was to initially exploit but eventually eliminate from this 'dumping ground' all unwanted alien elements and, as part of the 'Final Solution', replace them with German nationals. To accomplish this and to maintain control the Security Services had the power to issue death sentences, to exterminate people in their thousands and to take them by force to work for the 'Fatherland'.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Evans, R. World War II Coastal Minefields in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Conventional Weapons Destruction*, 21 (1), 33-41. Retrieved from <https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/cisr-journal/vol21/iss1/9>.

¹¹⁰ Snyder, T. (2011). *Bloodlands*, (p.126). London: Vintage.

¹¹¹ Snyder, T. (2011). *Bloodlands*, (p. 128). London: Vintage.

Anna Krawec (born 26 July 1922) late of Marsh, Huddersfield, a former secretary of the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) was from the village of Uhorka, near Jaroslav in West Galicia and was one of the first affected by Poland's defeat, indeed by April 1940. Her son, Ihor Krawec, recorded her war memories on 12 November 2014 and is able, along with his brother Roman, to share clear details of her journey to Huddersfield.¹¹² He states that it was the *Viyt's* (village headman/mayor) responsibility to allocate members of the village to satisfy Nazi quotas for forced labour. Families with large numbers of siblings, in Anna's case there were 'seven or eight children', would be top of the list. Originally, his mother was not supposed to go:

[...] my mother's elder brother, [my uncle Mychajlo], he was due to go but because their father was not very well, his health was not good having been injured in the First World War, they decided that he needed help on the farm and so my mother volunteered to take her brother's place. [...] As it turned out a month later my uncle also had to go to Germany.¹¹³

Anna believed she would be home within a few months but this residence in Germany was to last eight long years and would take in employment at three different farms. The first, fortunately, proved short-lived. Assigned to a German farmer's wife in the village of Nittendorf, whose husband was away fighting with the Wehrmacht, Anna, at the tender age of seventeen, was not spared from very heavy work in all conditions (See Appendix 2: Image 2). Even when she slipped on some ice one day, whilst carrying pails of milk, and fractured a limb, "the farmer's wife, more or less forced my mum to work despite her injury." Luckily, neighbours took pity on her, culminating in reports of maltreatment being passed to the local authorities and the local German police transferring her to a farm in Undorf. Generally, working and living conditions were much improved and Anna remained on this farm until the end of the war in 1945. However, her employer in Undorf now encouraged her to leave, as he had been a Nazi sympathiser and was afraid of sensitive information being disclosed, so Anna subsequently moved again, this time to a market garden in Niederwinzer, near Regensburg. By chance, she came upon a Ukrainian newspaper advertising job opportunities for European Voluntary Workers in the United Kingdom and quickly visited a Displaced

¹¹² Interview with Ihor Krawec (born 20 July 1956) of Marsh, Huddersfield, recorded on 20 October 2017.

¹¹³ Ibid.

Person's Camp to make a formal application to leave Germany. Six months later, it now being 1948, she received a telegram giving her forty-eight hours' notice to be prepared to embark for England. With the farmer temporarily away on business, Anna took the initiative to forge his signature to confirm her discharge. Within a month, following a train ride to the Hook of Holland, a ferry to Felixstowe, a temporary two week stay at Full Sutton Transit Camp near York, Anna was walking down the steps of Huddersfield railway station on a grey November day in 1948.

Anna's story is in no way unusual and would be replicated many times in one form or another, especially by Ukrainians from East Galicia (West Ukraine) who would form the bulk of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community established in 1948.

On 17 September 1939, as the Nazis began to bomb Lviv, the capital of West Ukraine (East Poland/East Galicia at that time), the Soviet Red Army made their approach from the east under the guise of a 'peacekeeping mission' to protect Ukrainian and Belorussian minorities.¹¹⁴ Led by General Tymoshenko, a deliberately Ukrainian sounding name, and calling themselves the Ukrainian front, they came bearing gifts. Taking more than 100,000 prisoners of war, including some 15,000 Polish officers, of whom many were intellectuals and educated professionals, the majority were sent east to Soviet Gulags or faced execution. Communists quickly filled the void in managerial and local government posts with some being given to Ukrainians, unheard of during Polish rule. There was an initial encouragement of everything Ukrainian - culture, language, further education. There was a promise of land distribution among the farming classes. Eastern Galicians, however, were deeply suspicious of Soviet motives remembering only too well the Holodomor of 1932-3 which resulted in the forced starvation of over 6 million Ukrainian farmers as a result of Stalin's policy of enforced collectivisation and his purges of 1937-8 which saw thousands of Ukrainians executed or exiled.¹¹⁵

These suspicions were confirmed within months. Following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which redefined the borders between Nazi-occupied Poland and the Soviet Union, some 4.5 million Ukrainians (East Galicians) faced the nightmare prospect of being absorbed into the

¹¹⁴ Snyder, T. (2011). *Bloodlands*, (p.124). London: Vintage.

¹¹⁵ Subtelny, O. (1986). The Soviet Occupation of Western Ukraine, 1939-1941: An Overview. In Y. Boshyk (Ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, (pp.5-14). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Forced to register for internal passports, the NKVD (the Soviet Secret Police) began a term of mass arrests and forced enlistment, attempting to control all aspects of human life. Thousands of young Ukrainians were drafted into the Red Army.¹¹⁶ Anyone considered a threat to the Soviet regime found themselves on cattle trains bound for the gulags of Kazakhstan and Siberia, dying in their thousands from starvation and hardship in the camps or executed on route. Ukrainian political parties were banned and their leadership outlawed. By 1940 Ukrainian educational, cultural and economic organisations were closed down, whilst in the countryside the harsh realities of collectivisation began to bite as individual Ukrainian families were combined into *kolkhozes* (collective farms). The Ukrainian Catholic Church's priests were forced to carry special passports. Anyone refusing to succumb to Soviet rule or to accept their blatant propaganda was arrested. Nationalist sympathies were driven further underground as politicians, landowners, bureaucrats, professionals, industrialists and priests were rounded up. False accusations by jealous neighbours or even a letter to a relative in the west could result in several years of hard labour.¹¹⁷

These were the repressive conditions Ukrainians were living under when the Germans made their lightning strike on East Galicia (West Ukraine) during the week of 22-29 June 1941. To make matters worse, the NKVD, caught unawares by the speed of the Nazi assault, now began to indiscriminately torture, mutilate and slaughter inmates of prisons across West Ukraine, even those who were awaiting questioning (See Appendix 2: Image 3).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, on retreating eastwards into Russia the Soviets blew up cities, dismantled some 50,000 factories and plants, destroyed huge food supplies and confiscated 45 per cent of Ukrainian cattle.¹¹⁹ It is little wonder that the majority of Ukrainians were overjoyed to see the Russians leave. Many believed there could not be an enemy as savage as the Russians and were hopeful of improved prospects under the Germans, including the opportunity to seek employment in Germany. It was rumoured in the early years of the war that Germans treated voluntary foreign workers reasonably well, paying them the same as German workers and

¹¹⁶ Snyder, T. (2011). *Bloodlands*, (p. 128). London: Vintage.

¹¹⁷ Subtelny, O. (1986). The Soviet Occupation of Western Ukraine, 1939-1941: An Overview. In Y. Boshyk (Ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, (pp. 5-14). University of Alberta, Edmonton Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. (p.12).

¹¹⁹ Krawchenko, B. (1986). Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation, 1941-4. In Y. Boshyk(Ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, (pp.15-47). University of Alberta, Edmonton:Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

providing bearable living conditions, with few restrictions. Indeed, Tetyana Lapan goes so far as to say that Galician Ukrainians, “were regarded by the Germans as ‘semi-sympathy foreigners’.”¹²⁰ Stephen Telka further points out that, “Despite their common ethnicity the two groups of Ukrainians (those from Poland and those from the Soviet Union) were classified differently and thus afforded differing treatment in Germany.”¹²¹ Tables 1 and 2, below, compiled by Mark Spoerer, provide evidence to show that Soviet Ukrainians were considered ethnically inferior, and had to live on lower wages and rations than their Galician kinsmen whose pay and labour rights were comparable to Western workers.

Fig. 1: The Hierarchy of Foreign Workers in Nazi Germany¹²²

1	Workers from Allied and neutral countries: <i>Italians (until 1943), Bulgarians, Croatians, Rumanians, Slovakiens, Spaniards and Hungarians</i>
2	Workers from occupied North, West and Southeast Europe: <i>Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, French, Czechs, Serbs, Greeks</i>
3	Workers from Baltic Countries and Non-ethnic Polish citizens from General Gouvernement and Bialystok County: <i>Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Polish-Ukrainians, Polish-Byelorussians</i>
4	Ethnic Poles
5	Workers from the Soviet Union (<i>excluding Baltic countries, Poles, Eastern Galicia</i>); Italians (from 1943)

¹²⁰ Lapan, T. (2010). The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (p.248). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹²¹ Telka, S. (2008). *Ukrainian Labourers in Nazi Germany, 1939-1945*, (p.4). Ottawa: Carleton University.

¹²² Spoerer, M. (2001). *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz: Auchsländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und Haflinge im Deutschen Reich und im besetzten Europa 1939-1945*, (pp.91-2). Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. In Telka, S. (2008). *Ukrainian Labourers in Nazi Germany, 1939-1945*, (p.42). Ottawa: Carleton University.

6	Jews, Roma and Sinti
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Fig. 2: Ruhr Valley mine salary costs, per worker, per day (February 1944 in Reichsmarks)¹²³

	Taxes	Mandatory State Deduction	Severance Pay	Room and Board	Net Pay	Labour Costs (% of German labour cost)
Germans	0.33	2.26	0.00	1.22	8.72	12.53
Western Workers	0.33	2.26	0.91	3.33	6.60	13.44
Polish Ukrainians and Byelorussians	0.33	1.90	0.91	3.33	6.60	13.07
Poles	1.37	1.86	0.61	3.33	5.36	12.53
Ostarbeiter	1.38	0.48	0.00	3.30	1.86	7.02
Western P.O.W.s	1.26	0.31	0.00	3.32	1.68	6.57
Soviet P.O.W.s	1.30	0.16	0.00	3.33	0.40	5.19

Lapan further explains that the initial success of voluntary recruitment and deportation to Germany from Galicia was down to the establishment of the Ukrainian Central Committee whose aim was, “to protect Ukrainians in the district of Galicia against any moves towards the excessive recruitment of slave labourers for the Reich as well as to assist Galicians already living there,” providing workers with important national identity documents which

¹²³ Spoerer, M. (2001). *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz: Auchsländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und Häftlinge im Deutschen Reich und im besetzten Europa 1939-1945*, (p.185). Stuttgart: Deutsche. In Telka, S. (2008). *Ukrainian Labourers in Nazi Germany, 1939-1945*, (p.101). Ottawa: Carleton University.

could ensure certain privileges.¹²⁴ What is more, she states that, “since the end of the nineteenth century the poorest section of the population had constituted a mobile workforce,” and, therefore, “the ‘export’ of manpower was long since common in Galicia.”¹²⁵ She also adds that:

The reasons for voluntary departure of Ukrainians included: the hope of acquiring a good profession or education, or of learning foreign languages; interest in the life of people abroad; the prospect of escaping the difficult living conditions in the German-occupied territories; the persuasiveness of German propaganda; and last but not least, the famine and unemployment artificially created by the occupying power in Central, Eastern and Southern Ukraine.¹²⁶

These reasons, no doubt, had a major influence on Volodymyr (Walter) Szpak, born 20 September 1923, of Fartown, Huddersfield, a former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna* and the Organisation of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch). Volodymyr vividly recalls how in late 1941, following the onslaught of Operation Barbarossa and Eastern Galicia falling under Nazi occupation (See Appendix 1: Image 2), he voluntarily left the village of Siemuszowa, near the town of Sanok in the Subcarpathians, and travelled to Hamburg to work in a boot factory which turned out military footwear for the Nazi war effort.¹²⁷ Times for his family were hard and food was in short supply. Consequently, this decision was easily made. However, within only a few months he realised he had made a mistake and that conditions where he worked were tantamount to slave labour. Although the majority of Galician (Polish-born) Ukrainians were not classed as ‘Ostarbeiters’ (‘Eastern workers’) and ‘Untermenschen’ (‘Inferior people’) or forced to wear the dreaded ‘Ost’ (East) insignia, as was the case with Soviet-born Ukrainians, wages were still less than

¹²⁴ Lapan, T. (2010). The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (p.239). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹²⁵ Lapan, T. (2010). The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (p.240). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹²⁶ Lapan, T. (2010). The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (pp.239-240). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹²⁷ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 6 March 2017.

the lowest paid German workers and most of this hard-earned money was used up to pay for crowded, disease-ridden living quarters and starvation rations. To make matters worse, 'Polish Ukrainians' who generally had similar pay, taxation and labour rights as Western workers, suddenly saw these degraded from February 1942 to January 1943 to the level of the less privileged Poles.¹²⁸ What with restrictions on using public transport or shopping in German stores and exhausted by long hours of labour and excessive punishment for breaches of regulations, Volodymyr needed little persuasion to leave:

After a year I returned home, but not legally. Then they [the Germans] started searching for me.¹²⁹

However, realising the dangers he was inflicting on his family as a wanted man, he lay low in the town of Starochowice, hiding with friends and acquaintances for nearly a year. One day he made the fateful decision to come out into the open to buy food in nearby Kielce and was immediately arrested. Following two weeks in prison, subsequent sentencing condemned him to a longer term of captivity in a German concentration camp. Fortunately, whilst on route to the camp, he managed to jump train at Nykiel Station, darted through the ticket office and hid in local forests, where he was assisted by the Ukrainian underground, before making his way back to his village:

I knew that the train would stop at Nykiel station and that there were Polish partisans in the region. I asked two Nazi policemen if I could pay a visit to the toilet. [...] As the train came to a halt, I jumped off it [...] the Nazi guards did not chase after me as they feared for their own lives.¹³⁰

The next nine months saw him hiding in the garrets and attics of his neighbours until, on waking up one morning, he found himself staring into the face of a local policeman who gave him over to the Gestapo. His salvation was that he had, only very recently, voluntarily signed up to the *Divizija* (The Waffen-SS Fourteenth Grenadier Division) and when his

¹²⁸ Telka, S. (2008). *Ukrainian Labourers in Nazi Germany, 1939-1945*, (pp.102-03). Ottawa: Carleton University.

¹²⁹ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 6 March 2017.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

brother-in-law informed them of his arrest, a senior officer was able to procure his release (See Appendix 2: Image 4).

Andriy Prychidnyj, born 15 November 1922, of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, has an equally powerful and interesting story to relate.¹³¹ He remembers the Germans entering his village of Liskovate, in the foothills of the Carpathians, with public opinion equally divided as to whether conditions would now improve or deteriorate. It was generally felt that the Germans were well disciplined and would provide much needed employment. Andriy would find this out but to his cost.

Initially, from July to September 1941, there were signs that life in Ukraine would change for the better. Ukrainians were able to make the first steps towards rebuilding their society, especially in terms of local administration, schools and universities, the press and cultural services. The Red Cross, as well as operating hospitals and clinics, provided aid to 1.3 million Ukrainian prisoners of war (POWs). Trade unions were revived, religious life flourished, whilst collective farms were divided up and transformed into co-operatives backed by agricultural banks. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was at the heart of this resurgence seeing it as an opportunity to promote a national consciousness that would culminate in Ukrainian independence and sovereignty. Some 20,000 underground members spread the word across the country but particularly in Galicia where the Ukrainian language was once more widely spoken, Ukrainian newspapers and books freely circulated and rallies promoting Ukrainian patriotism openly held.¹³² Andriy was party to this information and was rightly encouraged.

Unfortunately, his hopes were all too quickly dashed. From October 1941 to January 1942 Ukraine's brief period of national revival and liberalism came to an abrupt end. The Reichskommissariat of Ukraine, under Erich Koch, was set up by Hitler's command with orders to systematically quash all elements of Ukrainian nationalism. Senior members of both factions of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (B and M - *Banderivtsi* and *Melnykivtsi*)

¹³¹ Interview with Andriy Prychidnyj, of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 15 March 2017.

¹³² Krawchenko, B. (1986). Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation, 1941-4. In Y. Boshy (Ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, (pp.15-47). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

were arrested or executed.¹³³ Koch was instructed to ‘suck from Ukraine all goods we can get hold of, without consideration for the feeling or property of Ukrainians.’¹³⁴ Stalin’s collectives were to be retained with grain quotas doubled. Land promised to the farmers would not materialise; only 10 per cent of farming households in the Reichskommissariat were actually granted allotments under the agricultural co-operative scheme. 15,000 *Landwirtschaft Führer* (agricultural leaders) were appointed to supervise the farmers with the power to beat, flog, issue curfews and execute anyone suspected of collaborating with partisans. To make the point 250 Ukrainian villages were obliterated. With voluntary labour to Germany drying up enforced labour programmes were set up with people arbitrarily rounded up in public places or in the villages.¹³⁵ Andriy was to fall victim to this policy, changing his life forever.

In the spring of 1942, the German authorities began forcibly conscripting young men onto the ‘Work for the Fatherland’ programme. Andriy was sent to Peremyszl where he was assigned to a unit of 500 men on the construction of a railway. The work was torturous as it involved manually digging, carrying and crushing stones. With the onset of autumn there was a brief respite whilst the wheat, potatoes and beets were harvested but before long Andriy was wielding picks and shovels again whilst building a drivable asphalt road. After Christmas events took a turn for the worse, if that were possible. Andriy was transported to the port of Gdynia in Poland from where he embarked to the extremities of Finland to log trees for the Nazi war effort. As this was in late January 1943, he was forced to work in sub-zero temperatures with frostbite practically inevitable. Having to sleep in flimsy barracks holding 30 workers, conditions were severe:

¹³³ The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded in Vienna in 1929 and was particularly active in West Ukraine throughout the 1930s-1950s. Its primary aim was to awaken a national consciousness that would lead the fight for Ukrainian independence through a voluntary, self-sacrificial, disciplined and often conspiratorial approach. In 1940 it endured a split between OUN-B led by Stepan Bandera, which had the support of the majority of young nationalistic Galicians, and the more moderate OUN-M led by Andriy Melnyk.

¹³⁴ Krawchenko, B. (1986). Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation, 1941-4. In Y. Boshy (Ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, (p. 24). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

¹³⁵ Ibid. (p.27).

[...] the only way we could get water for cooking or washing was to melt ice. [...] There was very little food [...] we had porridge, morning, dinner and supper. I saw no bread or anything else.¹³⁶ (See Appendix 2: Image 5)

On his return from Finland he worked in a munitions factory in Gdynia for three months before receiving a letter saying his father had died and granting him two weeks' compassionate leave to visit his home. This turned out to be his escape card. His village was in the throes of a German retreat from the rapidly advancing Red Army. In attempting to hide from the Germans he was accosted by some Soviet soldiers who stole his boots and jacket, leaving him with their flea-ridden rags and worn-out shoes. Fortunately, whilst being placed under an armed guard whose aim was to dragoon him into the oncoming Soviet Army, Andriy managed to run into the forest whilst his adversary went to relieve himself. He now turned for help to known underground OUN activists. With five close friends he was advised to trek through the Carpathian Mountains to Turka from where they caught trains to Austria, made their way to a camp site in the hope of finding employment but instead found themselves in the *Divizija*.¹³⁷

From 1942 Germany's military campaigns necessitated more food and materials at a time when most young Germans had been called up to fight for the fatherland. Voluntary recruitment of people in Eastern Europe turned into mass deportations of men, women and even children as reports of sub-human conditions in Germany caused people to turn their backs on voluntarily offering their labour. Goring, who initially wished to make room in Ukraine for future transplanted Germans, decreed in the summer of 1942 a mandatory two-year labour service in Germany for all Ukrainian men and women between the ages of eighteen and twenty, although propaganda still depicted these forced labourers as volunteers.¹³⁸ By the end of 1942 some 710,000 Ukrainians had been sent to Germany. Within another year this figure would increase to over 2 million, growing further during 1944. Many would be victims of regularly organised Nazi mass round-ups. Church congregations,

¹³⁶ Interview with Andriy Prychidnyj, of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 15 March 2017.

¹³⁷ Interview with Andriy Prychidnyj, of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 15 March 2017 and reinterviewed and recorded on 2 December 2019.

¹³⁸ Krawchenko, B. (1986). Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation, 1941-4. In Y. Boshy (Ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, (p.28). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

bazaars, even sporting events attracting large crowds would be targeted, with people marched off at gun point to awaiting cattle trains. Other unfortunates were onerously selected by local administrations, in particular *volosts* (district foremen) who were forced to meet Nazi-imposed labour quotas.¹³⁹

One person who was selected in such fashion was the late Mychajlo Fryszczyń of Crosland Moor, Huddersfield, who began drafting an autobiography in a notebook when he retired from employment. Although he never managed to complete his life story, he was able to depict how he was forcibly taken to Austria to work for the Third Reich at the young age of fifteen. Mychajlo's story was also featured in the *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* but the article did not name him at the time of print.¹⁴⁰

Mychajlo writes that in May 1942 German soldiers entered his village of Rakiv, in the Dolynszczyzna region of West Ukraine, intent on rounding up people for forced labour. As he was still so young his father and elder brother Dmytro, sent him to hide at his Aunt's farm in the nearby village of Nadiiv.¹⁴¹ However, it was not long before he received a note informing him that his father had been taken by the Nazis and would only be released if, "I reported to the magistrates that I was ready to go for forced labour."¹⁴²

When Mychajlo arrived at the magistrates his brother Dmytro soon followed, offering to go to Germany in their father's place. Both sons knew that their father, who was fifty-nine at the time, was far too old to go, was desperately needed on the farm and was still carrying an injury from the First World War. However, as Dmytro's wife, Darka, was expecting their first child Mychajlo insisted that he should go.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Subtelny, O. (1992). Ukrainian Political Refugees: An Historical Overview. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.3-20). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

¹⁴⁰ Hammond, D. (1988, November 18). Forced labour – and eventual freedom. *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, (p. 8).

¹⁴¹ Fryszczyń, M., former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), former Chairman of the Ukrainian Youth Association {Huddersfield Branch} and former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch). Personal written communication.

¹⁴² Hammond, D. (1988, November 18). Forced labour – and eventual freedom. *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, (p. 8).

¹⁴³ Fryszczyń, M., former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), former Chairman of the Ukrainian Youth Association {Huddersfield Branch} and former

On being taken to Lviv with some one hundred and fifty other people from his region, he joined over two thousand Galicians who were crammed onto goods trains and transported to Vienna for medicals and a selection process. Mychajlo was chosen to be sent to the alpine town of Eisenerz, situated between Graz and Linz in Austria, where he was put to work mining iron ore. The work, however, was so strenuous that he was reallocated to coupling and uncoupling railway trucks.¹⁴⁴

Two years later, in 1944, he was given the opportunity to train as a stoker and boilerman, and on passing an examination, he was put in charge of 'Loco Number Five'. Unfortunately, whilst on duty during a late evening shift, he fell asleep and the untended engine blew up. This incident would transform his life. He writes, "I was arrested, accused of sabotage and told I would be sent to a hard-labour camp."¹⁴⁵ On the advice of his foreman, a kind Austrian by the name of Frank Megyr, who believed the war would soon come to an end, Mychajlo volunteered for armed service.¹⁴⁶

It had come to Mychajlo's attention that the Galician Division had suffered heavy losses at the Battle of Brody in July 1944 and that active recruitment was taking place by the Germans for a second division. He wasted no time in applying and with units of the *Divizija* stationed in nearby Czechoslovakia, he was immediately sent for interview and medicals to Prague and subsequently posted to Klagenfurt in Austria for training. Following an arduous two-week journey, partly by train and partly on foot, "as bridges on route were being blown up by Allied bombers"¹⁴⁷ he joined up with the Third Company of the *Feldersatz* (Field Replacement) Battalion.¹⁴⁸

Chairman of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch). Personal written communication.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Fryszczyń, M., former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), former Chairman of the Ukrainian Youth Association {Huddersfield Branch} and former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch). Personal written communication.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Hammond, D. (1988, November 18). Forced labour – and eventual freedom. *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, (p. 8).

¹⁴⁸ Fryszczyń, M., former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), former Chairman of the Ukrainian Youth Association {Huddersfield Branch} and former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch). Personal written communication.

Women and even children suffered a similar fate. On 18 November 1988, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* reporter David Hammond wrote a feature entitled, *Ordeal of forced labour*. In it he records Maria Drapan (née Maria Komarniczka, my mother) who was to become Chairwoman of the Association of Ukrainian Women (Huddersfield Branch), recollecting her enforced journey to Germany from the village of Porchowa, in the district of Buchach, Ternopil region, West Ukraine (See Appendix 2: Image 6).

He writes that it was a terrifying experience for the seventeen-year-old Ukrainian girl when, with other people from her village, she was rounded up by German officers and forced on to a lorry. The year was 1943. She told him: “There was no chance to say goodbye to anyone. We were put on the wagons and taken to a transit camp.” He further records how after two months in the camp the Ukrainians were herded like cattle on to a goods train for a three-day journey with no sanitation and little food. “We had food on only one day. It was sliced bread and pea soup. I’ll never forget that soup,” recalled Maria. “You were so hungry you didn’t bother what it tasted like.”¹⁴⁹

Deonizyj (Denis) Dumskyj endorses this account in his own written testimony. From the village of Mozoliwka, in the district of Pidhajci, Ternopil region, West Ukraine, he describes how one morning in 1944,

I was awoken by a German soldier and taken to village hall. There were already a lot of young people including my neighbours and friends. We were put on lorries and driven away to the nearest railway station (Pidhajci) and put into cattle wagons. We were terrified not knowing what our destination was going to be, but of course we were guessing that we will find ourselves in Germany in forced labour camps and we were right. The journey lasted about two weeks (the track had been bombed and damaged in several places on route). The train would stop on the side tracks and we were given some bread and water to keep us going. There were about 40 people to a wagon and the stench was horrible.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Hammond, D. (1988, November 18). *Ordeal of forced labour*. *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, (p. 7).

¹⁵⁰ Dumskyj, D. (2011, June). Personal written communication. Deonizyj Dumskyj is a former chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, past secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and member of several committees at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club) in Huddersfield.

Living and working in countries of the Third Reich

Once on German or Austrian soil working and living conditions for most young Ukrainian forced labourers were very taxing. Anna Drapan (née Pankiw, my wife) remembers her mother Rozalia Pankiw (née Woloszczuk), late of Edgerton, Huddersfield, often recounting the treatment she received at the hands of the first farmer she was allocated to in Germany. Apparently, he would place a yoke around her neck, harness it to a plough and force her to furrow his fields like a horse. This was backbreaking work but fortunately the local Burgermeister (Leader of the Town Council) witnessed it and had her transferred to a different farm (See Appendix 2: Image 7).¹⁵¹

Maria Drapan further describes how for two years she worked and lived alongside a Polish man and woman, three French men and a Czechoslovakian on a farm near Munster in North West Germany. A typical working week saw them toiling on the land and around the farm from five o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock at night, Monday to Saturday, with a half day off on Sunday after the pigs had been fed in the morning. She said that, "We were not mistreated but life was all work. It was all manual labour." There was no respite, even when the weather was too inclement for farming, they were forced to trek to the forests, some three miles away, and chop wood.¹⁵²

Sophia Semenytsch, of Moldgreen, Huddersfield, was only twelve years old (1942) when German soldiers stormed into her classroom deep in the Carpathians, and noticing her Aryan looks, tall and fair-haired, transported her to Germany (Unna) along with her mother. She was initially placed in a German school but failing to assimilate, as she had no knowledge of the language, she spent the remainder of the war as a maid and skivvy to the same farmer who sent her mother out into his fields.¹⁵³ She remembers how the region was very heavily bombed:

Every night, every night, every night, they [the allies] bombed the area where I was based [...] until the end of the war when we were taken to a camp [Halle].¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Drapan, A. (2017, October). Personal communication.

¹⁵² Hammond, D. (1988, November 18). Ordeal of forced labour. *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, (p. 7).

¹⁵³ Interview with Sophia Semenytsch, of Moldgreen, Huddersfield, recorded on 21 March 2017.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

It has to be said, however, that not all accounts of Ukrainian labourers are negative. Several interviewees were keen to point out that they had been treated with relative kindness considering the circumstances. Gavrylo Gec of Fartown, Huddersfield, found himself on an Austrian farm where the farmer was secretly anti-Nazi having lost three of his own sons to the war (See Appendix 2: Images 8-10). Gavrylo was treated so well he remained there until 1948, never going short of essentials (See Appendix 2: Images 11-12). He remarked: “I had full access to the pantry, was able to invite other Ukrainian men on Sunday afternoons and can remember how the farmer would put tobacco on the table for us to smoke.”¹⁵⁵ Evidence further suggests that those from an agricultural background assimilated the best as they were used to the discipline of working and living on the land and could even contribute their own knowledge and experience regarding types and methods of crop cultivation and the use of farm machinery.¹⁵⁶

Former Huddersfield resident Kateryna Johnson has extensively researched her family history and her findings reinforce the point that not all forced labourers were harshly treated. Her mother, Anna Sydor (née Sywak) born 1 May 1927, of Salendine Nook, Huddersfield, was originally from the village of Wola Nizna in the Lemkivshchyna region of the Subcarpathians. Anna first began hiding from her German occupiers, who were ever on the hunt for potential workers, at the age of 16. She and her friends would often lie low in giant haystacks surrounding the village, until one particular day, after being informed that the German daily inspection had already taken place, she came out into the open and was caught by a returning policeman. The result was a transfer to the Bavarian village of Wesserknoden, near Bad Berneck in Fichtelgerbirge (See Appendix 2: Image 13). Allocated to a farmer by the name of Adam Hartmann, Anna was treated “very well”. Alongside her chores around the farm she was also asked to help out in the kitchen where she developed her skills in Bavarian cuisine. These would be put to good use when she eventually settled among the Ukrainian community of Huddersfield.¹⁵⁷

Although the majority of Ukrainian forced labourers from Huddersfield served on German farms there are several examples of community members working long, arduous and

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Gavrylo Gec of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 8 June 2017.

¹⁵⁶ Lapan, T. (2010). The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (pp.244-5). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹⁵⁷ Johnson, K. (2017, October). Personal written communication.

dangerous shifts in industrial towns and cities. The late Anna Lobaz of Birkby, Huddersfield, worked in a fish canning factory whilst housed at Falkenberg labour camp before being moved to a munitions depot in Hamburg (See Appendix 2: Images 14-15).¹⁵⁸ Dmytro Czerepaniak, also of Birkby, worked in a brewery near Munich.¹⁵⁹ Rozalia Pasicznyk deceased (née Fenyk) of Edgerton, Huddersfield, worked for Wolff & Co of Walsrode (Lower Saxony) between 1943 and 1945. The firm, under direct orders from the Reich Ministry of Armaments and Munitions, produced nitro-cellulose and nitroglycerine that were used in the manufacture of military explosives (See Appendix 2: Image 16).¹⁶⁰ The late Mykola Pankiw (my father-in-law) also of Edgerton, endured back breaking shifts in the mines of Gelzenkirchen, near Essen, where on returning to the surface he would regularly have to sprint back to his barracks as Allied bombs exploded all around him.¹⁶¹ These people were often interned in camps, with the general consensus being that they suffered the harshest conditions – permanently hungry, housed in barracks that were infested with bugs, having to be constantly on the lookout for brutal guards and foremen and often needing the courage to bend camp rules or even circumvent them altogether. They quickly realised that becoming practically invisible so as not to attract attention was paramount to survival. Angelina Kybaluk describes her husband Ivan’s experiences in a German hostel whilst employed at the Hanomag military vehicle manufacturing plant in Hannover-Linden as follows: (See Appendix 2: Image 17)

They (the German staff) had no consideration for us, they used to bully us like school children [...]. They shaved all our hair off [...]. Once I had permission to go to town on my own for forty-five minutes, when I wanted to go back, I couldn’t find my way back to the hostel. When I returned, I was a few minutes late and the guard gave me such a hard slap that I fell on the floor.

While I was on the floor, I saw stars. I had to control myself because if I said or did anything, he would punish me badly.

[...] I never had a day off or enough food. I was always hungry.

¹⁵⁸ Lobaz, M. & I. (2017, December). Personal communication.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Dmytro Czerepaniak, of Birkby, Huddersfield, recorded on 11 October 2017.

¹⁶⁰ Wolffe Walsrode. (21 May 2019). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved September 3, 2019, from https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolff_Walsrode/

¹⁶¹ Drapan, A. (2017, October). Personal communication.

Then I was transferred to a coalmine for eighteen months (See Appendix 2: Images 18-20).¹⁶²

And although in some camps, Galician workers lived in separate barracks from Ostarbeiters (Eastern workers from the Soviet Union) with greater access to medical facilities, with more freedom to leave the camp, with opportunities to attend church services, to receive ration cards for food and clothing, to send parcels home and even to marry and have families, they too suffered severe exploitation at the hands of the Nazis, and considered themselves slaves.¹⁶³ Those brought up on the farms of Ukraine found adapting to urban conditions the hardest, as Gelinada Grinchenko attests in *Oral Histories of Former Ukrainian Ostarbeiters*. On interviewing an Ostarbeiter who twice attempted to escape from railway works, resulting in his incarceration in Buchenwald Concentration Camp, he declared his reason for escape:

was not a desire to get home or 'to friends' but the wish to change his employment - to get to a 'master', to farm work, for, as he repeatedly said, he loved to work on the land and wanted to work - as long as it was on the land.¹⁶⁴

An exception to such harsh treatment whilst working and living in an urban environment was the experience of the late Anna Czerkas (born 17 September 1926), of Marsh, Huddersfield. Anna considered herself to have been particularly fortunate during the war. Taken by the Germans in 1943 at the age of seventeen, she first worked in a large chemical plant (now BASF) that produced synthetic rubber and gasoline in Ludswighafen (See Appendix 2: Images 21-22). Her situation, however, was to improve significantly when a childless German woman, whose husband was an officer stationed in Krakow, took a shine to her and brought her into her own household. She was subsequently found work in a hotel in the centre of the town serving as a maid and kitchen assistant with easy access to provisions (See Appendix 2: Image 23).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Kybaluk, A. (). Personal written communication.

¹⁶³ Lapan, T. (2010). The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (pp.248-49). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹⁶⁴ Grinchenko, G. (2010). Oral Histories of Former Ukrainian Ostarbeiter. In A. von Plato, A. Leh, & C. Thonfeld (Eds.) *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, (pp. 255-256). New York: Berghahn Books.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Anna Czerkas, of Marsh, Huddersfield, recorded on 4 May 2017.

Whether from a rural or urban environment, whether having volunteered or having been taken by force, Ukrainian labourers across the Third Reich at the end of the war in May 1945 found themselves united in Displaced Persons Camps, mainly in Germany. They would be joined over the next three years by thousands of political prisoners released from concentration camps, multitudes of Ukrainian refugees moving west and several hundred partisans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who had fought their way from the forests of Volyn in West Ukraine, through the Carpathians, across Czechoslovakia and into Germany. Whether any settled in Huddersfield in the late 1940s is unknown. What is clear is that a large number of men who became a central core of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community were *Divizijnyky*: ex-combatants of the ‘Galicia Division’, commonly referred to simply as the *Divizija*

The *Divizija*

On the 28 April 1943 Dr Otto Wächter, the General-Governor of Galicia, proclaimed the establishment of a voluntary military unit - ‘The Galicia Division’ or the Waffen-SS Fourteenth Grenadier Division - appealing to Galicia’s youth to enlist to defend their country from the oncoming threat of a returning Soviet Army following the disastrous German defeat at Stalingrad in February of that year. By the end of June 1943, it is realistically estimated that there had been an initial 53,000 volunteers, but only 13,000 were recruited as many were considered too old, too young, physically or mentally unfit or politically unreliable.¹⁶⁶ Michael Melnyk states that:

[...] initially recruitment was very successful but tailed off after the first six months only to increase again dramatically when the Soviets were poised to re-occupy Ukraine.¹⁶⁷

It had become apparent to many young Galicians that their options were severely restricted: they could join the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) but surviving whilst fighting in a guerrilla force that lacked the resources to cope with any major expansion was extremely difficult. They could hide but for how long? They could forcibly be taken to Germany as slave labour. They could await the inevitable: forced conscription by either side. Or they

¹⁶⁶ Logusz, M. (1997). *Galicia Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*, (p. 75). USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

¹⁶⁷ Melnyk, M. (2019, May). Personal communication.

could volunteer for the *Divizija* and follow a deeply patriotic urge to repel the Red Army as most saw this as a fight against Bolshevism (See Appendix 2: Image 24). Indeed, initial demands made by the Ukrainian Central Committee in its discussions with Otto Wächter regarding the establishment of the basic rules and needs of the *Divizija*, and which were largely met, confirm this. They included the following:

- The Division would only fight against Communist forces on the Eastern Front
- Officers were to be Ukrainian
- The Division would be allowed their own Ukrainian Greek Catholic Chaplains
- The Division would eventually become part of the Ukrainian Army that would be formed in due course.

There was also, of course, the inconspicuous hope that both dictatorships - Nazi and Soviet - would exhaust one another's will and resources, providing Ukraine with the opportunity to declare itself independent with a well-trained military force of its own that would be used to defend its sovereignty against all aggressors in the future.¹⁶⁸

Approximately fifty *Divizijnyky* who settled in Huddersfield after the war shared these sentiments. Stefan Klymczak of Longwood, Huddersfield, remembers being arrested in his home in the village of Skolyna, Javoriwszczyna, in the region of Lviv and being sent to Dresden where he was placed into the *Divizija* (See Appendix 2: Image 25).¹⁶⁹ Similarly, Wasyl Tertiuk of Welwyn Garden City recalls how he and his childhood friend, Stefan Drapan¹⁷⁰ (my father) of Oakes, Huddersfield, were rounded up by Hungarian soldiers in their village of Porchowa, in the district of Buczacz, Ternopil region, and herded into a stable where they were forced to spend the night with livestock. The following day they were transported by train to Breslau, eventually being given three choices: digging anti-tank

¹⁶⁸ Logusz, M. (1997). *Galicja Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*, (pp.66-73). USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Stefan Klymczak (born 9 January 1925) of Longwood, Huddersfield, recorded on 27 September 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Stefan Drapan (deceased) was a former Chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, the longstanding Headteacher of the Huddersfield Ukrainian School, Head Tutor of the Ukrainian Youth Association (Huddersfield Branch) and committee member of both the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).

trenches against the Red Army; working as forced labour in Germany; enlisting in the *Divizija*.¹⁷¹ They had no hesitation in choosing the latter (See Appendix 2: Images 26-7).

Recently (August 2019) I was made aware of the fact that one *Divizijnyk*, Wasyl Iwaniw, formerly of Cowlersley, Huddersfield, (a long-serving Administrator of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Club's accounts and a former branch chairman of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain) actually signed up to the *Divizija* only a few months before the end of the war. Born on 26 October 1926 he was too young (sixteen) to enlist when the *Divizija* was first formed in April 1943. As it transpired, however, he was not too young to be forcibly sent to work in Germany as an agricultural labourer in the village of Maroldsweisach early in 1944 where he worked for about six months. Driven by a passionate desire to serve his country, Wasyl took the opportunity to leave the farm and enlist after the tragic Battle Of Brody in July 1944 where the *Divizija* incurred heavy losses at the hands of the Soviets. Only seventeen at the time (he lied about his age claiming he was eighteen) he was initially sent for training to Eastern France before joining his unit as it encountered Tito's partisans in the mountains of Slovenia in March 1945 (See Appendix 2: Image 28).¹⁷²

There is also the example of Ivan Czolacz Snr (a former Huddersfield Branch Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain for over ten years) who was forcibly drafted into the Red Army by the Soviets but on being captured by the Germans was immediately directed to serve in the *Divizija* (See Appendix 2: Image 29).

As can be seen, these four men, along with the previously mentioned Volodymyr Szpak, Andriy Prychidnyj and Mychajlo Fryszczyn, were on the whole proud and willing to serve their country but each one of them joined under vastly different circumstances. These included: having already experienced, or wishing to avoid, slave labour; to prevent capture by the enemy - Nazi and Soviet; having already fallen into enemy hands.

From recordings given by the few surviving *Divizijnyky* from Huddersfield,¹⁷³ common recollections highlight combat training, rifle training and heavy weapon training at Heidelager, sixty-five miles east of Krakow, followed by transfer to Neuhammer in Silesia in March 1944 (See Appendix 2: Image 30). It would be here that Volodomyr Szpak would

¹⁷¹ Interview with Wasyl Tertiuk, of Welwyn Garden City, recorded on 15 October 2017.

¹⁷² Iwaniw, E. (2019, August). Personal communication.

¹⁷³ Plokhy, S. (2016). *The Gates of Europe*, (pp.263-4). London: Penguin Books.

unexpectedly be reunited with his older brother, Ivan, who had followed his example by enlisting into the *Divizija* at a later date (See Appendix 2: Image 31). The two brothers would now stay together for the remainder of the war and whilst interned in POW camps after the war (Rimini in Italy and Haddington in Scotland) before both permanently settling in Huddersfield.¹⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, none of Huddersfield's surviving *Divizijnyky* mention fighting at the Battle of Brody in July 1944, where the *Divizija* suffered huge losses at the hands of the Soviets, as most were relatively late recruits and were still in training at that time.

Andriy Prychidnyj, Stefan Klymczak and Volodymyr Szpak all recall marching into Slovakia in late September 1944 with the intention of putting down a Soviet-supported Slovak Communist insurgency in the Banska Bystrica, Zvolen and Logusz regions where agricultural and industrial sites were vulnerable and the area's communications network had to be preserved. More serious skirmishes would follow in Yugoslavia (Slovenia), south of Ljubljana, where Tito's guerrillas had the advantage of a particularly rugged terrain, sheltering in peaks thousands of feet above ground. I remember my father, Stefan Drapan, mentioning marching to Ljubljana whilst his childhood friend Wasyl Tertiuk recalled in interview how his artillery unit:

[...] bombed a hill for two hours and we thought everyone on top of it was killed. When the advanced unit checked there was no sign of anyone.¹⁷⁵

Stefan Klymczak was particularly vivid in his recollections of fighting in Slovenia where he recalls the following:

We lost a *divizijnyk* to the partisans and then caught four of them and their bull which was taken to the battalion kitchen. [...] Later they caught twelve of our boys.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 6 March 2017. Volodymyr is a former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna* and the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Wasyl Tertiuk, of Welwyn Garden City, recorded on 15 October 2017.

They were placed in a barrack and brought out one by one and were beheaded. [...] two partisans whilst sat on an oak log [...] cut their heads off with sharp knives.¹⁷⁶

On 30 March 1945 the *Divizija* was deployed with the Second Panzer Army and ordered to defend Gleichenberg and Feldbach from a rapidly advancing Red army. To reach this part of Austria, some 100 miles south of Vienna, the men hurriedly left Yugoslavia and marched over mountainous terrain, covering forty to sixty miles at a time without respite. At Feldbach they held a front line of some eight miles, repulsing Soviet advances for three whole days and four nights with no sleep and little food.¹⁷⁷ Volodymyr Szpak recalls being put in charge of a section of men who successfully defended a bunker, before being relieved after “suffering from flea infestation and a lack of food.”¹⁷⁸ All three men also remember the constant drone of amplified Soviet propaganda at night time which promised them a safe return home to their loved ones if they ‘crossed over the line’. What I did not glean, however, from any of these interviewees, or from snippets of conversations between community members who have now passed away, were individual instances of killing the enemy, or accounts of cowardice, desertion or crime. In fact, as Catherine Merridale found when she interviewed former Red Army veterans of the Second World War, I felt there was an unspoken code of patriotism to the cause and of honour and loyalty to the memory of fallen comrades.¹⁷⁹

Their suffering, however, would soon be over. In April 1945, following very heavy Soviet assaults, the *Divizija* was ordered to join the Fourth SS Panzer Corps but in a matter of weeks, on 27 April 1945, *Divizijnyky* found themselves, as part of the renamed First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian Army, swearing an Oath of Loyalty to the Ukrainian Nation in front of General Pavlo Shandruk, the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief.¹⁸⁰ By now Western Allies were advancing in Western Austria and plans were made for the First

¹⁷⁶ Second interview with Stefan Klymczak (born 9 January 1925) of Longwood, Huddersfield, recorded on 28 November 2019.

¹⁷⁷ Logusz, M. (1997). *Galicja Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*, (pp.339-345). USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 6 March 2017. Volodymyr is a former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna* and the Organisation of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).

¹⁷⁹ Merridale, C. (2010). *Soviet Memories: Patriotism and Trauma*. In S. Radstone, & B. Schwartz (Eds.) *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. (pp. 376-389). New York: Fordham University.

¹⁸⁰ Logusz, M. (1997). *Galicja Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*, (pp.346-351). USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

Ukrainian Division to withdraw from Feldbach in columns that continued to be bombed and strafed by Soviet planes (See Appendix 2: Image 32).

Andriy Prychidnyj still clearly remembers how during these final chaotic days of the war he was part of a small unit of men who had been sent to pre-officer school near Leibnitz and consequently had become detached from their companies. On rejoining his own unit he found it much reduced in size and in some disarray with pockets of men separated as they retreated from the Red Army. He was part of one such group stating:

We hid in a wood for three days, in a shed, but then moved out as we knew we could still be hung as deserters if caught and so we tried to rejoin our company.¹⁸¹

He further recalls how many soldiers now discarded their uniforms, dropped their weapons and headed towards the American zone.

On 10 May 1945 the *Divizija* encountered a British brigade and many men were interned in a large field near Tamsweg. Over the next few days some 9000 Ukrainian soldiers surrendered to the British Fifth Corps.¹⁸²

Like millions of other Ukrainians in Germany and Austria at the end of the Second World War, the next two or three years would be spent in camps – for the majority in Displaced Persons or Refugee camps – but in the case of the *Divizijnyky*, in POW camps in Northern Italy, initially Bellaria and then Rimini. Indeed, at both camps a future Ukrainian resident of Huddersfield, Lieutenant colonel Evhen Nikitin (Nikitin-Solsky) who settled in Honley and is interred in Edgerton Cemetery, would play a prominent role (See Appendix 2: Image 33). He took command of the 1st Regiment of the 1st Ukrainian Division in Bellaria¹⁸³ and of the Technical Unit in Rimini which was responsible for building barracks, kitchens, canteens,

¹⁸¹ Second interview with Andriy Prychidnyj of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 2 December 2019.

¹⁸² Logusz, M. (1997). *Galicja Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*, (pp.358-60). USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

¹⁸³ Veryha, W. (1984). *Under the Italian Sun*, (p. 43). University of Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society.

toilet facilities, the school, the theatre and roads around the camp (See Appendix 2: Image 34).¹⁸⁴

In summary, it can be said that the majority of Ukrainians who came to settle in Huddersfield from 1947 left their homes between 1940 and late 1944. Men, women and even children who originated from Western Galicia – incorporated into the Generalgouvernement following Poland's surrender in October 1939 and in accordance with the terms of the Nazi- Soviet Pact signed in August of that year – were the first Ukrainians to find themselves either volunteering for labour or being forcibly transported to work for the Nazi war effort across countries of the Third Reich. They would be joined by kinsmen from Eastern Galicia which had been absorbed into the Soviet Union in 1939. This region suddenly found itself subjugated by a new dictatorship when Hitler broke the pact and launched his blitzkrieg against the Soviets in June 1941.

Although reasons for working for the Germans were numerous and varied most Ukrainians did so out of pure economic necessity or because they had no choice. By the summer of 1942 the voluntary recruitment of labourers began to wane, resulting in mandatory labour being decreed for all Ukrainian men and women between the ages of eighteen and twenty. As the German war effort began to seriously falter the Nazis began to round people up in their thousands, causing over two and half million Ukrainians to find themselves in forced labour, mainly in Germany and Austria, by 1944, with age restrictions dropped. I have described some of the harsh realities encountered by these people as they lived and worked on farms or in camps and factories in industrial cities targeted by allied bombing. However, for the sake of a balanced overview I have tempered these with occasional accounts of kindness from German and Austrian citizens.

These labourers would be joined in Displaced Persons Camps at the end of the war in 1945 by an array of Ukrainian refugees, political prisoners, Red Army captives and deserters, soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and members of the Polish Armed Forces – the majority of all these people would face the prospect of repatriation or the opportunity of a new life in the West.

¹⁸⁴ Budnyj, W. (1979). *Перша Українська Дивізія Української Національної Армії у Британському Полоні в Італії. Ріміні 1945-1947 Збірник 1*. [The First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army under British Captivity in Italy. Rimini 1945-1947 Volume 1]. New York: Brotherhood of Former Combatants of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army.

A further important contingent of Ukrainians who would become prominent in the Huddersfield Ukrainian community after 1948 were the *Divizijnyky* (members of the 14th Waffen-SS Grenadier Division Galicia – 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army). The *Divizija* was established on 28 April 1943 to repel an advancing Red Army which no doubt influenced thousands of young Galicians to take the opportunity to defend their homeland from their old enemy. However, as with many Ukrainian labourers who served the Germans, reasons for enlisting were varied, based on pragmatism and dependent on individual circumstances. Several interviews and accounts regarding former Huddersfield *Divizijnyky* show this clearly. What is more, they refute any suggestions of them having collaborationist sympathies or agreeing with Nazi ideology or practices. In fact, they were only too aware of Nazi cruelties but their fear and hatred of the Soviets based on history and past experience overruled all other arguments.

When specifically questioned as to how he enlisted into the *Divizija* Volodymyr Szpak stated the following:

There were about twenty young men from my village who, having seen enlistment posters, approached a commission with the intention of joining up to the *Divizija*. They accepted twelve of us [...] we volunteered willingly as the Germans had promised that they would grant Ukrainian independence, so we decided to help them.

We were put in front of a commission and had a full medical, they did not take any *shmytya* (rubbish) and we were enlisted into the 29th Infantry Regiment.¹⁸⁵

Stefan Klymczak, who was also conscripted into the infantry in 1944 (39th Infantry Regiment) after being sent to Dresden by the Nazis, also confirms appearing in front of a commission and having a full medical, but he too is not able to recall any specific questions he was asked at his interview.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Second interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 25 November 2019. Volodymyr is a former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna* and the Organisation of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).

¹⁸⁶ Second interview with Stefan Klymczak (born 9 January 1925) of Longwood, Huddersfield, recorded on 28 November 2019.

Andriy Prychidnyj, however, paints a different picture. On the run from the Red Army, who had reached his village by the summer of 1944, he recalls joining five compatriots who all wished to journey as far west as possible in search of employment. They were aware the Americans had landed on the continent and were hopeful that they might eventually fall under their occupation. Having walked many miles on foot and catching a series of trains starting in Turka, in the Carpathian region of Western Ukraine, they travelled through Hungary and eventually arrived at a large camp in Austria where he states Germans were signing people up for employment:

We did not sign up to the *Divizija* voluntarily our intention was to find work in Germany [...] but after being granted employment papers by a commission in the camp we were accosted by about two or three German officers and one Ukrainian officer [...] who tore up our papers and conscripted us into the *Divizija* [...] without any interview [...] and we joined the 31st Infantry [...] in Slovakia.¹⁸⁷

Sadly, it has not been possible to seek the views of all past elements of Ukrainian society in Huddersfield as many founder members of the community have passed away. The experiences of more women, of political prisoners, of escapees and deserters and of Ukrainians from different religious and social backgrounds, as opposed to the majority from agricultural Catholic Galicia, would have enhanced the project considerably. The stories of Ukrainians born in Central and Eastern Ukraine in particular would have added interest and may have thrown up different perspectives. However, it has to be remembered that many of these people may have been reticent to discuss any sensitive and personal information for all the many reasons put forward earlier in the chapter.

Having discussed when, why and how the founder members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community left their homeland in this chapter, Chapter Two will focus on their lives in a variety of camps situated across Central Europe at the end of the Second World War. As well as providing details of their permanent settlement in the United Kingdom prior to the establishment of a community in West Yorkshire, it will also show how the skills and experiences that were acquired in these camps were vital in getting an exiled community off

¹⁸⁷ Second interview with Andriy Prychidnyj of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 2 December 2019.

the ground and ensuring it became a part of the local fabric over the course of more than seventy years.

Chapter 2: From the Camps of Central Europe to West Yorkshire (1945-1947)

At the conclusion of the war in Europe in May 1945 approximately two and a half to three million Ukrainians were temporarily displaced; labourers were largely confined in camps in Germany and Austria, whilst soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division (the 14th Grenadier Division of the Waffen-SS) were interned in POW camps in Rimini, Italy.¹⁸⁸ The large ranks of labourers were further swelled by many thousands of Ukrainian prisoners of war who had been distributed to work camps across the Third Reich and forced to engage in agriculture, industry, road construction and public works.¹⁸⁹ They would also be joined by political prisoners encamped in concentration camps and refugees who had fled west from the advancing Soviets, including professors, teachers, other professionals, artists, writers, clergy, merchants, civil servants, policemen and wealthier peasants. From 1948 several hundred members of the underground Ukrainian Insurgent Army would also be added to the number of Displaced Persons (DPs) having continued the war against Communism and gradually fighting their way west to Germany.¹⁹⁰

Confined behind barbed wire fences whilst their futures were being deliberated, most Ukrainians felt a huge sense of loss that was tantamount to bereavement (See Appendix 3: Images 1-2). This was the result of being separated from their families, affecting even those who had had strained family relationships before, in most cases, their enforced eviction from their homeland. And yet few wished to return home as the fear of repatriation to the Soviet Union was far stronger than the desire to rejoin their families. The main reason being that almost all of them expected severe persecution, punishment, enforced captivity in Siberian gulags or execution if they did.¹⁹¹ Members of the *Divizija* (Galicia Division) having fought

¹⁸⁸ Stebelsky, I. (1992). Population Migration after World War II. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (pp.21-37). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

¹⁸⁹ Isajiw, W. & Palij, M. (1992). Refugees and the DP Problem in Post-war Europe. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (pp. xv-xxiv). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

¹⁹⁰ Subtelny, O. (1992). Ukrainian Political Refugees: An Historical Overview. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (pp. 3-20). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

¹⁹¹ Boshyk, Y. (1992). Ukrainian DPs in Germany and Austria. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (pp.360-382). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

in combat against the Soviets were in particular danger as they were viewed by them as war criminals and traitors. However, as Janine Hanson states, even those who had been part of the Red Army or Polish forces and had been captured were not immune from being labelled as collaborators:

A similar suspicion of collaboration was also felt by the Soviets towards these men as it was felt that they should have preferred death to prisoner status. Indeed, Soviet soldiers were ordered to commit suicide if it was the only means possible to avoid capture. The Communist authorities spread rumours that even if these men had not been collaborators at the time of capture it was possible that they had been recruited as spies against their compatriots whilst confined in the prisoner of war camps.¹⁹²

In reality these men had good reason to be fearful. Some, on their return, suffered at the hands of hostile neighbours who were heavily influenced by Soviet propaganda; many more found themselves exiled to Siberia; others were executed as soon as they stepped foot on Soviet soil. Approximately 300,000 returning citizens were treated in this way.¹⁹³

Many labourers, especially those classed as ‘Ostarbeiters’ (Eastern Workers) even if they had not volunteered to work for the Third Reich expected the same treatment for they were aware that by law leaving the Soviet Union was considered a treasonable offence.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, it had come to their attention that some kinsmen back home had been tried and deported to Siberia for merely failing to resist Nazi occupation.

Deonizyj Dumskyj remembers this as a particularly stressful period of his life declaring that:

When the Second World War finished in May 1945, I found myself in Schleswig-Holstein region of Germany which became British zone [...]. Things got better when British Military Authority organised camps for people who did not want to go back to Ukraine occupied by Russians. At first Russian Military Authority had a free hand to come to a camp and invite people to go back to Ukraine or any other Eastern country and if there were no volunteers, they would force people on to

¹⁹² Hanson, J. (1995). *Sympathy, Antipathy, Hostility. British attitudes to non-repatriable Poles and Ukrainians after the Second World War and the Hungarian Refugees of 1956*, (p.37). (PhD Thesis). The University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p.36.

wagons. Only when people jumped head first from moving wagons and killed themselves did Western Military Authority stopped Russians to take people by force. We knew from our previous experience what the communist Russian regime was like, it was based on lies, the leaders had very little respect for human beings and that's why we didn't want to return to Ukraine. Later we learnt that those that did return, whether by force or voluntarily, were taken direct to Siberian Mines.¹⁹⁵

These anxieties were not only confined to camp inmates. They affected slave labourers outside the camps too. Gavrylo Gec remembers visiting a camp in Austria in early 1946 whilst still residing with the Austrian farmer he was originally allocated to by the Nazis. On entry he was informed that several Ukrainians had hung themselves for fear of being taken back to the Soviet Union by force. He was only too glad to leave as quickly as possible and return to the farmer.¹⁹⁶

Galician Ukrainians who had been born under Polish rule before the war, and who would constitute over ninety percent of the founding members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community in 1948, were also particularly mindful of the repressive actions of the NKVD (Soviet Secret Police) following their occupation of Eastern Galicia (Western Ukraine) in accordance with the terms of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939. Murder and deportation became common events in the two years prior to the agreement being broken by the Nazis in 1941, for example, ninety-five mass graves containing 9,439 bodies of Ukrainians shot during this period by the NKVD were uncovered in Vinnytsia in 1943.¹⁹⁷

Huddersfield Ukrainians who lived through these years remember them well. Deonizyj Dumskyj, for example, is able to confirm that nearly every family in his village of Mozolivka, in the Ternopil region of West Ukraine, had a relative or knew of someone who had been deported to Siberia. His own uncle, Mykola Lajosnyak, was arrested by the Russians in 1939, imprisoned and then never seen or heard of again. The following year his wife and the

¹⁹⁵ Dumskyj, D. (2011, June). Personal written communication. Deonizyj is a former chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, past secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and member of several committees at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club) in Huddersfield.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Gavrylo Gec of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 8 June 2017.

¹⁹⁷ Hanson, J. (1995). *Sympathy, Antipathy, Hostility. British attitudes to non-repatriable Poles and Ukrainians after the Second World War and the Hungarian Refugees of 1956*, (p.35). (PhD Thesis). The University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

rest of his family were put on a train to Siberia and when Deonizyj and his mother attempted to bid them fare-well they were forbidden by the NKVD.¹⁹⁸

Community elders also remember the enforced collectivisation and distribution of land by the Communists during these years – land and homes that had historically belonged to their families but which were now grouped into kolkhozes (collective farms). And how could anyone forget how only seven years earlier an estimated six million Ukrainian kulaks in Soviet Ukraine had been starved to death as a result of Stalin's enforced famine of 1932-3 (*Holodomor/Genocide*). What is more, when the Soviets were forced to retreat eastwards following the Nazi *blitzkrieg* of Soviet-occupied Ukraine in the summer of 1941, they left a trail of devastation in their wake employing a scorched earth policy to ensure valuable natural resources, food, agriculture and industry did not fall into enemy hands.¹⁹⁹ Post-war Soviet Ukraine was literally a land in ruins.

It is little wonder, therefore, that in taking all these factors into account few wished to return to their former homes after the war, preferring to start new lives in the west free from repression, discrimination and persecution; free to worship openly; to own property; to bring up their children in societies that valued morals, equal opportunities, hard work and enterprise. Only those who were forced into repatriation, or those who chose to return to loved ones from whom they could not be parted indefinitely, made journeys back east; for many, however, their destiny would be one of suffering and misery if not extinction.

Despite severe potential risks and hardships to millions of innocent people, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (both involved from the outset in the problem of displaced persons, refugees and prisoners of war) worked in close cooperation with the Russians resulting in some two and three-quarter million people being sent back to the Soviet Union by November

¹⁹⁸ Dumskyj, D. (2018, February). Personal communication. Deonizyj is a former chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, past secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and member of several committees at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club) in Huddersfield.

¹⁹⁹ Hanson, J. (1995). *Sympathy, Antipathy, Hostility. British attitudes to non-repatriable Poles and Ukrainians after the Second World War and the Hungarian Refugees of 1956*, (p.43). (PhD Thesis). The University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

1945.²⁰⁰ This included many Ukrainians who were transported against their will or who had fallen victim to a barrage of Soviet propaganda, the participation of Soviets in the screening of DPs in Western zones and the activities of secret agents deliberately employed to incite arguments, to blackmail and even kidnap innocent victims.²⁰¹

Approximately 250,000 Ukrainians remained in Central Europe from this date, most interned in DP and POW camps, and it would be largely from this group that the future Ukrainian community in Huddersfield would emanate.

Figures provided by the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany, the Ukrainian Central Consultative Committee of the British Zone and the Ukrainian Central Aid Alliance of Austria, group Ukrainian Refugees and Displaced Persons in Austria and Germany as follows:

Fig. 3: Ukrainian Displaced Persons and Refugees in Austria and Germany, 1946-1950²⁰²

	March 1946	August 1947	February 1948	January 1949	January 1950
AUSTRIA					
All Western Zones	29,241	26,422	17,786	10,680	3,640
GERMANY					
All zones	177,630	140,555	119,792	85,608	[55,183]
British Zone	54,580	44,987	35,108	24,923	12,983
French Zone	19,026	9,922	6,130	4,074	2,841
American	104,024	85,646	78,504	56,611	[39,359]

²⁰⁰ Isajiw, W. & Palij, M. (1992). Refugees and the DP Problem in Post-war Europe. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.-xxiv). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²⁰¹ Boshyk, Y. (1992). Ukrainian DPs in Germany and Austria. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.360-382). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²⁰² Stebelsky, I. (1992). Population Migration after World War II. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.21-37). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Zone					
TOTAL					
Austria and Germany	206,871	167,977	137,528	96,288	[59,183]

Another 8,272 members of the First Ukrainian Division were recorded as inmates of Camp No.374, Rimini, Italy, on 16 February 1947 by the Refugee Screening Commission.

It would be in DP camps during 1945-6 that many thousands of strangers of different classes and culture were suddenly thrown together - camps where people were now dependent on communal living, cooking and washing. As such, where families were concerned it would be the mother who would take the lead in the daily battle not only to cook, wash and clean but to secure very limited provisions for her loved ones. However, camp life with its scant food and poor living conditions reflected life in Germany, Austria and Italy outside the fences where widespread black-market activities were rife, a scarcity of goods and raw materials devalued currencies and wages were more akin to pocket money. It soon became clear to men and women alike that, although life was drifting into a monotonous routine and most DP camp inmates had little stimuli in terms of work and economic activity, it would be the quick-witted, enterprising and resourceful who would cope the best. Scrounging and bartering for scarce goods in a black-market economy whilst attempting to procure the best jobs around the camps, for example, working in kitchens or in food, clothing and medical dispensaries, became essential.²⁰³

The same can be said of the *Divizijnyky* in the POW camps of Bellaria and Rimini. Michael Hrycyszyn, in *'God Save Me from My Friends'* writes:

At Bellaria, Scottish soldiers in kilts guarded us [...]. Sometimes we volunteered to work in their camp for a chance to scavenge for scraps, food refuse and the all-important dog ends [...]. The Scots took us to a large shed where we had to sort peaches into boxes.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Lobachevski-Chomiak, M. (1992). The Women's Movement in the DP Camps. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.201-219). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²⁰⁴ Hrycyszyn, M. (2002). *God Save Me From My Friends*, (p.194). Cambridge: Vanguard Press.

He also describes undercover black-market operations with local Italians as follows:

Our ‘Scheiss’ or sanitary command was in contact with the Italians and it used to exchange goods like blankets for big tobacco leaves, Italian vermouth or food [...].²⁰⁵

Meanwhile another fine example of ingenuity in the face of hard times is provided by Mykola Krawec, late of Marsh, Huddersfield, who often recalled his days in Rimini by relating the story of ‘Ukrainian gold’. Apparently, some *Divizijnyky* managed to get hold of some copper piping which they expertly cut down into finger rings and polished up until they gleamed like gold. These were subsequently traded with Italians outside the camp only for the latter to return a few weeks later complaining the rings had turned green!²⁰⁶ *Divizijnyky* were particularly skilled in crafting items from disused tin cans, for example, a model of Schloss Gleichenberg in Austria which the *Divizija* defended during the last weeks of the war (See Appendix 3: Image 3) and a gold covered Ukrainian prayer book that former *Divizijnyk* Volodymyr Zubak, of Waterloo, Huddersfield, bequeathed to his daughter Pamela Kemp (See Appendix 3: Images 4-5).

The black-market at Rimini was particularly active on a night with the ‘scrut’ (the amount of tobacco sufficient for one cigarette) being the preferred means of currency. Hrycyszyn states:

Smoking was so important to us to help relieve the acute boredom of being behind wires and we usually exchanged our biscuit rations for the ‘scruty’ despite being so weak.

And yet it was common knowledge that the ‘scruty’ were likely to be mixed with old tea and grape leaves.²⁰⁷

This desperation for a smoke is an abiding memory that I have when I remember how our fathers would file out of church or after a concert at the Huddersfield Ukrainian Club and hurriedly pass round a cigarette – obviously a legacy of the camps of Germany, Austria and Italy.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p.199.

²⁰⁶ Krawec, I. (2017, October). Personal communication.

²⁰⁷ Hrycyszyn, M. (2002). *God Save Me From My Friends*, (p.199). Cambridge: Vanguard Press.

In order to relieve the terrible boredom that so easily set in around the POW camp, and to improve morale whilst thinking about possible future employment, several camp committees were organised which introduced courses in wireless operation, driving, car mechanics, bricklaying, carpentry and hairdressing, just to name a few.²⁰⁸ Language tuition was also considered very useful. Roman Ciurpita, of Waterloo, Huddersfield, the son of Wasyl Ciurpita, who had been interned in Rimini, recently came across a hastily put together copy of *Скоро по Англійськи* ('Quick English') whilst examining his deceased father's war memorabilia.²⁰⁹ This very useful but basic dictionary focused on daily conversational English and grammar with phonetic spellings. It was reworked and printed in the camp in 1947 without the consent of the original author and publishing company (I. Tyktor, Innsbruck, 1945) due to the extreme circumstances and was designed to prepare *Divizijnyky* for potential resettlement to the West (See Appendix 3: Images 6-7).²¹⁰

Similarly, in the DP camps, despite the spartan living conditions, frequent overcrowding and limited food rations, inmates were suddenly provided with opportunities to freely exchange ideas, to share feelings and to worship together without fear of reprisal. More importantly, communities with their own identity could flourish as hubs of political, social and cultural activity.²¹¹ Although there existed newly created organisations which had specific cultural, social or political objectives and were designed on principles of mutual aid and self-help (the Ukrainian Red Cross Bureau, the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners and the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration founded to co-ordinate the work of all Ukrainian refugees and to represent them in the world outside their fenced enclosures)²¹² many DPs, in all essence, self-administered their camps through elected camp committees which organised the following: small scale hospitals and first aid points; nurseries; schools; classes offering vocational training courses and language tuition; the publication of books and newspapers;

²⁰⁸ Hryczyn, M. (2002). *God Save Me From My Friends*, (p.200). Cambridge: Vanguard Press.

²⁰⁹ Ciurpita, R. (2017, December). Personal communication.

²¹⁰ "Скоро по Англійськи" ("*Quick English*") Foreword. Rimini 1947.

²¹¹ Isajiw, W. & Palij, M. (1992). Refugees and the DP Problem in Post-war Europe. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp. xv-xxiv). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²¹² Bohatiuk, N. (1992). The Economic Aspects of Camp Life. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.69-89). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

theatres and churches (See Appendix 3: Image 8).²¹³ Women and mothers, in particular, were not forgotten with the latter often seen as, “the keepers of morality”, with the responsibility of bringing their children up properly and with “national values”. As such they would be tutored not only in practical subjects like cooking and domesticity but in national history, geography and etiquette. Women were often at the forefront of organising folk art exhibitions that involved displaying embroidered items and decorated boxes with the dual purpose of selling these whilst promoting Ukrainian culture among other nationalities.²¹⁴ Ukrainians from West Ukraine would be particularly active as they included political refugees who had tried to establish an independent Ukraine when the Soviets were ousted by the Nazis in 1941, had worked as part of an underground that had tried to awaken a national consciousness and had begun to develop Ukrainian cultural, literary, artistic, academic and religious institutions before their activities were savagely crushed by the Nazis.²¹⁵ However, when specifically asked about what he could remember regarding political activities at Korrigan Camp, near Kiel, where he was based after the war in 1945, Deonizyj Dumskyj states, he was only seventeen at the time and as such, “I was too young to get engrossed in any political activities.” And when further probed about political differences between Ukrainians at Korrigan, he states that although there there were Ukrainians from all regions, including Central and Eastern Ukraine, who had different religious, social and political backgrounds, they all coexisted harmoniously.²¹⁶

It would be here at these camps, as well as at POW camps in Rimini, that the future Ukrainian community of Huddersfield would gain valuable experience and skills that would see them establishing a flourishing home from home in West Yorkshire, one run on the basis of several committees that would mirror those that had been set up in Germany, Austria and Italy.

²¹³ Isajiw, W. & Palij, M. (1992). Refugees and the DP Problem in Post-war Europe. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp xv-xxiv). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²¹⁴ Bohachevsky-Chomiak, M. (1992). The Women's Movement in the DP Camps. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Sekus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.201-219). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²¹⁵ Isajiw, W. & Palij, M. (1992). Refugees and the DP Problem in Post-war Europe. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp. xv-xxiv). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²¹⁶ Interview with Deonizyj Dumskyj of Bradley, Huddersfield, recorded on 25 November, 2019. Deonizyj is a former chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, past secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and member of several committees at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club) in Huddersfield.

Another very important feature in the establishment of cohesive community living in the DP camps was the prospect of married life. Having experienced a massive emotional release from the horrors of war, quite a number of young Ukrainian DPs would now turn their attention to thoughts of romance and the possibilities of finding a partner and starting a family.²¹⁷ In so doing they still hoped to retain their cultural values, despite leading what they knew were temporary lives in makeshift social and economic conditions, where confined quarters saw families often segregated by only threadbare blankets or old curtains. In fact, in a number of camps couples were unable to cohabit as sexes lived in separate barracks. Nonetheless, impromptu, as well as organised camp dances, where thrown-together musicians played slow waltzes, tangos and polkas, would prove popular meeting places for those looking for courtship. It has to be pointed out, however, that not all marriages were unions of love - rather they were based on mutual dependence, security and protection, especially for those who had undergone both physical and mental trauma and considered life with a partner preferable to remaining single in an alien environment.

Huddersfield Ukrainian couples who met and married in German camps include the late Mykola and Rozalia Pankiw (née Woloszczuk) of Edgerton (See Appendix 3: Image 9) and the late Anton and Eva Wany (née Chizden) of Salendine Nook, whose eldest son Anton was born on 14 March 1949 at Halle DP camp near Bielefeld, followed by their second son Stefan who was born on 2 July 1950 at Hoxter DP camp.²¹⁸ The late Mykola and Sophia Semenyts, formerly of Dalton, were also interned at Halle DP camp where they married and Sofia had their eldest child Stefan in 1949.²¹⁹ Their scant recollections of married life in a DP camp were handed down to their children and shed an important light on how the camps both functioned and were instrumental in the establishment of Ukrainian communities across the globe. Although the children who were born in the camps were too young to remember anything about them, Stefan Wany recalls being told by his parents that he had had an elder brother, christened Ivan, who had been born in Halle Camp in 1948 but sadly he died.

Indeed, Lesa Melnychuk's research confirms that:

²¹⁷ Ibid. (p. xxi).

²¹⁸ Wany, S. (2018, December). Personal communication.

²¹⁹ Interview with the late Sophia Semenyts, last residing in Moldgreen, Huddersfield, recorded on 21 March 2017.

[...] infant mortality was very high in the camps, with many babies born to undernourished mothers dying. Infants also died as a result of inadequate facilities to cope with [...] conditions such as jaundice [and] babies who were stillborn or died soon after birth [...] taken from their mothers and disposed of without any formalities.²²⁰

This is not at all surprising when daily rations in DP camps consisted of ‘turnip soup [...] two hundred grams of bread, a little margarine’.²²¹

Anna Drapan (née Pankiw) and her brother Bohdan were regularly reminded by their mother, Rozalia, of how their father Mykola worked in the camp kitchens, as did Anton Wany, and would try and smuggle the odd potato for his betrothed. She would also relate how he sang in camp choirs and performed in staged theatricals - often playing female roles - that were acted out across several neighbouring camps (See Appendix 3: Image 10). This experience would stand him in good stead when he perennially dressed up as ‘Malanka’, the clumsy and awkward housewife whose antics and terrible housekeeping skills brought the house down at New Year’s Eve dances held at the Huddersfield Ukrainian Club every January 13th. True to custom, Mykola would be dressed in old women’s clothing with exaggerated makeup highlighting a chalk-whitened face, eyebrows darkened with soot and bright red cheeks painted with beet juice. Occasionally, he might enact the role of a *Дід* (an old man who escorted Malanka) dressed in sheepskin with a straw hat (See Appendix 3: Image 11).²²²

Anna Sydor also sang in a mixed voice choir and acted in several drama productions whilst interned in a DP camp in Germany (See Appendix 3: Images 12-13). She too would bring these experiences with her when she settled in Huddersfield, directing and acting in several amateur productions and singing in several choirs that were based at the Ukrainian club over many long years.

Indeed, drama, music, song and dance were all considered very useful in dispelling anxiety, stress and tension. They enabled inmates of both DP camps and POW camps holding *Divizijnyky* in Rimini, Italy, to temporarily escape from the harsh realities of internment, the

²²⁰ Melnychuk, L. (2012). *Silent Memories - Traumatic Lives: Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia*, (p.153). Welshpool, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum.

²²¹ Ibid. p.150.

²²² Drapan, A. (2017, October). Personal communication.

fear of repatriation and the uncertainty of the future, swapping oppression and censorship for creativity and freedom of expression. The lack of proper costumes, props, staging, musical instruments and scores were no obstacle to soloists, troupes, bands, choirs and orchestras performing acts across the spectrum - from basic comedy farces, sketches, monologues, revues and dances to complex classical tragedies, ballet and opera, for example, Ivan Kotlyarevsky's *Natalka Poltavka* (See Appendix 3: Image 14).²²³ But what brought people together the most were the spontaneous outbursts, by men and women alike, of beautifully melodic folk songs from the villages of Ukraine, sung in resonating harmonies - songs that would be transferred to the Huddersfield Ukrainian Club and which would ring around the stage, hall and bar, particularly at weekends (See Appendix 3: Image 15). Indeed, several interviewees, representing different age groups of Huddersfield Ukrainians, highlight warm moments of communal, impromptu singing as some of their fondest memories. These songs have since been handed down the generations and have played their part in the preservation of the community's heritage.

In 1947 there was an upturn in fortunes in DP camps when camp employment figures doubled from thirty per cent in 1946 to sixty percent in 1947. Employment not only increased around camp services incorporating hospitals, school educational programmes, workshops and co-operatives but also outside the camps among the German workforce and UNRAA administration. Despite the fact that sixty-one percent of camp inmates were unskilled or from an agricultural background, with only some twenty-seven percent classed as craftsmen, three hundred and seven Ukrainian commercial and manufacturing enterprises were set up in and outside of the camps, increasing to five hundred and thirteen a year later. These required workers from a wide variety of backgrounds to work in, for example, private vegetable gardens, the manufacture of Ukrainian art objects, embroidery, carpets and wood carvings, with job training and retraining thrown in. By 1948, some 3,347 Ukrainian refugees were employed as mechanics, electricians, locksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters. They also worked in textiles and knitting, retail, publishing and printing. Furthermore, American military companies often used camp detachments from the American Zone, including numerous Ukrainians, on engineering and forestry construction projects, whilst in the British Zone several hundred were utilised as watchmen and truck drivers. Meanwhile, outside the

²²³ Revutsky, V. (1992). Theatre in the Camps. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.292-310). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

camps thousands more found employment in German businesses and farms (See Appendix 3: Image 16).²²⁴ Skills that were acquired during these years would prove invaluable to many who migrated west, including those who settled in Huddersfield where they would be put to good use in their working, domestic and community lives.

Resettlement in the United Kingdom as an EVW

This increase in economic activity also coincided with a fortunate switch in policy from repatriation to resettlement, when the International Refugee Organisation, which had been founded in April 1946, and had assumed most of the functions of the UNRRA, changed tack on 15 December 1946. There were still 794,735 displaced persons at this time in the Western zones of Germany, Austria and Italy and another 242,669 living outside the camps. A large number of these were Ukrainians. However, instead of focusing on sending refugees back to their homelands, the IRO would now seek to resettle them, matching their skills and backgrounds to the economic needs of volunteer host countries, largely in the west, and negotiating contracts between prospective employers and refugees (See Appendix 3: Images 17-18).²²⁵ The ‘Westward Ho’ project, which had been approved in 1946, was classed as the largest scheme in terms of numbers regarding the recruitment of EVWs to the United Kingdom. From the spring of 1947 recruits moving to these shores faced interviews and medical inspections before being contracted by signed agreement to only undertake employment chosen by the Ministry of Labour (the opportunity to change employment requiring official approval). This condition, however, would no longer apply after 1951 for those who had been in the United Kingdom for three years (See Appendix 3: Image 19).²²⁶

As a result of a shortage in housing, able-bodied single EVWs with no dependents were preferred, or at the least there had to be a willingness to leave dependents behind until the time when it was possible to be reunited. Hence when Mykola Pankiw arrived in Huddersfield in 1948 his wife, Rozalia, was left in Bielefeld DP camp in Germany for a

²²⁴ Bohatiuk, N. (1992). The Economic Aspects of Camp Life. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.292-310). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²²⁵ Isajiw, W. & Palij, M. (1992). Refugees and the DP Problem in Post-war-Europe. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Senkus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp. xv-xxiv). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²²⁶ Krawec, R. (2010). *European Voluntary Workers*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/evw-e.htm>.

further year before she could rejoin him (See Appendix 3: Images 20-21). Recruits also had to be willing to accept unskilled manual work or accept immediate training for skilled work.²²⁷

Michael and Bohdan Czerniuch discovered that their parents - Mychajlo and Halyna - who had begun a courtship whilst they were both interned in a DP camp near Salzburg, Austria, in 1948, also had to endure a painful separation.²²⁸ In August of that year, their mother (Halyna, Olga Stasiuk) came to England on her own to take up work in a textile mill in Blackburn, whilst their father remained in Austria having been hospitalised in a sanatorium as a result of contracting tuberculosis. Following treatment, he too was allowed to travel to England some six months later and was reunited with Halyna. They married in Bradford in 1952 before permanently moving to Huddersfield soon after. Tender love letters, written in red ink, from their father to their mother whilst they were apart, serve as a poignant reminder to the two brothers of the obstacles and hardships their parents were forced to overcome. (See Appendix 3: Image 22).

Official figures put the number of Ukrainian EVWs settling in the United Kingdom by 1949 as 20,912. There were 16,194 men and 4,718 women recorded. In addition, some 411 adult dependents and 451 children were allowed entry. The busiest period of arrival was late September 1947 to early 1948 but then in the autumn of 1948 8,128 *Divizijnyky* who had been shipped to the United Kingdom from Rimini in 1947 were released from their POW classification and seen as EVWs.²²⁹

The journey of the *Divizijnyky* to the west in 1947, and their permanent settlement in western democratic societies, it can be argued, had been in doubt and had hung on a knife edge for some time. Two large framed newspaper articles which highlight the complex and controversial nature of their acceptance into the United Kingdom are permanently housed in the committee room at the Huddersfield Ukrainian club (See Appendix 3: Images 23-24).²³⁰ According to their author, Tom Bower, on 23 March 1947 a group of senior Foreign Office

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Interview with Michael and Bohdan Czerniuch of Kirkburton and Shelley, Huddersfield, recorded on 29 November 2019.

²²⁹ Krawec, R. (2010). *European Voluntary Workers*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/evw-e.htm>.

²³⁰ Bower, T. (1987, August 20). How the SS came to Britain. *The Times*, (p. 8). Bower, T. (1987, August 21). Conspiracy in Whitehall. *The Times*, (p. 7).

officials led by the Minister of State, Hector McNeil, secured Prime Minister Clement Atlee's signature to an agreement enabling the *Divizijnyky* encamped in Rimini to be immediately shipped to Britain. This, according to Bower, was in spite of Foreign Office knowledge of suspicions that some of these Ukrainians may have been former SS officers who had committed atrocities but that the Foreign Office, the War Office, the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour agreed to ignore any incriminating evidence.²³¹

Bower writes that in January 1947 Britain signed a peace treaty with the Italian government which under Article 45 stated, "any suspected war criminal whose arrest was demanded by any nation was to be handed over by the Italian government without delay."²³² This in effect meant the Ukrainian *Divizijnyky*, and some 20,000 anti-communist Yugoslavs encamped in Rimini, could be handed over to Stalin and Tito respectively. According to Bower, Sir Fitzroy Maclean (the Conservative MP for Lancaster who had had prior success negotiating with Tito on Churchill's behalf during the war) was immediately sent with a nine-man team to screen the inmates of Camp 374 in Rimini - including some fifty men who would eventually settle in Huddersfield - with the intention of exposing war criminals.²³³ In no time, however, Maclean was to confide that this was an impossible task as the inmates had had 'ample time' to disguise their identities, having deliberately destroyed their records, and that any conclusive investigation would take 'many months' whilst the deadline for British withdrawal was only ten weeks away.²³⁴ And yet Bower states that despite Maclean believing the screening to be superficial he was prepared to give the *Divizijnyky* the benefit of the doubt that they were not Russian nationals. In fact, he was certain that if they were left in Italy they would be repatriated to the Soviet Union with no one believing their claims that they were Polish nationals. Furthermore, and to make matters worse, their determination not to be sent back would result in escape attempts, suicide and active resistance.²³⁵

Bower also insists that as a result of an increasing cold war atmosphere civil servants were far more sympathetic towards anti-communists, including those who had fought on the German side in the war. He acknowledges that this was not the case across the board; a good example being A.W.H. Wilkinson (the Foreign Office representative to the United Nations

²³¹ Bower, T. (1987, August 20). How the SS came to Britain. *The Times*, (p. 8).

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

Rehabilitation and Relief Agency) who was prepared to leave the *Divizijnyky* in Italy for repatriation to the Soviet Union but his superior Evelyn Basil Boothby disagreed and persuaded the War Office to consider giving them POW status suggesting they should be brought to Britain to replace returning German POWs and set to work as agricultural labourers.²³⁶

David Cesarini concurs with Bower and also agrees that the Division was most probably involved in war crimes and atrocities and that its history had been ‘sanitised’ by the then government’s attempts to ‘minimise its public profile’, to deflect parliamentary questions on the subject and to neutralise protests by the use of misleading and selective information.²³⁷ The Foreign Office, in his opinion, had basically subscribed to a cover up as ‘wary’ screening reports regarding certain interviewed *Divizijnyky* were overlooked and records were left incomplete (Ukrainians having had the opportunity to destroy or withhold documentary information proving their true identities). Furthermore, reservations and suspicions from departments like the Home Office were ignored rather than triggering an independent investigation.²³⁸

And why? Cesarini maintains that because Soviet screening missions in the camps of Rimini after the war had resulted in accused collaborators being repatriated to the Soviet Union a number of POWs committed suicide. This in turn created bad publicity influencing the government to abandon forced repatriation.²³⁹ He also suggests that Ukrainians were seen as die-hard anti-communists and potential allies in a rapidly deteriorating cold war climate. Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, was specifically sympathetic to the notion that *Divizijnyky* were, “no more than anti- Soviet patriots who had been betrayed by all sides”²⁴⁰ and that they had originated from an area that was under Polish rule before 1939 and so could not be classed as Soviet citizens - a prerequisite for repatriation. Cesarini also attests that “intelligence considerations” may have “played some part in decisions to shield East Europeans from repatriation,”²⁴¹ citing the example of three British-trained teams of Ukrainians being parachuted into West Ukraine to link up with alleged anti-Soviet partisans

²³⁶ Bower, T. (1987, August 21). Conspiracy in Whitehall. *The Times*, (p. 7).

²³⁷ Cesarini, D. (1992). *Justice Delayed*, (p.132). London: William Heinemann Ltd.

²³⁸ *Ibid.* p.129.

²³⁹ Cesarini, D. (1992). *Justice Delayed*, (p.102). London: William Heinemann Ltd.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.104.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.160.

in 1951. These, in his opinion, are likely to have included former *Divizijnyky* who had been engaged by MI6 in the secret war against Russia.²⁴²

Despite reservations from certain quarters it was agreed by the War Office on 7 March 1947 that “the Ukrainian *Divizijnyky* ‘should come to Britain for at least one year,’ subject to the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour.”²⁴³ This policy was then endorsed by the full Cabinet on 1 April with Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, describing the Ukrainians in a letter to Prime Minister Attlee as “‘innocent people’ endangered by an ‘unjust fate’.”²⁴⁴ There may also be some considerable significance in the fact that Pope Pius XII also interceded on the side of the *Divizijnyky* and had earlier been able to have them reclassified as surrendered enemy personnel.²⁴⁵

Certainly my interviews with former *Divizijnyky* provide no evidence of any political or ideological collaboration with Nazi ideals nor of active fighting against the Allies, with the exception of the Soviets, or of participating in any atrocities or massacres. They portray young men whose own individual circumstances dictated why they enrolled, and although they were all undoubtedly inspired by a nationalistic desire to defend their country from an advancing Red Army, they were all either on the run as wanted men having first served as forced or voluntary labourers, were escaping from an encroaching enemy or had been captured and had no choice. As David R. Marples states in the foreword to ‘*Undetermined Ukrainians*:

[...] one can be persuaded at least that not all those who volunteered to join a new army did so because of base motives or because they wanted to defend Hitler’s Germany. It would have been evident to most of them that the Nazi Empire was crumbling and that the Red Army would reappear in these lands before long.²⁴⁶

However, Cesarini has a point when he claims the screening of *Divizijnyky* was only partial for when Huddersfield’s three surviving veterans of the *Divizija* were specifically asked if

²⁴² Ibid. p.157.

²⁴³ Bower, T. (1987, August 21). Conspiracy in Whitehall. *The Times*, (p. 7).

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Veryha, W. (1984). *Under the Italian Sun*, (p. 186). University of Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society.

²⁴⁶ Khromeychuk, O. (2013). *'Undetermined' Ukrainians: Post-War Narratives of the Waffen-SS Galicia Division. Nationalisms Across The Globe Volume 11*. Berlin: Peter Lang.

they had been screened in Rimini Stefan Klymczak stated he was not screened by the British but had been interviewed by Soviet military personnel who tried to persuade him to return home by saying, “You have a *divochka* (sweetheart) waiting for you” and enticing him with a hot bowl of soup. He also remembered how all the Ukrainian officers were taken to a different camp because the Soviets believed they had influenced the rank and file not to co-operate with them. A particular incident he recalled was how one group of *Divizijnyky* had been put on a lorry to be taken back to Ukraine but then jumped off and escaped to France.²⁴⁷

Volodymyr Szpak also confirms that he was not screened as it was the “intelligentsia” (officers mainly) who were targeted.²⁴⁸ Andriy Prychidnyj, furthermore, remembers how when the *Divizija* was first interned in Bellaria, before being moved to Rimini, the Soviets brought food supplies, which he personally did not accept, and constantly bombarded the *Divizijnyky* with:

Why are you sitting here when you have brothers and sisters waiting for you back home! If you walk out of the gates you will be free to return to your homeland!

The usual response was:

We spat at them and shouted, ‘You took our parents, brothers and sisters to Siberia!’

He too confirms he was not screened by the British and that the *Divizija*’s officers were taken to a different camp because, allegedly, the ordinary soldiers were frightened of them and the officers had prevented them from returning home.²⁴⁹ Despite not being screened, however, I was not made aware of any incriminating evidence that pointed to any of the three interviewees (or other veterans who settled in Huddersfield) hiding anything or having been involved in war crimes.

By the end of June 1947 several ships were diverted to Italy to transport over 8,500 *Divizijnyky* from Venice to the United Kingdom (See Appendix 3: Images 25-6).²⁵⁰ The troop ship ‘India Victory’ brought approximately 1500 to Glasgow in Scotland on 15 May

²⁴⁷ Second interview with Stefan Klymczak recorded on 28 November 2019.

²⁴⁸ Second interview with Volodymyr Szpak recorded on 26 November 2019.

²⁴⁹ Second interview with Andriy Prchidnyj recorded on 2 December 2019.

²⁵⁰ Krawec, R. (2009). *Former soldiers of the Galicia Division*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/former-e.htm>.

1947. From there some 900 of them were closely divided between two Scottish POW camps vacated by departing Germans, namely: Hallmuir POW camp near Lockerbie, which to this day still houses a simple but beautiful Ukrainian chapel in a white painted corrugated iron hut;²⁵¹ Amisfield POW camp near Haddington in East Lothian.²⁵² A sizeable contingent of future members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community would come from both of these Scottish camps.

The following, for example, were based in Lockerbie: Mykola Krawec; Stefan Pasicznyk; Mychajlo Ptycia; Andriy Prychidnyj; Stefan Bobyn; Petro Hryczyk; Andriy Chomut; Wasyl Zubak; Ilko Skrynnik; Stefan Baran; Osyp Bednarskyj; Hryhorij Chomeczko; Stefan Hnatkiwskyj; Mychajlo Hnatkiwskyj (See Appendix 3: Image 27).²⁵³

Haddington, furthermore, housed the following: Volodymyr Szpak; Ivan Szpak; Maksym Slywkanycz; Stefan Matwijiw; Mychajlo Boryslawskyj; Osyp Najda; Ivan Nagas; Wasyl Satur (See Appendix 3: Image 28).²⁵⁴

Many more were transported to camps situated in Eastern England, for example, Mildenhall and Botesdale in Suffolk, Falkenham and Hempton in Norfolk, Allington and Moorby in Lincolnshire.²⁵⁵ Stefan Klymczak vividly remembers being put on a double decker bus on his arrival in Glasgow and being driven with a significant number of his fellowmen to Tattershall in Lincolnshire, including my father Stefan Drapan, Mychajlo Fryszczyzn and Wasyl Iwaniw (See Appendix 3: Images 29-30).²⁵⁶

In most cases, the newly arrived *Divizijnyky* were put to work on the land – digging ditches, draining land, gathering cereal, potato and vegetable harvests – although there were some who were employed in mining, quarrying, construction, forestry and bomb disposal (See Appendix 3: Images 31-32). Initial reactions of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to

²⁵¹ Undiscovered Scotland. (2000-2018). *Hallmuir Ukrainian Chapel*. Retrieved from <https://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/lockerbie/ukrainianchapel/>.

²⁵² East Lothian at War. (2013-18). *Amisfield PoW camp 16A*. Retrieved from http://www.eastlothianatwar.co.uk/ELAW/Amisfield_PoW_camp_16A.html.

²⁵³ Interview with Andriy Prychidnyj of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 15 March 2017.

²⁵⁴ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 6 March 2017.

²⁵⁵ Krawec, R. (2013). *Post-war camps and hostels*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/camps-e.htm>.

²⁵⁶ Interview with Stefan Klymczak (born 9 January 1925) of Longwood, Huddersfield, recorded on 27 September 2017.

Ukrainian POWs working in agriculture were favourable with the policy of employing them in this field of activity described as ‘working well’.²⁵⁷ However, initial complaints that Britain had resettled some ‘8,000 blood-thirsty cut throats’ who were guilty of atrocities did not disappear. Certain senior officials in the government – namely Fitzroy Maclean, Hector McNeil and Evelyn Basil Boothby – continued to strongly deny these allegations claiming, “cross sections of them have been screened at various times by Soviet and British missions without any war criminals being revealed.”²⁵⁸ Indeed, the Foreign Office clearly endorsed this statement in its response to a request for information regarding Ukrainian Surrendered Enemy Personnel living in the United Kingdom from the Canadian Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, dated 4 September 1950 (albeit their motive was to encourage the Canadian government to accept EVWs):

While in Italy these men were screened by Soviet and British missions and neither then nor subsequently has any evidence been brought to light which would suggest that any of them fought against Western Allies or engaged in crimes against humanity. The behaviour since they came to this country has been good and they have never indicated in any way that they are infected with any trace of Nazi ideology.

[...] From reports of the special mission set up by the War Office to screen these men, it seems clear that they volunteered to fight against the Red Army from nationalistic motives which were given greater impetus by the behaviour of the Soviet authorities during their earlier occupation of the Western Ukraine after the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Although Communist propaganda has constantly attempted to depict these, like so many other refugees, as ‘quislings’ and ‘war criminals’, it is interesting to note that no specific charges of war crimes have been made by the Soviet or any other Government against any member of this group.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Custodis, J. (2012). Employing the enemy: The contribution of German and Italian Prisoners of War to British Agriculture during and after the Second World War. *Agricultural History Review*, 60 (II), (pp.243-265).

²⁵⁸ Bower, T. (1987, August 21). Conspiracy in Whitehall. *The Times*, (p.7).

²⁵⁹ Document 19. British Foreign Office Assessment of the First Ukrainian Division. 5 September 1950. From The High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom (Imm. B53802, File 232-L-40, Despatch No.2087, dated 5 September 1950) to The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada (Ottawa File No: 232-L-40. Security Classification CONFIDENTIAL) in Boshyk, Y. (Ed.)

Nonetheless, suspicions and doubts about Ukrainian POWs and their potential permanent residence in the United Kingdom continued across different government departments, as these minutes from Beryl Hughes of the Home Office clearly show:

On principle I dislike buying a pig in a poke and, as far as I am aware, no Home Office representative has ever seen these Ukrainians. What little we know of their war record is bad and difficulties are likely to arise if they are employed with Poles whose war service was with the Allies, or with British personnel who had contact with them during or just after the war. I suggest that Mr Devey might accompany one of the joint selection parties on its early visits so that we may get a clearer idea of what exactly we are being asked to accept as permanent additions to our population.

I must say that I find it difficult to understand the Ministry of Labour attitude over these P.O.W.'s. To strain at the gnat of the P.L.F. while appearing to be prepared to face with equanimity the prospect of swallowing a large-sized camel in the shape of upwards of 4000 undisputed volunteers to the Wehrmacht seems to me the height of absurdity. From long experience the Ministry of Labour should know how to handle the T.U.C., but I cannot help having serious misgivings about their attempt to foist the Ukrainian P.O.W.'s on the labour market as just another batch of E.V.Ws.²⁶⁰

Consequently, serious discussions and negotiations continued behind the scenes with Canadian-born Gordon Bohdan Panchuk, who was of Ukrainian origin, at the forefront in supporting the cause of the *Divizijnyky* in their fight to become permanent residents of the United Kingdom. Panchuk, who was President of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain at the time, had been a founder member and first director of the London based Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau. As such he had visited Displaced Persons camps in Europe extensively at the end of the war with the objective of bringing much needed relief to Ukrainian refugees, displaced persons and victims of war and preventing their forced

(1986). *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, (pp.241-2). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

²⁶⁰ Beryl Hughes. (1948). *Minute Sheet*. (Gen. 552/1/106). Kew, Richmond: National Archives. (Primary Source)

repatriation to the Soviet Union.²⁶¹ This included visits to interned *Divizijnyky* in Rimini (See Appendix 3: Image 33). He would now put this experience to good use in his discussions with British government officials and his efforts were rewarded when between August and October 1948 the *Divizijnyky* were finally released from POW status and admitted into the European Voluntary Workers scheme. At the same time the administration of the camps that accommodated them - now redesignated as hostels - transferred from the War Office to civilian organisations like the National Assistance Board, the National Service Hostels Corporation, the National Coal Board, the YMCA, the Ministry of Agriculture and private industrial firms.²⁶²

Life in United Kingdom hostels prior to the establishment of communities

Largely unaware of the wrangling behind the scenes the majority of *Divizijnyky* met their employment commitments during the working day but in their free time, like thousands of other Ukrainian EVWs in hundreds of hostels around the country, they continued organising and participating in a myriad of activities that had first begun in the POW camps of Rimini and the Displaced Persons camps of Germany and Austria at the end of the war. Although some EVWs were only to spend a short time in what were termed transit camps or hostels before finding private lodgings, most were only able to leave them after the beginning of 1951 when employment restrictions were lifted from those who had been in the United Kingdom for at least three years. Hence in camps and hostels housing larger numbers of Ukrainians - whether former Displaced Persons, refugees or *Divizijnyky* - English language courses, seminars on Ukrainian history and current affairs, libraries, reading rooms, press facilities and folk-art activities were organised (choirs, dance troupes, instrumental groups and amateur dramatics). Concerts were put on for both internal audiences and the wider British public and included performances from renowned choirs such as *Burlaka, Slavuta and Dnipro*, first established in Rimini. Sports teams playing football, chess and volleyball competed across camps and hostels and also joined local community leagues.²⁶³

²⁶¹ Krawec, R. (2012). *Panchuk, Gordon Bohdan*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/02/panchuk-e.htm>.

²⁶² Krawec, R. (2013). *Post-war camps and hostels*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/camps-e.htm>.

²⁶³ Ibid.

At the heart of all these activities were committees of active and nationally motivated Ukrainians, some of whom were already members of organisations such as the Ukrainian Youth Association, 'Plast' (Ukrainian Scouting Organisation), various émigré Ukrainian political parties and then later the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain. However, it was the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain that was to become the real driving force behind organised Ukrainian life, not only in camps and hostels but in urban centres too. Established in Edinburgh in 1946 to 'develop, promote and support the interests of the Ukrainian community in the UK',²⁶⁴ it not only provided guidance, advice and information regarding living in the United Kingdom, but also worked hand in hand with Ukrainian Churches to enable priests to visit camps and hostels to conduct church services and provide pastoral care (See Appendix 3: Image 34). It also resolved welfare issues and organised the delivery of books, periodicals and newspapers. Such was its growing influence that numerous branches of the AUGB, with an ever-increasing membership, were set up. By 1949 there were 242 AUGB branches with twelve or more members and another 116 smaller groups.

As hostels were closed down in the 1950s Ukrainians began to establish communities across towns and cities in the United Kingdom but predominantly in industrial West Yorkshire, Lancashire and the Midlands (where cultural centres and clubs were acquired by the AUGB, and to a lesser extent by the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and where a host of educational, cultural, political and social activities could flourish).²⁶⁵

One of these was the AUGB Huddersfield Branch which was founded in late 1948 and which consisted of an original membership that had first signed up to the AUGB whilst living and working in various camps and hostels up and down the country. Some early members who had gained valuable experience in organising and running committees on these sites would now do likewise in Huddersfield and would ignite a Ukrainian flame that has burned brightly in the town over the last seventy years.

In concluding this chapter, it would be apt to mention at this point the small number of Ukrainian combatants who settled in Huddersfield after the war that had been members of the

²⁶⁴ Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. (2008). *Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain: Who are we?* Retrieved from <https://www.augb.co.uk/>.

²⁶⁵ Krawec, R. (2013). *Post-war camps and hostels*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/camps-e.htm>.

Polish Armed Forces in the West. These men had fought alongside Western Allies, primarily the British Army, against the Nazis and their allies.²⁶⁶ There is scant information about them but they did include, among others, Ivan Falusz and Volodymyr Czajkiwskyj, formerly of Lockwood and Waterloo, Huddersfield, respectively.²⁶⁷ A number of these former soldiers had either deserted from forced conscription in the German Wehrmacht, were liberated POWs or were evacuees from Soviet Ukraine.²⁶⁸ Finding themselves in Britain at the end of the war some voluntarily enlisted in the Polish Resettlement Corps. Created by the British government in 1946 this holding unit was intended for those who had served with the British Armed Forces but now the war had ended had no desire to return to homes that were under a Communist regime.²⁶⁹ Still bound by military law, they were housed in camps around Britain where they were prepared for civilian life by receiving tuition in English, training in specific trades, or employment in projects that were often set up by private contractors.²⁷⁰ Whether any men from Huddersfield were part of this corps is unknown but Nicholas Szczomak of Derby, the husband of Oksana (née Drapan, my younger sister) originally from Oakes, Huddersfield, has documentary evidence that shows that his Ukrainian father, Wasyl Szczomak, had been a member of the Polish Resettlement Corps. Nicholas and his sister Irene are of the firm opinion that Wasyl, whilst housed in a military camp in Scotland, was able to gain the necessary tailoring skills that enabled him to set up his own flourishing business at the Cavendish Centre in Derby when he settled there in 1948. ‘Szczomak Bespoke Tailors’ would in time earn an enviable reputation as makers of bespoke suits, jackets, trousers and overcoats.²⁷¹

In summarising Chapter Two I reiterate how at the end of the Second World War in 1945 the founder members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community found themselves interned in Displaced Persons camps in Germany and Austria, if not still at work on various farms and in industries across these countries, or in POW camps in Bellaria and then Rimini in Italy. Many

²⁶⁶ Polish Armed Forces in the West. (2019). In Wikipedia. Retrieved June 11, 2019, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_Armed_Forces_in_the_West.

²⁶⁷ Membership records of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch). (1992-2008). Huddersfield: AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) Archives.

²⁶⁸ Polish Armed Forces in the West. (2019). In Wikipedia. Retrieved June 11, 2019, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_Armed_Forces_in_the_West.

²⁶⁹ Polish Resettlement Corps. (2018). In Wikipedia. Retrieved June 11, 2019, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_Resettlement_Corps.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Szczomak, N. (2018, February). Personal communication.

of these people, especially those born in Soviet Ukraine, would live in fear of repatriation that caused some to commit suicide rather than face an uncertain future at the hands of the Soviet authorities.

For the next two years they would have to live on their wits and to adapt to spartan conditions as their fates were determined by the Allied victors of the war. Resourcefulness and bartering skills became a necessity, so too was taking the opportunity to learn and practise new skills and to further their educations. Women in the camps were grateful for tuition that could lead to paid work or for guidance and advice regarding housekeeping or bringing up children, especially those who had recently married and started families. Men and women in all camps, including the *Divizijnyky*, were keen to learn new languages and to acquire knowledge of a number of trades that could be put to good use at the time and in the future - weaving, tailoring, embroidery, cooking, bricklaying, building, electrics, mechanics, carpentry, engineering, forestry, and arts and crafts. These could be utilised both inside and outside of the camps, especially in Germany and Austria, and when they settled in new countries after 1947 or returned home.

It also proved particularly important to the future establishment of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community that several members joined and ran committees based on self-help - educational, medical, welfare, social, political and religious. These experiences would ensure there was a leadership and executive ready in waiting when several branch committees were established in Huddersfield from 1948 - the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain, the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain and the Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*.

Just as important were opportunities to join choirs, dance troupes, orchestras, bands and drama groups. Knowledge and skills acquired in the arts would ensure that important elements of Ukrainian culture, tradition and folklore would be passed down the generations when the Huddersfield Ukrainian community was established.

I also describe how the introduction of EVW programmes enabled thousands of Ukrainians to settle in the United Kingdom on a permanent basis from 1947 knowing that they had the security of guaranteed employment. Important organisational, communal, cultural and social

skills that had been acquired in Central Europe could now be transferred to numerous work camps, hostels and transit camps that temporarily housed them before they moved to towns and cities across the British Isles.

At first these programmes only applied to displaced persons but were then extended to include POWs. The destiny of the *Divizijnyky*, in particular, having engaged in military combat against the Soviets and other Communist forces, had hung in the balance for two agonising years before Attlee's government sanctioned their resettlement to these shores. They, of all people, must have felt very insecure during this period.

Once again, there are several areas of sensitivity that could have been probed deeper had information-gathering not been restricted by availability. Delving into the living and working conditions inside the many and varied camps, especially for young and vulnerable women, would have been particularly insightful, as would knowing how a small number of Ukrainians who had been born in Central and Eastern Ukraine, but eventually settled in Huddersfield, managed to circumvent those that were intent on deporting them back to the Soviet Union.

Chapter 3: Political ideology (nationalisms over time)

It can be argued that the political ideologies of the first Ukrainian settlers in Huddersfield were largely shaped by events and personal experiences prior to, during and just after the Second World War – a period of approximately twenty years between 1930 and 1950 when all of them reached adulthood. At the end of the First World War in 1918 a Polish-Soviet war broke out which would define the territorial map of Ukraine between the two world wars. By the Treaty of Riga that was signed by representatives of the Russian Federation, Soviet Ukraine and Poland in March 1921, Ukraine was divided up between four countries: Bukovyna was retained by Romania; Transcarpathia became part of the newly created Czechoslovakia; Poland was given control of Galicia and Volhynia; whilst Central and Eastern Ukraine were incorporated into the Russian-led Soviet Union.

As the majority of Ukrainians who settled in Huddersfield from 1948 were born between 1921 and 1928 there would have been émigrés within the community from all four of these countries, adding to the diversity of the group. However, those from Galicia and Volhynia would constitute by far the largest number and as such would have lived under a Polish rule that Lev Shankovsky has described as, “an unceasing, desperate struggle against oppression and discrimination.”²⁷²

Ukrainians made up 4,400,000 people out of a total of five million Galicians. Theoretically the Treaties of Versailles and Riga had guaranteed them legal equality, the right to establish Ukrainian schools and to use the Ukrainian language. However, this was not the case in reality. Any hope of some form of autonomy was dashed by a Poland that “intended its nationality policy to bring about not only the political but also the cultural assimilation of minorities”²⁷³ – starting with The Lex Grabski Law of 1924 which imposed restrictions on the use of Ukrainian and set about turning Ukrainian schools into bilingual Polish-Ukrainian ones.²⁷⁴ Members of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield remember having to speak Polish in school which could partly explain why they dropped out early. In 1930 there were fifty-eight state run Polish gymnasiums (High Schools) in the Ukrainian part of Galicia as

²⁷² Shankovsky, L. (1982). Ukraine and the Ukrainians. In I. Dmytriw & J. Wasyluk (Eds.) *Ukraine and the Ukrainians*, (pp.43-68). London: The Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain.

²⁷³ Plochy, S. (2016). *The Gates of Europe*, (p.236). London: Penguin Books.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

opposed to six Ukrainian gymnasiums.²⁷⁵ Stefan Drapan Snr often remarked how as a student at Buchach gymnasium he was one of only three Ukrainians in a class of twenty seven.²⁷⁶

To compound matters the Polish government introduced policies that favoured Polish military veterans and farmers settling in Galicia, resulting in approximately three hundred thousand ethnic Poles moving there, as well as Volhynia, which inevitably resulted in land disputes and outbreaks of vandalism between them and their new Ukrainian neighbours.²⁷⁷ Deonizyj Dumskyj, who was only six in 1934, recalls how:

[...] Polish troops entered the village to punish the people and their property on the pretext that someone from the village burned a stack of corn on the Polish-owned farm, approximately 2 km. away. [...] When the soldiers withdrew from the village, we all returned home and found the front door smashed and inside the feather pillows and bed covers were torn, bits of feathers all over the place. In the walk-in larder, the paraffin was poured over the flour and all the food..

Furthermore, the dire economic situation that hit some European countries in the 1930s did not help matters and Galicia which was heavily reliant on agriculture and forestry felt it keenly. At the same time Stepan Bandera became the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in June 1933 and his brand of radical nationalism, which had as its aim a free and sovereign Ukraine, spread through Galicia and Volhynia like wildfire. The latter region in particular became a hotbed of Ukrainian nationalism as its governor, Henryk Josewski, had tolerated the Ukrainian language and identity in the hope that it would encourage a version of Ukrainian nationalism that would be loyal to Poland.

It is possible that a small number of older founding members of the Huddersfield community were aware of, possibly witnessed, or even become embroiled in, the ever-growing and fervent Ukrainian nationalism that gripped Western Ukraine in the 1930s and which

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Stefan Drapan Snr deceased (my father) was a former Chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club *Kalyna*, the longstanding Headteacher of the Huddersfield Ukrainian School, Head Tutor of the Ukrainian Youth Association (Huddersfield Branch) and committee member of both the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).

²⁷⁷ Dumskyj, D. (2018, February). Personal communication.

manifested itself in acts of sabotage, violence, arson and assassination - largely against Polish politicians and landowners. Serhiy Plokyh (2016) states that Bandera organised the assassinations of the Polish Minister of the Interior, Bronislaw Pieracki, in retaliation for a series of repressive measures taken against Ukrainian activists in 1930, and of a Soviet diplomat in Lviv in 1933 in retaliation for the *Holodomor* - the Soviet-organised genocide that killed over 6 million Ukrainians in the Soviet Ukraine.²⁷⁸ At his trial in Lviv in 1936 Bandera explained why the OUN took the lives of others and was willing to risk the lives of its members:

The OUN values the lives of its members very highly, but as we understand our idea, it is so grand that when it comes to its realisation, not only individual sacrifices but hundreds and thousands must be offered to realise it.²⁷⁹

I have no evidence of any Ukrainian community members being party to such events and must also point out that the majority of those who settled in Huddersfield post-1947 would only have been children or young teenagers in the mid-1930s. Nonetheless, it is likely that this semi-explosive environment influenced the political ideas of younger Ukrainians, who while still in their formative years, would cling on to nationalist ideals when they permanently settled in Huddersfield after the war.

A further major turning point in their political outlook would come with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact on 23 August 1939. This would herald the Nazi invasion of Poland giving Stalin the opportunity to seize West Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia and Polissia) and to annex Northern Bukovyna and parts of Bessarabia in 1940. For the next two years the geographical territory of Ukraine - with the exception of Transcarpathia which was annexed by Hungary following their defeat of the Transcarpathian *Sich* (militia) - would be under Soviet rule. Consequently, practically every Ukrainian arriving in Huddersfield after 1948 would have experienced Soviet rule if only for a short time and all would come to resent the harsh and repressive measures that were imposed on them and which fuelled their ever-growing nationalist aspirations.

²⁷⁸ Plokyh, S. (2016). *The Gates of Europe*, (p.239). London: Penguin Books.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

Initially, Soviet authorities surprised Galician Ukrainians by allowing them to work in local government, education and health, which had been denied them under Poland, and the Ukrainian language was once more permitted in schools, universities, theatres and in the press. Large landholdings, moreover, were brought under state control and distributed among poorer peasants.²⁸⁰ However, this proved to be a false dawn and the honeymoon period was cut short within months. Almost overnight, the influence of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches was restricted and the NKVD (Russian Secret Police) targeted senior government officials, politicians and intellectuals whom they suspected of promoting Ukrainian nationalism. From late 1939 to June 1941 one and a quarter million people were deported to Siberia and Central Asia, including numerous members of OUN.²⁸¹

Anna Drapan (née Pankiw) recalls her mother, Rozalia Pankiw deceased, mentioning a brother who was found dead in 1940 under very suspicious circumstances. To this day his death remains a mystery but at the time matters were so volatile that the family had to deny his existence in front of the NKVD for fear of further reprisals.²⁸²

Being incriminated in actions that displeased the Soviet authorities during the war years was not easily forgotten or forgiven. Ihor Krawec, for example, has only recently come across pertinent information relating to such events concerning his family in Ukraine at that time. In communicating with his ninety-three-year-old Uncle, Volodymyr Krawec, who currently resides in Novovolynsk, Volhynia, he was shocked to learn that Volodymyr and his family had received a surprise visit from the Russian police one November morning in 1947. Immediately ordered to dress they were escorted to a horse-drawn cart that transported them to the town of Yavoriv. They would spend the next two weeks cooped up in a cattle truck bound for the town of Osinniki in the Kemerovo district of Siberia. The only reason they survived this arduous journey was down to the fact that Volodymyr's father, Ivan, had managed to smuggle a sack of dried peas into their scant luggage. What was their crime? Apparently, Volodymyr's elder sister had supplied food to Ukrainian partisans during the war – a war that had reached its conclusion two years earlier!²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Plokhy, S. (2016). *The Gates of Europe*, (pp.261-2). London: Penguin Books.

²⁸¹ Ibid. p.262.

²⁸² Drapan, A. (2018, February). Personal communication.

²⁸³ Krawec, I. (2018, February). Personal communication.

Life in Ukraine would take another dramatic turn when on June 22, 1941, Hitler broke his pact with the Russians by launching an invasion of the Soviet Union (Operation Barbarossa). It was not unexpected, but it perhaps came a year earlier than was anticipated by Stalin. In his book, *Mein Kampf*, written whilst incarcerated in Landsberg Prison in 1923, Hitler had outlined his plans for a German empire that would extend eastwards with the lands of Eastern Europe providing living space (*lebensraum*) and a wealth of natural resources for the Aryan race. By mid-June 1941, these natural resources, especially Ukrainian wheat and coal, had become a necessity to sustain his war effort. What is more, Russia's growing military strength was also becoming a serious threat to the Nazis. Creating a front that stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, some 3.8 million German, Romanian and Hungarian soldiers marched into Ukraine. Within three weeks Galicia, Volhynia and large areas of Central Ukraine were taken with Hitler's *blitzkrieg* reaping devastating losses on a crushed and retreating Red Army.²⁸⁴

There are still members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community who remember how the Germans were initially welcomed as liberators, hoping for a permanent end to the horrors of Russian occupation, especially in Central and Eastern Ukraine where Stalin had imposed the *Holodomor* (genocide) during the 1930s.²⁸⁵ They believed life could only get better, many dreamed of the restoration of a Ukrainian state. None more so than the OUN whose largest and most radical faction (OUN-B), under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, took the opportunity to proclaim Ukrainian independence on 30 June 1941, in Lviv, and immediately

²⁸⁴ Plokhy, S. (2016). *The Gates of Europe*, (pp.263-4). London: Penguin Books.

²⁸⁵ Over approximately the last fifteen years there has emerged a global campaign among Ukrainians to ensure that the governments of the world recognise the *Holodomor* (The Great Famine) of 1932-3 as genocide. The fight to achieve this continues unabated, especially in Great Britain which has failed to follow the lead of countries like the Baltic States, the USA, Canada, Australia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Hungary, Portugal, Poland, Ukraine and the Vatican City (seventeen in total by 2018) who have individually acknowledged that Stalin's artificial famine in Ukraine was genocide (Euromaidan Press. (2018). *See which countries recognise Ukraine's Holodomor famine as genocide on an interactive map*. Retrieved from <http://euromaidanpress.com/2018/11/24/see-which-countries-recognize-ukraines-holodomor-famine-as-genocide-on-an-interactive-map/>).

The UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, passed in 1948, defines 'genocide' in the narrowest of terms – namely: 'the physical elimination of an entire ethnic group, in a manner similar to the Holocaust.' As such the *Holodomor* does not meet the criteria laid out by international law as it was not aimed at the elimination of an entire nation and was stopped in a year. Consequently, there are numerous countries, including the United Kingdom, who are still to be persuaded that Stalin's imposed famine was genocide.

ordered the mobilisation of Ukrainian forces against the Soviets. Unfortunately, having made a deal with German military intelligence beforehand (February 1941) Bandera did not expect to be stabbed in the back as he and Yaroslav Stetsko, the newly-appointed Prime Minister, were immediately arrested by the *Einsatzgruppe* and imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.²⁸⁶ This enabled the more moderate faction of OUN (OUN-M), under Andriy Melnyk, to set up networks in central and eastern Ukraine and to promote their own more conservative ideology through education and propaganda.²⁸⁷ But they too would find that the Nazis were not occupiers but colonizers who would wield power over their ‘subhuman’ captives with a rod of iron. Across towns and cities in Ukraine, especially in Kiev, the Gestapo and SS ordered the shooting of hundreds of OUN members and their sympathisers, whichever faction they belonged to.²⁸⁸ This was quickly followed by the firing of whole villages, looting, rape and mass killings. Lesa Melnyczuk states historian Norman Davies estimates that:

[...] the numbers of Ukrainians who perished during the German occupation as between six and seven million. [...] Davies regards the Ukrainians as ‘the nationality that suffered the largest total of civilian war dead during the Second World War’.²⁸⁹

At this juncture, it is important to discuss the question of Jewish-Ukrainian relations as some would argue these would also influence the political thoughts and actions of many future Ukrainian immigrants. In their book entitled, “Jewish-Ukrainian Relations: Two Solitudes” Aster and Potichnyj refer to two distinct peoples - Jews and Ukrainians:

²⁸⁶ Logusz, M. (1997). *GALICIA DIVISION The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*, (pp.41-2). USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

²⁸⁷ The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded in Vienna in 1929 and was particularly active in West Ukraine throughout the 1930s-1950s. Its primary aim was to awaken a national consciousness that would lead the fight for Ukrainian independence through a voluntary, self-sacrificial, disciplined and often conspiratorial approach. In 1940 it endured a split between OUN-B led by Stepan Bandera, which had the support of the majority of young nationalistic Galicians, and the more moderate OUN-M led by Andriy Melnyk.

²⁸⁸ Shankovsky, L. (1982). UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIANS. In I. Dmytriw & J. Wasyluk (Eds.) *UKRAINE and the UKRAINIANS* (pp.43-68). London: THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GT. BRITAIN.

²⁸⁹ Melnyczuk, L. (2012). *Silent Memories - Traumatic Lives: Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia*, (p.133). Welshpool, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum.

[...] living in close proximity but not understanding each other, interpreting their common history in diametrically opposite ways, cultivating stereotypes rather than bringing out historical facts.²⁹⁰

They state that there exists a commonly held perspective that Ukrainians are historically ‘inveterate anti-Semites’²⁹¹ using an article published in *The New York Times Magazine* entitled, “Babi Yar’s Legacy,” written by eminent historian Lucy Dawidowicz, to make their point. Dawidowicz declares that, “[...] after the German occupation of 1941, ancient prejudices were unloosed”²⁹² and that:

The Jews were unprepared for abandonment and betrayal by those among whom they had lived in peace for two decades. They were unprepared for the ease and speed with which some Ukrainians slipped back into anti-Semitism that had tainted Ukrainian history for centuries.²⁹³

But although Aster and Potichnyj concur that with regard to this particular human tragedy, “It may well be true some Ukrainians even rejoiced in the misfortune of the Jews”²⁹⁴ they refute Dawidowicz’s characterization of “an entire history of a people and their relationship to Jews as fundamentally anti-semitic”²⁹⁵ or that it was seen as legitimate during the Nazi occupation.²⁹⁶ They state that as Ukrainian Jewry was wiped out during the Second World War the mass population, apart from ‘criminal elements’, did not participate in this genocide.²⁹⁷ Aharon Weiss, however, maintains that anti-Jewish riots broke out as soon as the Soviets withdrew from Ukraine in the summer of 1941.²⁹⁸ He states Ukrainians used the pretext that Jews had assisted the NKVD in the murder of thousands of their people whilst they were incarcerated in prisons, but in reality they were avenging the assassination of Symon Petliura (President of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in 1919) by Jewish anarchist

²⁹⁰ Aster, H., & Potichnyj, P. (1983). *Jewish-Ukrainian Relations: Two Solitudes*. Ontario, Canada: Mosaic Press.

²⁹¹ Ibid. p.13.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid p.28.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Weiss, A. (1990). Jewish-Ukrainian relations in Western Ukraine during the Holocaust. In H. Aster, & P. Potichnyj (Eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish relations in historical perspective*. (2nd ed., pp. 409-420) . University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.

Sholom Schwartzbard in Paris in 1926.²⁹⁹ He further claims the OUN were strongly connected to fascist Nazi ideologies which they were encouraged to realise by Germans who found “it useful to have part of their dirty work carried out by Ukrainians.”³⁰⁰ Aster and Potichnyj argue, however, that although the party did not make an initial public defence of Jews at The Second Grand Assembly of the OUN (held in Krakow, April 1941) where they labelled them “tools of Moscow,” two years later The Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN held in Ukraine between 21- 25 August 1943:

[...] introduced important changes into the structure and political programme of this organization in the direction of greater democracy and declared itself in defence of religious freedom, and in support of all national minorities and their cultural development. The programme does not mention any specific nationality by name but one can assume that the above provisions also applied to Jews.³⁰¹

Yaroslav Bilinsky further points out that Davidowicz, in her book, “The War against Jews”, writes:

Exploiting the superstitions and anti-semitic prejudices of the Lithuanians, Balts and Ukrainians, and activating their accumulated hatred for the Soviets, the Germans harnessed the violent energies of these willing collaborators to round up and kill Jews. [...] In Lvov Germans and Ukrainians, in house to house hunts for Jews, shot them randomly on the spot [...] Ukrainians staged mammoth pogroms slaughtering thousands.³⁰²

But he addresses this by stressing that the Nazis deliberately incited and provoked local populations to commit pogroms and made it look as though they and not the Nazis had initiated them.³⁰³ He recognises that there were some “bad Ukrainians” who, alongside Poles and other non-Ukrainians, did form mobs that ‘helped the Germans to pillage and shoot

²⁹⁹ Ibid. p.412.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. p.413.

³⁰¹ Aster, H., & Potichnyj, P. (1983). *Jewish-Ukrainian Relations: Two Solitudes*, (p.28). Ontario, Canada: Mosaic Press.

³⁰² Bilinsky, Y. H. Aster, & P. Potichnyj (Eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish relations in historical perspective*. (2nd ed., pp. 373-407) . University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.

³⁰³ Ibid. p.375.

Jews'³⁰⁴ and that there were some who served as guards in camps or in the German *Ostpolizei*, that Weiss claims rounded Jews up and delivered them to assembly points.³⁰⁵ However, as with Aster and Potichnyj, Bilinsky points out that there were also those who rescued Jews, for example, the Mayor of Kremenchuk who was executed for protecting them.³⁰⁶ The most eminent example, moreover, being Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who saved the lives of 150 Jewish children and 15 adults by hiding them in monasteries in Galicia and had the courage to publish a pastoral letter in which he publicly defended the Jews, as well as writing to Himmler in person protesting against using Ukrainians to kill them.³⁰⁷ What is more, Philip Friedman had established that one hundred Ukrainians were executed between October 1943 and June 1944 for helping Jews, with many more not registered.³⁰⁸ Weiss also acknowledges that a number of pogroms were avoided as a result of “the intercession of the Ukrainian intelligentsia” and of several priests, although he maintains the number of helpers compared to Ukrainians who either denounced and persecuted Jews or who were indifferent to them was small.³⁰⁹ Additionally, it is also important to point out that, according to records held by The Righteous Among the Nations, 2,364 Ukrainian individuals (the fourth largest number after Poland, the Netherlands and France) are listed as rescuers of Jews.³¹⁰

As for Babi Yar, where some witnesses claim Ukrainian police dressed in black uniforms were present as the Nazis shot 33,771 Jews that they had rounded up in Kyiv between 29-30 September 1941, Bilinsky cites a German document that states:

³⁰⁴ Ibid. p.385.

³⁰⁵ Weiss, A. (1990). Jewish-Ukrainian relations in Western Ukraine during the Holocaust. In H. Aster, & P. Potichnyj (Eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish relations in historical perspective*. (2nd ed., pp. 409-420) . University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.

³⁰⁶ Bilinsky, Y. H. Aster, & P. Potichnyj (Eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish relations in historical perspective*. (2nd ed., p.382). University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid .

³⁰⁹ Weiss, A. (1990). Jewish-Ukrainian relations in Western Ukraine during the Holocaust. In H. Aster, & P. Potichnyj (Eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish relations in historical perspective*. (2nd ed., p.413). University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.

³¹⁰ <https://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/statistics.html>

[...] it is clear the Jews were shot by soldiers of the Sonderkommando 4a [...] it does not mention participation in the horrible executions by Ukrainians.³¹¹

He expands on this in a footnote where he also reveals the source of his evidence:

Evidently using the very same document, Professor Dawidowicz *adds* to it as follows (see the words I have italicized): According to an official report, Sonderkommando 4A—assisted by the staff of Einsatzgruppe C, two units of the police regiment South *and the Ukrainian militia* —“executed” a total of 33,771 Jews in two days. (Dawidowicz, “Babi Yar’s Legacy,” 54). The relevant excerpt from the German official report, referred to above reads, however: ... All Jews of Kiev were requested ... to appear on Monday, 29 September by 8 o’clock at a designated place. These announcements were posted by members of the Ukrainian militia in the entire city. Simultaneously it was announced orally that all Jews were to be moved [in the sense of “resettled” —Y.B.]. In collaboration with the group [Gruppen— added by official translator] staff and 2 Kommandos of the police regiment South, the Sonderkommando 4a executed on 29 and 30 September, 33,771 Jews. “Einsatzgruppen Case,” TWC 4: 148 (The Chief of the Security Police and the SD, R no. IV A 1 — 1 B/41 —top secret; Berlin, October 7, 1941 . . . Operational Situation Report USSR no. 106).³¹²

In investigating the views of original members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community regarding anti-Semitism in Ukraine during their early lives, I also uncovered examples of assistance given to Jews. Admittedly, most of these people were only children, or in their teens in the 1930s and early 1940s, and all were from rural villages, rather than towns. What is more, these villages were situated in Western Ukraine and so were not representative of the whole country. Some interviewees had nothing to offer on this subject and one or two, like Andriy Prychidnyj, declined to discuss political or religious issues.³¹³ Volodymyr Szpak, meanwhile, stated his village only housed two hundred people and he recalls no incidents between Ukrainians and Jews, although he did hear of assaults on Jews from people of all nationalities in nearby towns.³¹⁴ He further remembers being ordered by the Nazis to take

³¹¹ Bilinsky, Y. (1990). Methodological problems and philosophical issues in the study of Jewish-Ukrainian relations during the Second World War. In H. Aster, & P. Potichnyj (Eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish relations in historical perspective*. (2nd ed., p.380). University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.

³¹² Ibid. p. 391, footnote 31.

³¹³ Interview with Andriy Prychidnyj, of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 2 December 2019.

³¹⁴ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 26 November 2019.

two Jewish girls by horse and cart to the local station but he does not know why or what happened to them, if anything.³¹⁵

Stefan Klymczak, moreover, stated, “In my village several families hid Jewish children.”³¹⁶ I also recall Maria Drapan telling me how she gave some eggs to a poor Jewish family and was spotted by a neighbour who warned her she would be shot if the Germans found out. She did not sleep for weeks afterwards scared of being denounced.³¹⁷ These findings, although scant, are not reflective of people who were driven by, or conscious of, widespread anti-Semitism.

Lesia Melnychuk, in researching the past traumatic lives of Ukrainian migrant refugees who settled in Western Australia after the war substantiates this when citing an interviewee named Marika who witnessed Nazi atrocities against Jews near her village in Ukraine:

She was one of a few children who witnessed Jews being herded by German soldiers [...] watched these people being undressed and having their pockets emptied [...] saw the victims fall into ditches [...] executed with machine guns by the soldiers. [...] some young men went to get the German policeman [...] but Marika and others who had witnessed the massacre were too frightened to speak [...] fearing for their own lives.³¹⁸

Marika would go on to say that afterwards blood could be seen, “rising to the surface because the ravine had not been dug very deep.” Angrily she added that nothing was done to the German perpetrators whilst Ukrainians were accused of assaulting Jews and yet it was the Germans whom she had seen with her own eyes murdering them.³¹⁹

What can be stated with some certainty is that the German tyranny that swept through Ukraine from mid-1941 would only serve to awaken greater feelings of nationalism among Ukrainian people. This was especially true in West Ukraine where large parts of Volhynia, Polissia and the Carpathians fell under the control of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), a

³¹⁵ Szpak, W. (2019, January). Personal communication.

³¹⁶ Interview with Stefan Klymczak (born 9 January 1925) of Longwood, Huddersfield, recorded on 28 November 2019.

³¹⁷ Longstanding member and Chairwoman of the Association of Ukrainian Women (Huddersfield Branch) from the 1959 - 1990s.

³¹⁸ Melnychuk, L. (2012). *Silent Memories - Traumatic Lives: Ukrainian Migrant Refugees in Western Australia*, (p.132). Welshpool, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.133.

guerrilla fighting force that was formed in 1942 from different underground groups and which was placed under the supreme command of General Taras Chuprynka in 1943. Although it has been impossible to uncover if any Huddersfield Ukrainian community members had actually fought with the UPA during this time (although at least one name has been mentioned) several people have confirmed that they personally, as well as other family members and friends, were strong allies of the cause and had provided the insurgents with support in terms of food, clothing and shelter when the need arose.³²⁰ One or two older members of the community, like Volodymyr Szpak, actually enrolled as youth members of the OUN during the early days of the war when it operated as a very well-organised underground apparatus that set up military training camps, schools and hospitals for the UPA, including the provision of medical, instructional and administrative personnel.³²¹

Over the seventy-year history of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community the group of members that has had the greatest political sway and which has largely led the various committees that have run the Ukrainian club, certainly in the first forty-five years of its existence, has undoubtedly been the former members of the *Divizija* (The Fourteenth Division of the Waffen SS (Galicia) later to be renamed the First Division of Ukrainian National Army). For many years, chairmen with oratory and organisational skills that were nurtured whilst in the ranks or in the camps that interned them in the post-war years, were time and again elected to provide objectives, direction, guidance and purpose to a disparate group of immigrants that were still finding their feet in an alien country.³²²

Although many of them, as has been discussed enrolled in the *Divizija* for different reasons and under vastly different circumstances, the one overriding factor that united them was a vision of a free Ukraine – a Ukraine that was not controlled by totalitarian and tyrannical powers. And so when General-Governor Wachter and Professor Kubiyovych (Head of the Ukrainian Central Committee) appealed to Galicia's youth to take up arms against the Soviets by enlisting in the Division, the call to defend their homeland and their families and the

³²⁰ Interview with Andriy Prychidnyj, of Fenay Bridge, Huddersfield, recorded on 15 March 2017 and personal communications with several members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community that have passed away.

³²¹ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 6 March 2017, and personal communications with several members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community that have passed away.

³²² *AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) Committee Meeting Minutes, Annual General Meeting/Election Minutes (1981-2018)*. Huddersfield: AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) Archives.

opportunity to avenge “the innocent blood of your brothers tortured to death in [...] Siberia [...] and the millions starved to extinction [...] by Bolshevik collectivizers” proved too strong.³²³ They were also aware that Germany was in retreat and a Soviet re-occupation was imminent. Furthermore, the UPA could not cater for any more recruits and conscription to either the Division or to an advancing Red Army was a very strong possibility. There was no doubt then that to many a Division that offered food, clothes, pay and both the opportunity to fight “Ukraine’s mortal enemy” and to potentially establish a future independent Ukrainian Army was the best option.

Several *Divizijnyky* who would become prominent leaders of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community in the future were also recruited into the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists which would impact not only on their personal political standpoints but on fellow Ukrainians living in Huddersfield after 1948.³²⁴ It is not clear exactly when and where this recruitment took place but a small number were active members before they enrolled as soldiers, and although Volodymyr Szpak insists the OUN and *Divizija* were separate entities he was vaguely aware of clandestine OUN-M activities, in particular, whilst in active service.

Others may have even come across highly nationalistic OUN and UPA literature whilst in the ranks and may have unknowingly even served alongside UPA personnel who had been secretly planted in the *Divizija* to entice deserters and to procure arms, supplies and information regarding Soviet and Nazi strengths and positions. However, most *Divizijnyky* were aware that if caught in possession of such material the firing squad awaited so tended to ignore it. Huddersfield veteran Stefan Klymczak was cognisant of the presence of UPA members but he states politics was rarely discussed, “You did not know what the next man believed in.”

What has been confirmed is the recruitment of several Huddersfield community members into the OUN when they first entered the United Kingdom and found themselves in POW camps in the agricultural areas of Eastern England and Southern Scotland, especially at the following: Amisfield Park in Haddington, East Lothian, where Volodymyr Szpak was sworn in as a full member; Hallmuir Camp in Lockerbie, Dumfries; Tattershall Thorpe Camp in

³²³ Logusz, M. (1997). *GALICIA DIVISION The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division, 1943-1945*, (p.68). USA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

³²⁴ Szpak, W. (2019, January). Personal communication.

Lincolnshire. In doing so these men vowed to continue the fight for Ukrainian independence for the remainder of their lives and although they were strong role models to successive generations, their influence has now largely passed away with them.³²⁵

Other members of the community would also encounter the OUN after the war, particularly in the Displaced Persons' camps of Germany and Austria between 1945 and 1948. At the start of 1942 the Nazis had tried to entice Ukrainians to work in Germany by promising fair wages and good living conditions. Many young people were initially attracted by such claims but they would soon realise that what really was on offer was slave labour.³²⁶ As news of exploitation quickly filtered back home the Nazis then began to round up people arbitrarily, packing them into cattle trucks and taking them to Germany by force. What awaited them, with the exception of a minority who fell into the hands of reasonably kind farmers, was back-breaking toil, malnutrition, disease and the dangers of allied bombing. For those who survived the war there was the further nightmare prospect of being classed as traitors, especially if their first taste of liberation involved encounters with soldiers of the Red Army, of being repatriated or even shipped directly to Siberian gulags. Some 120,000 Ukrainians were registered in DP camps in the Western-occupied zones of Germany and Austria where "nationalism was the dominant political current"³²⁷ and it would be within their wired fences that several members of the future Huddersfield Ukrainian community would also swear allegiance to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and in particular to OUN-B and its "integral-nationalist ideology, which placed the attainment of independent statehood above all other goals".³²⁸ Today this ideology is viewed by some people as exclusionary, but at the time it would prevail not only within the Huddersfield club but across many Ukrainian clubs in Great Britain post-1947.

And yet recruitment and open activity even in DP camps was not always possible. Fedir Jarockyj, a former Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Bradford Branch), who had links with several members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community during his lifetime, experienced such difficulties despite having been involved in OUN

³²⁵ Szpak, W. (2019, January). Personal communication.

³²⁶ Interview with Volodymyr Szpak (born 20 September 1923) of Fartown, Huddersfield, recorded on 6 March 2017.

³²⁷ Yurkevich, M. (1992). Ukrainian Nationalists and DP Politics. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Sekus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.125-143). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

³²⁸ Ibid.

underground activities in Ukraine after signing up as a youth member in the spring of 1939.³²⁹ Between 1945-1946 Fedir took on the role of police commandant at both Camp B, Hallendorf, and at Liderman Camp but discovered that political activities caused rivalries and disagreements that prevented him from setting up an OUN cadre.³³⁰ However, when he arrived in the United Kingdom in 1947 and found himself in ‘Green Bank’ camp in Horsforth, near Leeds, he began to make progress:

I started to look for members of the OUN in the camp but it led to nothing; no one was a member. I resolved to create a group of OUN supporters and within a short time I created two groups.³³¹

It has to be pointed out, however, that internal divisions within the OUN itself and rivalry with older political groupings such as the revived government-in-exile of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, would seriously hamper political progress during these early post-war years. Myroslav Yurkevich (1992) writes that although “OUN-B had made a concerted effort to dominate life in the DP camps and refugee institutions [...] OUN-M and other groups offered resistance.”³³² This rivalry, it can be argued, prevented the achievement of a political consolidation that was recognised by all parties and would affect the Ukrainian political emigration for years to come, including communities like Huddersfield where an alternative club to the AUGB would be opened in 1966. This would fall under the auspices of the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain (FUGB or *Obyednenya*) established in 1949.

It would be difficult to disagree that in following the ‘Trump’ campaign in the USA, the myriad of complex, if not confusing, issues surrounding ‘Brexit’, the regular volatile scenes in Ukraine’s parliament and indeed events surrounding recent Ukrainian presidential elections, that politics has never been more divisive. And yet politics along with religion have always brought out the best and worst in people. The dream of holding power has more often than not overridden the better nature of man causing bitter division and enmity. The same can be said of most political organisations, to a greater or lesser extent, and despite the fact that

³²⁹ Yarockyj, F. (2015). *The Moving Front: Memoirs of Fedir Stepanovych Jarockyj*, (p.9). Published by his family.

³³⁰ Ibid. pp.49-51.

³³¹ Ibid. p.60.

³³² Yurkevich, M. (1992). Ukrainian Nationalists and DP Politics. In W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk, & R. Sekus (Eds.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, (pp.125-143). University of Alberta, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

the Huddersfield Ukrainian community has largely lived in peace and harmony over seventy years, it would be disingenuous to fail to acknowledge that political, religious and social issues have from time to time created discord among certain elements of its membership.

Political differences regarding the two separate elements of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists - OUN-B and OUN-M – were particularly evident in the early years of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community. These variances, allied to a lesser extent to those of a regional nature between Galicians and Ukrainians from other parts of Ukraine, which also incorporated distinctions in religion between Ukrainian Orthodox believers and Ukrainian Catholics, resulted in a number of members of AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) resigning their membership and establishing their own political and social club under the umbrella of the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain (FUGB) that had originally split from the AUGB in 1949. Roman Krawec states that originally the FUGB was dominated by members from two political parties - the (OUN-M) and the URDP (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party), the latter of which were mainly from Central and Eastern Ukraine.³³³ Although there were a small number of Huddersfield Ukrainians from these regions it is unknown if any of them supported the URDP.

The *Obyednanya* (FUGB), as it was termed, acquired a large house at 163 Trinity Street, only some four hundred yards away from the AUGB club, where it was based between approximately 1966 and 1973 (See Appendix 4: Image 1). These premises were bought largely as a result of the efforts of people like Stefan Yevytch and Pavlo Butsan. It has been very difficult to uncover much information about this organisation as the original members have all passed away and the central organisation has also folded. Undoubtedly, one or two of its founders, in particular Stefan Yevytch, were Melnykivtsi who disagreed and fell out politically with the Banderivtsi who prevailed at the much larger AUGB club across the way. (See Appendix 4: Images 2 and 3). Some of the last surviving original members of the AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) have even stated that certain members of the FUGB were determined to cause trouble and bring about the permanent downfall of the AUGB club - “*Khotily vse rozbyty!* (They wished to destroy everything!)” - intimating that they strongly disagreed with

³³³ Interview with Roman Krawec (born 1953) recorded on 3 December 2019.

how the AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) was being run, but without being able to interview any surviving members of the Federation this is difficult to substantiate.

What is also apparent is that not all of its newly registered members were influenced by political ideology. In fact, some joined as a result of personal disagreements or perhaps felt they had no voice among the AUGB membership. John Markowycz Jnr, for example, remembers his father walking out on the AUGB when he presented a bill for some joinery work that he had undertaken at the AUGB club not long after its purchase in 1965. This was questioned by the chairman at that time which caused Ivan Markowych Snr to take umbrage and join the *Obyednanya*. It has also been brought to light that a small number of AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) members regularly visited the Federation club for social reasons, as the incumbent chairman of Huddersfield AUGB, John (Ivan) Kybaluk Jnr, states:

I remember my father (Ivan Kybaluk Snr) taking me to the Federation club as a young boy. He would often like to pop in for a catch up and a drink with friends and fellow parishioners of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.³³⁴

In reality and in many respects the Huddersfield FUGB club went on to mirror many of the objectives and activities of the AUGB club situated in Edgerton, Huddersfield. Indeed, an article, discovered in *Ukrayinske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), refers to a visit to the Federation club by St Nicholas in December 1967.³³⁵ Enacted by T. Zinchuk, *Sviatyj Mykolai*, brought presents to a highly excited group of young children who had gathered there. This was followed up on 7 January 1968 with a communal Ukrainian Christmas Holy Supper that included a nativity play incorporating Ukrainian carols that had been directed by Sophia Semenytsh.³³⁶ These events, albeit on a much smaller scale, were no different to those organised by their counterparts at the AUGB. However, as a result of a lack of numbers the Huddersfield Ukrainian Federation club's existence was short-lived and several of its members returned back to the AUGB when it closed in 1983 as they still desired the companionship of fellow Ukrainians.

³³⁴ Kybaluk, J. (June 2019). Personal communication. John Kybaluk has been Chairman of AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) since 2018, after serving on the committee for many years in the role of sports and social secretary, events manager and deputy chairman.

³³⁵ (1968, February 18). Z zhytya Viddilu OUVB (Events at the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Huddersfield Branch). *Ukrayinske Slovo (Ukrainian Word)*, p. 4.

³³⁶ Ibid.

I have tried to show in this chapter how, when and why the first members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community adopted a fervent nationalism that they would cling on to when they settled in the United Kingdom post-1947. I have focused on life in Western Ukraine under a Polish government in the 1930s and on life in Central and Eastern Ukraine under a repressive Soviet regime that had imposed a *Holodomor* ('genocide') on Ukrainian people in 1932-3. The role played by OUN-B in their early dealings with the Nazis while under the radical leadership of Stepan Bandera, their differences with OUN-M, and their battle (spearheaded by their military arm, the UPA) with all dictatorial forces on Ukrainian soil, have also been highlighted. I have also tried to depict how both factions of the OUN tried to spread their influence among the soldiers of the *Divizija* and across different categories of camps, both during and after the Second World War, and how political rivalries between different Ukrainian parties and groups hindered the cause of a united front in the fight for a future independent and sovereign Ukraine. These differences would also affect internal relationships within the Huddersfield Ukrainian community for approximately the first twenty-five years of its existence.

Sensitive topics regarding allegations of collaboration, war crimes, atrocities and anti-Semitism have also been addressed - whether aimed at the *Divizija* specifically or against Ukrainians a whole. Although oral evidence has been limited, what has been elicited, especially with regard to the support and assistance given to Jewish people by several members of the community during the war, the circumstances behind the enlistment, conscription, military action and screening of several veterans of the *Divizija*, and their knowledge (or lack of) of OUN activities, have possibly contributed to a better understanding of several contentious issues. The same can be said of numerous camps that were set up across Central Europe and the United Kingdom where some of the future leaders of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community may have acquired their first taste of organised political life.

Conclusion

This dissertation has described and explained the complex circumstances that led to some 300 Ukrainians settling in the town of Huddersfield from 1948. From a number of interviews with surviving founder members of the community (limited by availability), and with some of their children, which were placed alongside a range of documentary evidence, I have shed light on what was a turbulent and traumatic period in their lives. I have focused heavily on the majority group among these first settlers, mainly young Galicians, men and women, who, in most cases explored in Chapter 1, were taken by force to work for the Nazi war effort in countries that were incorporated into the Third Reich. They lived and worked on agricultural farms or were housed in camps that contained industrial workers deployed in the mining of natural resources or the manufacture of munitions, armaments, military vehicles, uniforms and food stuffs. They were joined by some fifty *Divizijnyky* (veterans of the 14th Grenadier Division of the Waffen-SS Galicia, later to be renamed the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army) who, since their arrival in Huddersfield from approximately 1949, dominated internal politics at the Ukrainian Club for over forty years, with the vast majority of Chairmen of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch), the central organisation behind the running of the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club), coming from the *Divizija*'s ranks. I have described the circumstances behind their enlistment/conscription into the *Divizija*, their military action on the Eastern Front and their eventual surrender to British forces. In the case of both labourers and *Divizijnyky* I have also attempted to explain why they were so reticent to discuss their early life experiences (especially the war years) with their descendants.

In Chapter 2, I have further described the time spent by former Huddersfield Ukrainian labourers whilst displaced in camps in Germany and Austria prior to signing up as EVWs and being transported to the United Kingdom. In this regard, I have shown how their experiences in organising economic, political, educational, cultural and social activities were put to good use when the Huddersfield Ukrainian community was first established. The same is true of the time spent in POW camps in Northern Italy (and then for approximately two years in the United Kingdom) by the *Divizijnyky*. I have also focused on the sensitivities behind the British government's decision to allow them entry into the United Kingdom, which have raised up questions of alleged collaboration with the Nazis and involvement in war crimes.

Chapter 3 evokes how, where and why some of the political ideologies which guided members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community were forged, and something of how they were manifested once people had arrived in Britain. This has entailed discussing attitudes towards anti-Semitism and in particular the activities of the OUN, including the political fallout between the two rival factions of OUN-B and OUN-M.

This conclusion also provides an analysis of the data uncovered regarding the founder members of the community, including oral interviews and documentary evidence elicited from original members and from descendants, friends and compatriots. It highlights gaps in evidence, inconsistencies, fragmentary memories, the impact of stress and trauma, avoidance and a reticence to speak about sensitive issues.

There were only five survivors of forced labour left within the Huddersfield Ukrainian community when this dissertation was started, although four Italian women (all of whom married former Ukrainian forced labourers in the 1950s) were also willing to share information about their husbands, as well as describing their own traumatic experiences during the bombing of Cassino in Southern Italy. What is more, only two out of these five original survivors were women - Sophia Semenytsh and Anna Czerkas. Both, in their own way, were able to describe living and working in Germany at a very young age, although Anna Czerkas's recollections tended to be somewhat fragmentary and repetitive. It would have been useful to have conducted follow-up interviews with both women and to have

probed deeper into conditions in DP camps, where Sophia Semenytsh, in particular, married her husband Mykola and bore their first son Stefan. Sadly, both women passed away before this could be achieved.

Additionally, Deonizij Dumskyj, who continues to sit on the committee of the AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) at the age of ninety two, as well as giving a detailed written personal testimony, also agreed to an oral interview during which he described life in Ukraine under Polish rule and forced labour in both Ukraine and Germany under the Nazis. He, in particular, was able to provide useful and lucid information regarding organised economic, cultural and social activities in Korrigan DP camp in Germany, but because he was relatively young at the time (born 1927) he admits to having shown no interest in politics and so was unable to provide evidence in this significant area - an area where it has been difficult to obtain data.

Angelina Kybaluk, (the Italian-born widow of Ivan Kybaluk Snr) was similarly supportive in that she too agreed to be interviewed, having already provided a personal written account of both her own and her deceased husband's life stories. This detailed several stressful and traumatic incidents that befell both of them during the war, and which incorporated her childhood memories of life in Cassino during its occupation by the Nazis and Ivan's time as a labourer in Germany. On the other hand, Gavrylo Getz, who remained tied to an Austrian farmer until 1948 and bypassed DP camps altogether, provided an interesting, if unusual insight, into someone who was treated with kindness and considered his wartime experiences as 'fortunate'. All these accounts, together with information from the children of former labourers, have helped to build up a picture of what some of the earliest members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community went through before permanently settling in the town.

I have also uncovered interesting information regarding several veterans of the *Divizija*, a good number of whom would become prominent in the community. Their stories during the war highlight a group of patriotic men who, despite being willing to lay down their lives in the hope of securing Ukraine's future independence and sovereignty, were also governed by a pragmatic desire to survive the war. Those whom I interviewed that had not been conscripted into the *Divizija* by force, had been influenced, to some degree or other, by individual and often precarious individual circumstances that resulted in their voluntary enlistment, which I have tried to depict. Their military actions, moreover, provide information regarding the *Divizija's* role in the fighting on the Eastern Front, particularly in Slovakia, Yugoslavia and

Austria. As for their internment in POW camps in Rimini, this episode sheds light on why they did not wish to return to their homelands and how the complicated and controversial decision to allow them to settle in the United Kingdom was made - a decision which has intermittently thrown up allegations of collaboration with the Nazis, which I have tried to address. Organised political, educational, economic, cultural and social activities both in Rimini and in POW camps in the United Kingdom further provide evidence of experiences that were transferred to fledgling Ukrainian communities that arose in industrial towns and cities concentrated in the Midlands and North of England.

However, out of over fifty *Divizijnyky* who originally settled in Huddersfield, only three remained that were healthy enough to be interviewed in 2017 and then re-interviewed in late 2019; Volodymyr Szpak, Andriy Prychidnyj and Stefan Klymczak. Two other veterans who were still alive at the end of 2017 were residing in care homes and were too frail to be spoken to. They have both since passed away, as has Stefan Klymczak who died on December 25 2019. Wasyl Tertiuk of Welwyn Garden City also kindly agreed to share his life story during the war years and his account included salient details regarding fellow *Divizijnyk* and Huddersfield community member Stefan Drapan Snr (now deceased) who was from the same village of Porchowa in Western Ukraine. It could be argued that this constitutes a very small number and may not reflect the majority experiences of the *Divizijnyky* who settled in Huddersfield. It is difficult to know either way; yet on the whole these four men were surprisingly open in their discussions, with only Andriy Prychidnyj steering clear of political or religious issues (Andriy did fleetingly mention he was in the ‘underground’ during the war and had signed up to the OUN in Ukraine but would not expand on this).

Following first interviews in 2017 that provided generalised narratives of how they left Ukraine, survived the war, came to the United Kingdom and became part of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield, the three remaining Huddersfield veterans all agreed to a second interview which was more specific in nature. Now all in their mid to late nineties, they nonetheless gave answers to direct questions about their knowledge and personal experience of anti-Semitism in Ukraine (apart from Andriy Prychidnyj), their enlistment/conscription into the *Divizija*, their military action, particularly in Yugoslavia, and screening (or lack of it) while interned in the POW camps of Rimini. The question of inadequate screening has resulted in several historians, journalists and writers claiming potential war criminals and

Nazi collaborators were allowed entry into the United Kingdom post-1947, but although I concur that screening appears to have been partial, my discussions with these men unearthed no evidence of Nazi sympathies or involvement in atrocities or war crimes. The veterans also relayed brief information regarding the political activities of the OUN and the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) that was set up in approximately 1966. But because of obvious frailties in health, interviews could not be lengthy, speech was not always comprehensible and memories were fragmentary. Occasional silences and ‘avoidance’ were present, but they were not always obvious and easy to interpret. Certainly, information around the subject of the OUN was not particularly forthcoming.

As a result of limitations in the number and category of interviewees, therefore, there are inevitable gaps in information and evidence, especially relating to the following significant groups: members of OUN-M (*Melnykivtsi*) or for that matter anyone with different political affiliations to OUN-B and the AUGB, especially former members of the FUGB (Huddersfield Branch); Ukrainians born in Central, Southern or Eastern Ukraine; followers of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; commissioned officers of the *Divizija* (who were more likely to have been screened whilst interned in POW camps).

I am aware of several Huddersfield veterans who held junior ranks in the *Divizija*, for example, Volodymyr Szpak (*Unteroffizier/Sergeant*), Volodymyr Zworskyj (*Fahnrl/Officer Candidate*, equivalent to a Sergeant) and Mychajlo Kulykowskyj (*Obergefreiter/Corporal*) but the only man that I know of who held a senior rank was Lieutenant colonel Evhen Nikitin-Solsky. As well as being in command of the 1st Regiment of the 1st Ukrainian Division whilst interned in Bellaria,³³⁷ and of the Technical Unit in Rimini,³³⁸ he is listed in 1943 as a battalion commander of the Galicia Division (rank *hauptsturmfuhrer*).³³⁹ His profile also records him as a captain in the Russian Imperial Army during the First World

³³⁷ Veryha, W. (1984). *Under the Italian Sun*, (p. 43). University of Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society.

³³⁸ Budnyj, W. (1979). *Перша Українська Дивізія Української Національної Армії у Британському Полоні в Італії. Ріміні 1945-1947 Збірник 1*. [The First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army under British Captivity in Italy. Rimini 1945-1947 Volume 1]. New York: Brotherhood of Former Combatants of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army.

³³⁹ Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. (2007). *OBD MEMORIAL* (A database of Soviet personnel who were killed or were missing in action during the Second World War or afterwards). Retrieved from <https://obd-memorial.ru/html>.

War when he was awarded the Order of St George class IV.³⁴⁰ It is safe to assume that Nikitin-Solsky would definitely have been screened during his internment in Italy, unlike some of the rank and file, but whether he would have divulged any confidential or sensitive material regarding his wartime and POW experiences is highly unlikely, although the information that he must have acquired would have been invaluable. He died in Huddersfield on 8 June 1960, only twelve years after being released from POW status and at the height of the Cold War. The Almanac of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain records him as visiting the Huddersfield Ukrainian club on two separate occasions in the 1950s to deliver presentations on the Battle of Brody (July 1944).³⁴¹

It could be further argued that my central role within the Huddersfield Ukrainian community may have constrained some people from offering their support (although I have no evidence of this). However, I do question (as must other people) the extent to which my background has influenced and possibly slanted my own personal stance on past and present community affairs; I am clearly an insider within this research project. It is possible, even though I make no excuses for it, that growing up in a very ‘Ukrainian’ family and one that has been completely ensconced in the life of the community, that this has caused me to lean very heavily in a certain direction - one which has been influenced, if not dictated, by a tight knit power structure that has always been highly nationalistic and strongly anti-communist, but one which has been adopted by the majority of the community.

Where possible friends and compatriots have also provided useful information picked up from their parents, and sixteen of them were interviewed. However, although they could give detailed accounts of past community affairs, knowledge of their parents’ early life stories was limited as very few had actually sat down with them, discussed their histories in a structured manner or, more importantly, recorded them. Only Ihor Krawec had held discussions with his mother which were recorded. However, Katyryna Johnson (née Sydor), who has been researching her Ukrainian family tree for several years, was able to provide a written account of how her mother (Anna Sydor) was captured by the Nazis prior to her deportation to

³⁴⁰ Enigma. Ua. (2018). *Підполковник Євген Нікітін “МИ ПЕРЕЙШЛИ...”* Lieutenant colonel Evhen Nikitin "WE TRAVERSED ...". Retrieved from https://enigma.ua/articles/pidpolkovnik_evgen_nikitin_mi_pereyshli.

³⁴¹ Almanac of the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain Volume 1 (1949-1964), (p. 112). London: Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain.

Bavaria. Similarly, Walter Bilas outlined (in four highly interesting and detailed emails) his mother's (Olga Leontivna Bilas-Martynenko) experiences during the *Holodomor*, as the family home was based in Central Ukraine, relatively near to Kyiv.

Others, like Pamela Kemp (née Zubak), who undertook to research her father's (Wasył Zubak) past, passed on valuable primary source material. Pamela had obtained copies of documents from the National Archives in Kew that highlighted some of the behind-the-scenes wrangling that took place between government departments over the issue of allowing *Divizijnyky* entry into the United Kingdom. The Fryszczyn family offered a handwritten notebook that described the circumstances behind their father's decision to enlist in the *Divizija*. Roman Ciurpita and Pamela Kemp shared artefacts from the camps in Rimini that provided evidence of the educational courses and training that took place there. The Drapan, Pankiw, Pasicznyk, Sydor, Krawec, Lobaz, Dumskyj, Prychidnyj, Szpak, Hurdus, Getz, Czerniuch, Czerkas, Ciurpita, Klymczak, Kybaluk, Wozniak and Markowycz families supplied photographs, birth and marriage certificates, employment records, identity documents and membership cards from which one could elicit important information regarding living and working conditions on farms and in labour camps in Germany and Austria, as well as providing evidence of organised political, religious, cultural, educational and social activities in DP camps and POW camps in Italy and the United Kingdom. These were supplemented with documents, press cuttings and other audio-visual resources housed in the library and archives at the Huddersfield Ukrainian Club. When put together, these resources added to and complemented the information obtained from the individual narratives.

It is worth pointing out, however, that although photographic and documentary evidence have added to the narrative in this dissertation, it is significant that some identity records were deliberately forged, altered, intentionally lost and destroyed for reasons of personal security, to procure better living and working conditions or to avoid repatriation to a country that was under foreign rule (Ivan Kybaluk's employment records in Germany provide evidence of this).

It is also highly likely that certain controversial subjects like anti-Semitism, the growth of Ukrainian nationalism during the 1930s and 1940s, the activities of the NKVD and Nazis on Ukrainian soil, the role of the OUN, the UPA and the *Divizija*, as well as sensitive information about life on farms, in industries and in various camps across Central Europe

during and soon after the Second World War, have been glossed over or deliberately avoided by original community members. Equally topics like the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) may appear shallow in their detail. However, such gaps do not derive from a deliberate research decision on my part to ignore sensitive issues; there were simply very few interviewees of the relevant age remaining who were able to discuss this part of their past, and some reticence to do so on the part of a very small number of them. This has also, to some extent, been compounded by the unavailability of relevant documentary evidence, especially if it existed, (or continues to exist) outside the domain of the AUGB (Huddersfield Branch) and specifically relating to the FUGB (Huddersfield Branch).

Where sensitive political information has been provided, it has largely emanated from former veterans of the *Divizja*, rather than former labourers, as they were probably more politically aware and informed during the war years and would go on to dominate both internal and external politics at AUGB Huddersfield for at least the first fifty years of its existence. As for women, although only two were interviewed, it was also apparent that they were less involved in politics during the war when compared to their male counterparts (although some did provide firm evidence of Nazi and Soviet cruelties and of Ukrainian support to beleaguered Jews). Furthermore, a small element of second-generation Ukrainians in Huddersfield also continues to adhere to the OUN's strict code of secrecy and they too maintain a silence on certain topics.

Nonetheless, whatever the reasons for silences or 'avoidance', be they for self-protection, a reticence to discuss sensitive issues, or as a consequence of trauma or loss of memory, I would argue that the significance of what has been uncovered should not be underestimated or trivialised. All in all, they provide a record, admittedly partial, of what some of the founders of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community endured during a particularly turbulent decade (from approximately 1937-1947). What is more, the fact that several of them have passed away during the research and writing of this dissertation shows that its undertaking and completion have not come too soon. Some may even consider it well overdue, but it has to be stressed that Ukrainians in Huddersfield, especially the oldest generation, have only recently opened up regarding their past lives and experiences, with one or two still clinging to the adage: "*Ne hovory z kym mozhna, ale z kym treba!*" ("Don't speak to whom you are able, but to whom it is necessary!")

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Maps

Image 1: A map showing the territories of Poland annexed by the Third Reich and the Soviet Union (21/10/1939 - 22/06/1941).

By Lonio17 - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0,
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=31862826>.



Image 2: A map showing territories of Poland occupied by the Third Reich after 22/06/1941.

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<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=31996938>.



Appendix 2: Photographs – Chapter One

Image 1: Ivan Kybaluk, sixteen years old, on arrival in Germany (date ca. 1942). By permission of A. Kybaluk.

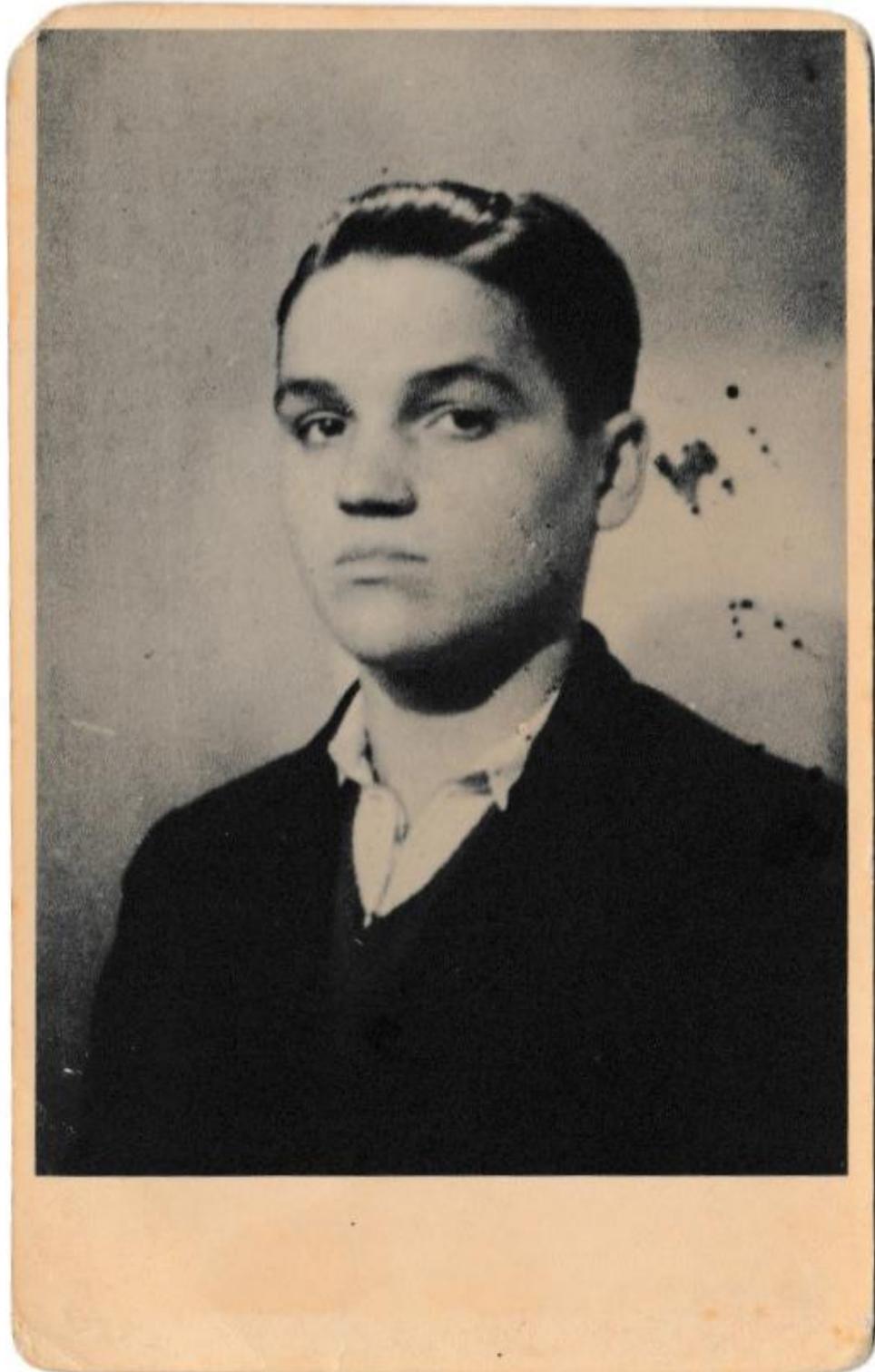


Image 2: Anna Krawec (left) on the farm in Germany (date ca. 1940-42). By permission of I. & R. Krawec.



Image 3: Bodies of inmates of *Brygidky* prison murdered by the NKVD (Lviv 1941). By permission of R. Ciurpita.

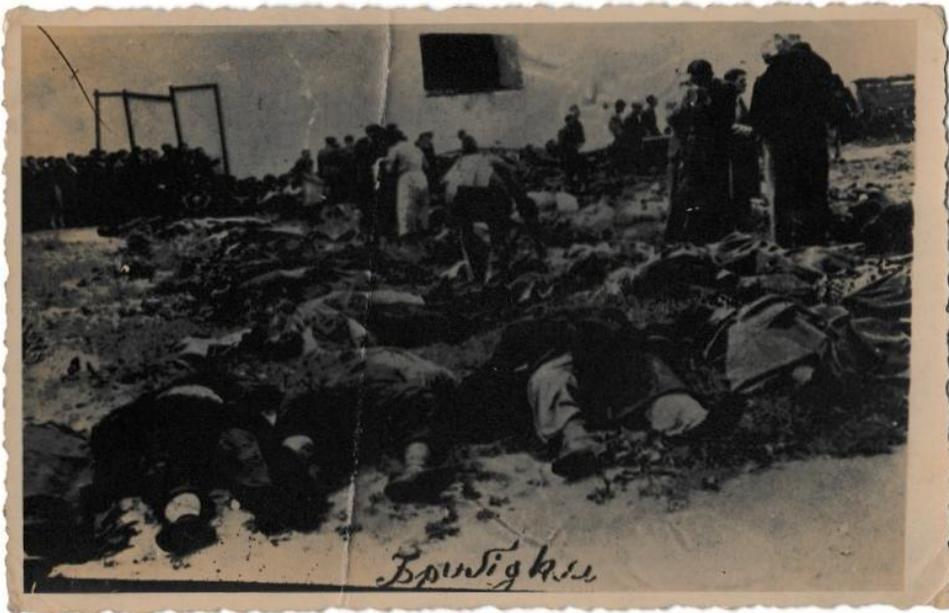


Image 4: Volodymyr Szpak in the *Divizija* with his Alsatian dog (date ca. 1943-44). By permission of V. Szpak.



Image 5: Andriy Prychidnyj (first on the left) outside his barracks in Finland (date ca. 1943). By permission of A. Prychidnyj.



Image 6: Maria Drapan - Ordeal of forced labour (18 November 1988). By permission of the Huddersfield Daily Examiner.

Ordeal of forced labour

It was a terrifying experience for the 17-year-old Ukrainian girl when, with other people from her village, she was rounded up by German officers and forced on to a lorry.

The year was 1943. The German Command, with most of the nation's men fighting the Allies, desperately needed people to run the farms and factories. Their answer to the problem was forced labour, using people from occupied countries. Maria Komarynyka and the rest knew what was happening to them.

"There was no chance to say goodbye to anyone. We were put on the wagons and taken to a transit camp," Maria recalls.

Now Mrs Maria Drapan, and a member of Huddersfield's Ukrainian community, she remembers how, after two months in the camp, the Ukrainians were loaded like cattle on to a goods train for a three-day journey with no sanitation and little food.

"We had food on only one day. It was sliced bread and pea soup. I'll never forget that soup," she says. "You were so hungry you didn't bother what it tasted like."

After the train's arrival in Germany, she found herself dispatched with a Polish man and woman, three Frenchmen and a Czechoslovakian to a farm, where she was to spend two years, working from Sun to Ripon.

From farming stock here, she took to the work, but the long hours were exhausting. When the weather was unsuitable for farming, there was a three-mile trek to the forest, where they had to chop wood. "We were not ill-treated, but life was all work. It was all manual labour."

They worked Saturdays, but had a half-day off on Sunday after they had fed the pigs in that morning.

Maria and her co-workers had no idea of the progress of the war. They wondered how long they were going to be in Germany and whether they would ever see their families again.

"But the day came when British soldiers arrived at the farm, and the forced work came to an end. The labourers were taken to a refugee camp—a munitions factory near Bremen which had been converted into dormitory accommodation and was 'not very pleasant'."

It was two years before she got the chance to come to England. She travelled by train to Holland with other Ukrainians and Polish people. After the long journey, she found herself in a large transit camp at Full Sutton, near York, where displaced people were arriving from all parts of Eastern Europe.

PHOTO BY HILDA/REUTERS. DRAPAN IS KNOWN TO DATE BACK MORE THAN 130 YEARS



Maria Drapan. There was no chance to say goodbye. We were put on the wagons and taken away.

She came to Bradford in 1947 and worked at Lister's Mill till 1951. Romance came in 1948 when she heard that, in Spalding, there was a man from her own village of Trochowa, in Western Ukraine. They swapped letters. She liked Stefan Drapan when they met and before long they were married.

They have a daughter and two sons, one of whom is now secretary of the Huddersfield branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

Another member of Huddersfield's Ukrainian community, who also did forced labour, found himself travelling on goods trains for two weeks, because stretches of line in Germany had been blown up in various places.

He recalls the situation in Germany at the end of war, when it was divided into four zones—Russian, French, British and American. Displaced persons were being sent back to where they came from, but very few Ukrainians wanted to return to their homeland under Russian rule.

"It was very difficult for all of us, because the Russians claimed we were their citizens."

"There was a language problem, but the British and Americans soon began to realise people did not want to go back to Ukraine under the Russians. There were even people who committed suicide when they were being obliged to get on Russian trains."

"Most who did go with the Russians did not get back to the Ukraine. They finished up in Kazakhstan or Asian virgin lands."

Continued on next page

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—are having a new lease of life, talking about economic, and even political independence from Russia.

But while the Ukrainians probably wish for independence more dearly than any other country, they would be unlikely to get it. That's the feeling of local Ukrainians.

The combined population of the three Baltic republics is only 8m, while the Ukraine, with a population of 51m, is known as the breadbasket and industrial heart of the USSR. Russia is very dependent on its resources—fertile wheat fields, huge quantities of coal and iron, and substantial reserves of oil and natural gas.

Situated south-west of Russia and north of the Black Sea, the Ukraine is geographically the second largest country in Europe.

Its capital, Kiev, is called the mother of Russian cities.

"The Ukraine is the original home of Russian life," says John Lawrence in his book, *Soviet Russia*. "It is the Ukrainians who have given us most of the songs and dances that we think of as characteristically Russian."

"The traditional costume of the men comprises embroidered shirts, breeches, and those great Russian boots which they use to such effect when they dance almost squatting on their haunches."

"This squatting dance is very ancient, being portrayed in silver figurines of the 6th century AD, found near Kiev. Some of the men have bass voices which are so deep that they can sing lower than any Western European or North American, except the Negroes."

Ukrainians say that, if the country was independent, it would be one of the world's major economic powers.

graphically the second largest country in Europe

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Image 7: Rozalia Pankiw on the farm in Germany (date ca. 1943-45). By permission of A. Drapan.



Image 8: Gavrylo Gec's Identity Papers (front and back covers) on arrival in Austria (date 12 May 1942). By permission of G. Gec.



Image 9: Gavrylo Gec's Identity Papers (photograph) on arrival in Austria (date 12 May 1942). By permission of G. Gec.



Image 10: Gavrylo Gec's Identity Papers (with name of Austrian farmer and location) on arrival in Austria (date 12 May 1942). By permission of G. Gec.

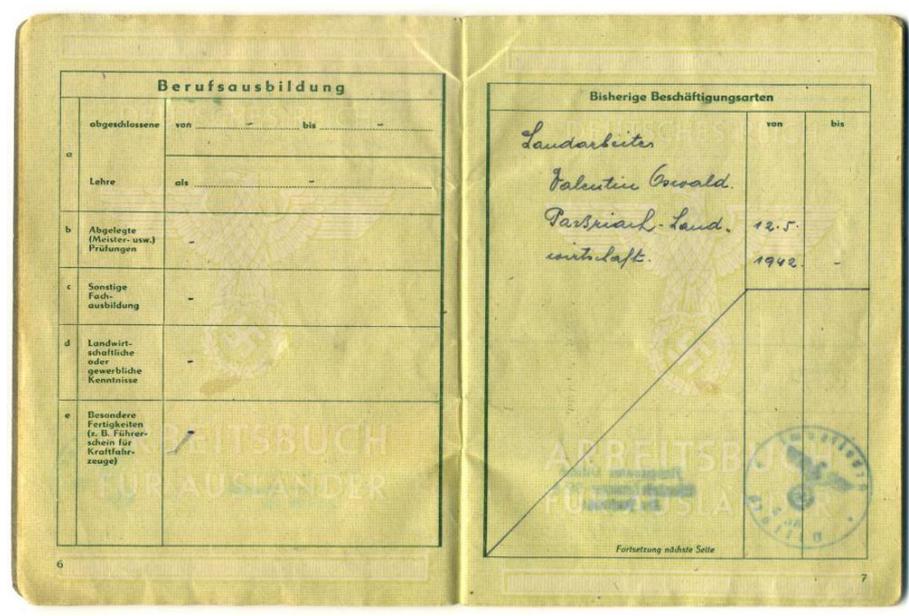


Image 11: Gavrylo Gec's Identity Papers (front cover) before leaving Austria (date 27 January 1948).
By permission of G. Gec.

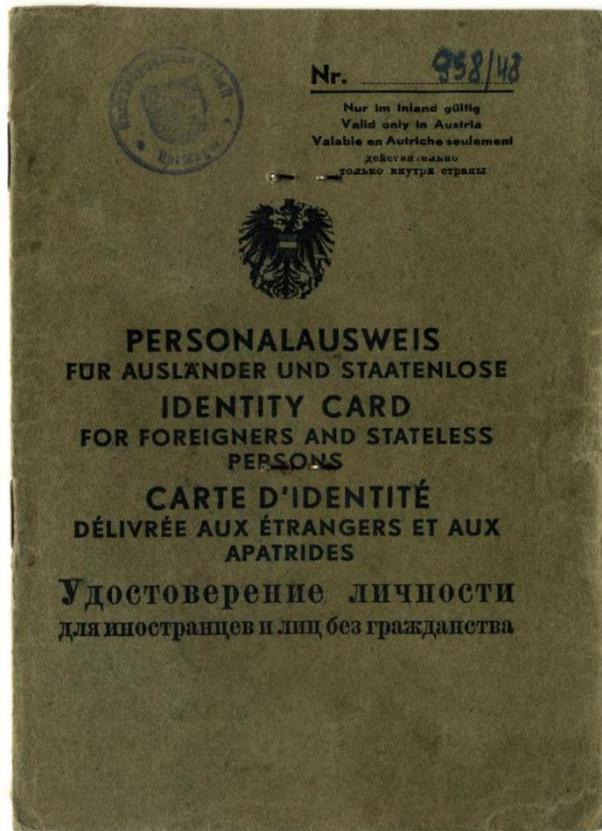


Image 12: Gavrylo Gec's Identity Papers (photograph) before leaving Austria (date 27 January 1948).
By permission of G. Gec.



Image 13: Anna Sydor in Germany (date ca. 1943-45). By kind permission of Z. Sydor.



Image 14: Falkenberg Labour Camp (date ca. 1942). By permission of M. & I. Lobaz.



Image 15: Anna Lobaz in Germany (date ca. 1943). By permission of M. & I. Lobaz.



Image 18: Confirmation of Ivan Kybaluk's employment record in Germany (1942-1945). By permission of J. Kybaluk.

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Mr John Kybaluk
35, Lawrence Road
Marsh, Huddersfield
HD1 4LY, WEST YORKSHIRE
ENGLAND

Bad Arolsen, 20th July 2010
Klù/JA

Our Reference
(please quote)
T/D – 1 137 744

Your inquiry of 29th May 2010

Your request for your father,

Mr Iwan KYBALUK, born on 22.6.1926

Dear Mr Kybaluk,

many thanks for your inquiry.

We gladly carried out a detailed check of the documentary material on hand here.

The following information could be taken from the documents of the International Tracing Service:

Name:	KIBALUK -/-
First Name:	Iwan -/-
Born on:	22.6.1926 -/-
Place of birth:	Salistze, Kremianec -/-
Nationality:	Polish, Ukrainian, Russian -/-
Religion:	Orthodox -/-
Marital status:	single -/-
Parents' names:	Iwan and Tatjana nee SOPHIA -/-
Last known address:	Zalistze -/-
Occupation:	farmer, cook -/-

was employed as unskilled worker with the firm Hanomag, Hanover-Linden, from 6th June 1942 till 29th August 1943, and was insured with the "Betriebskrankenkasse" (= company-owned sickness fund); was employed with the "Essener Steinkohlebergwerke AG", mine Dorstfeld, mine shaft 2/3-5/6, Dortmund, from 1st September 1943 until 31st March 1945; was in UNRRA-Camp Traunstein on 21st December 1945 and in the battlefield hospital Traunstein on 18th October 1946; arrived in DP Camp "Luitpold-Kaserne", Dillingen, on 22nd October 1946; was in DP Camp "Congress", Nürnberg-Erlenstegen, at a date not indicated.

Image 19: Registration lists of the 'Essener Steinkohlebergwerke AG', mine Dorstfeld, Dortmund (date ca. 1943-1945). Again Ivan Kybaluk is recorded as having been born in 1923 instead of 1926. By permission of J. Kybaluk.

Name: geb. am:	Vorname: geb. in:	Nationalität:	beschäftigt von bis	Verbleib
Jurczak 5. 6.21	Iko Rydom	Russe	1. 9.43 - 4. 9.43	ausgerückt
Jurkewitsch 7. 8.23	Wasili Bitensk	Russe	7. 7.43 - 4.11.43	abgekehrt
Jurtschuk 25. 5.26	Olga Kupil	Russin	20. 3.43 - 7. 4.45	abgekehrt
Jusina 1923	Pascha Pochotinski	Russin	20. 3.43 - 7. 4.45	abgekehrt
Kalko 1905	Michael Tschetschakowski	Russe	7. 7.43 - 6. 4.45	abgekehrt
Kalschin 1924	Evhaini Procheroka	Russe	26. 4.42 - 7. 5.42	ausgerückt
Kander 1. 1.22	Stanislaus Drehebyca	Russe	19.11.41 - 24. 2.42	gestorben F
Kanjewski 1912	Maria Gradisina	Russin	10. 2.44 - 23. 3.44	abgekehrt
Kapustianski 1. 8.24	Alexi Kowalenkowka	Russe	5. 7.43 - 7.12.43	abgekehrt
Keralow 8. 4.29	Nikolai Schmaki	Russe	8. 7.44 - 7. 4.45	abgekehrt
Karkuschew 26.12.24	Sergej Nenge	Russe	9.12.43 - 8. 2.44	abgekehrt
Karpenko 18. 2.24	Kere Usakoa	Russe	4. 6.43 - 6. 7.43	ausgerückt
Karpezj 1. 5.20	Johann Duschiw	Russe	1. 9.43 - 30. 4.44	ausgerückt
Kartaschoi 23.12.13	Alexander Caransk	Russe	13. 2.42 - 2. 3.43	abgekehrt
Kasztalevski 27. 8.27	Wladimir Szenjawa	Russe	14. 9.44 - 24. 3.45	abgekehrt
Katschur 29. 7.12	Peter Lukianowka	Russe	2. 1.43 - 2. 3.43	abgekehrt
Kibuluek 22. 6.23	Iwan Salistzi	Russe	1. 9.43 - 31. 3.45	abgekehrt
Kirilituschuk 1.10.01	Viktor Kletnoja	Russe	8. 7.44 - 6. 4.45	abgekehrt
Kizera 4. 3.06	Wasyl Lubescha	Russe	1.12.42 - 7.12.43	abgekehrt
Klezki 24. 4.24	Iwan Plosowska	Russe	8. 7.44 - 31. 3.45	abgekehrt
Klimow 9. 8.09	Gregori Stalino	Russe	14. 9.44 - 31. 3.45	abgekehrt
Klimow 1. 3.26	Iwan Schepipi	Russe	12. 8.43 - 31. 3.45	abgekehrt
Kobsan 15. 8.23	Iwan Kosary	Russe	20.11.41 - 20. 6.43	ausgeblieben

Blatt 29

Image 20: Ivan Kybaluk in the coal mine at Zeche Dorstfeld, Dortmund (date ca. 1943-45). By permission of J. Kybaluk.



Image 21: Anna Czerkas's work card (front) for the I.G. Farbenindustrie Aktiengesellschaft chemical plant in Ludwigshafen. By permission of A. Czerkas.

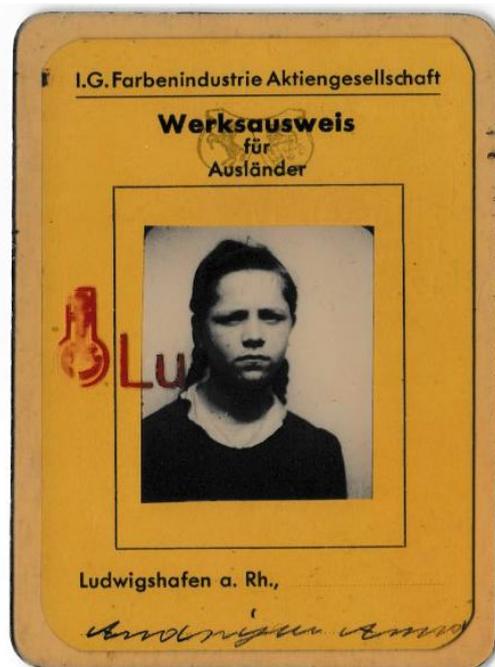


Image 22: Anna Czerkas's work card (back) for the I.G. Farbenindustrie Aktiengesellschaft chemical plant in Ludwigshafen (dated 8 October 1943). By permission of A. Czerkas.

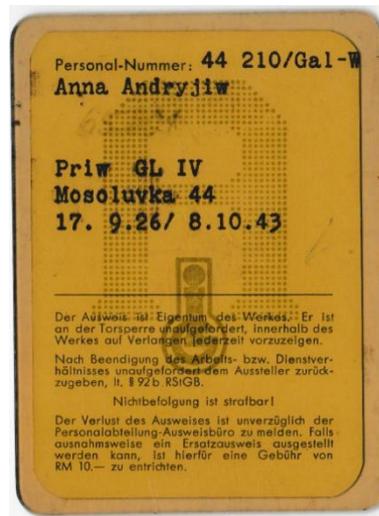


Image 23: Anna Czerkas (back left) as a kitchen assistant in a hotel in Ludwigshafen (date ca. 1944-45). By permission of A. Czerkas.



Image 24: Volunteers of the *Divizia* setting off for initial training. The picture belonged to former *Divizijnyk*, Ivan Lobaz, latterly of Birkby, Huddersfield (date ca. 1943-1944). By permission of M. & I. Lobaz.



Image 25: Stefan Klymczak in Bellaria after the *Divizija* had surrendered to the British Army (date ca. 1945). By permission of S. Klymczak.



Images 26-27: Stefan Drapan (my father) in his divisional uniform and camouflage shirt (date ca. 1944-45). By permission of M. Drapan.



Image 28: Wasyl Iwaniw (fourth from the right) with fellow *Divizijnyky* in the POW camp in Rimini, Italy (January 1946). By permission of E. Iwaniw.



Image 29: Ivan Czolacz (centre) to the left of his future brother-in-law, Stefan Klymczak, in a hostel in the United Kingdom after arriving from Rimini POW camp (date ca. 1947-1951). By permission of J. Czolacz.



Image 30: Ivan Szpak rifle training in Neuhammer (date ca. 1944). By permission of M. Szpak.



Image 31: Ivan Szpak in his uniform (date ca. 1944-45).



Image 32 a & b: *The Divizija* on the retreat through Austria (date ca. May 1945). By permission of M. Drapan (from Stefan Drapan's photograph album).

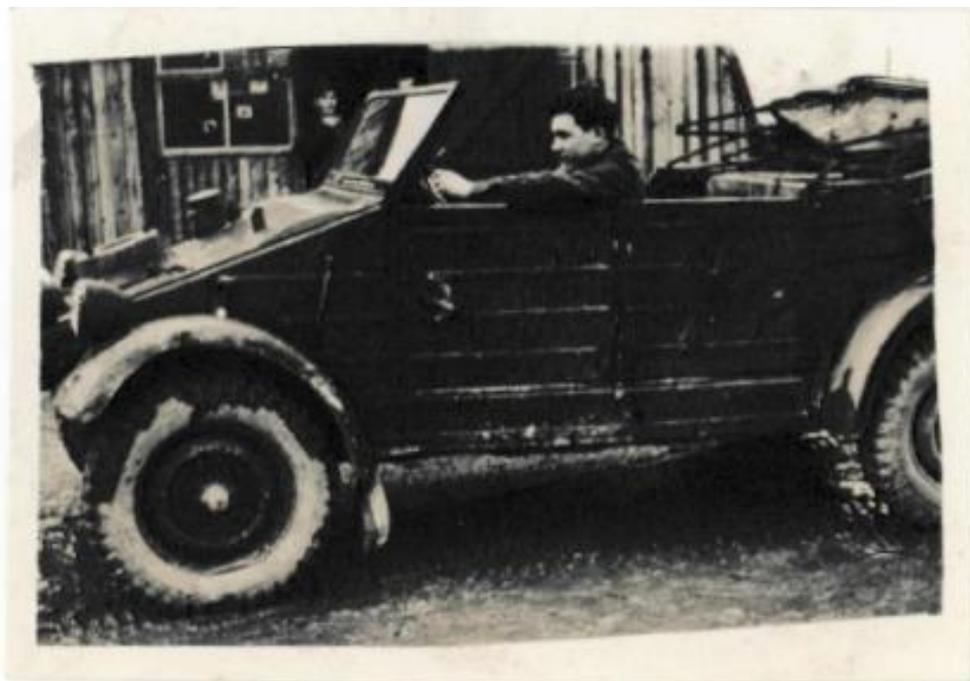


Image 33: Lieutenant colonel Nikitin's monumental stone in Edgerton cemetery, Huddersfield. By permission of M. Drapan.



Image 34: The theatre at Rimini POW camp built by Lieutenant colonel Evhen Nikitin's technical unit (date ca. 1945). By permission of M. Drapan (from Stefan Drapan's photograph album).



Appendix 3: Photographs – Chapter Two

Image 1: POW camp holding soldiers of the *Divizija* in Rimini (Italy) behind barbed wire fencing pictured in summer (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of M.Drapan.



Image 2: Rimini POW camp covered by heavy snowfall (date January 1946). By permission of M. Drapan.



Image 3: Schloss Gleichenberg fashioned by *Divizijnyky* out of tin cans (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of M. Drapan.



Images 4-5: Ukrainian prayer book covered in gold-coloured tin crafted from disused cans (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of P. Kemp.

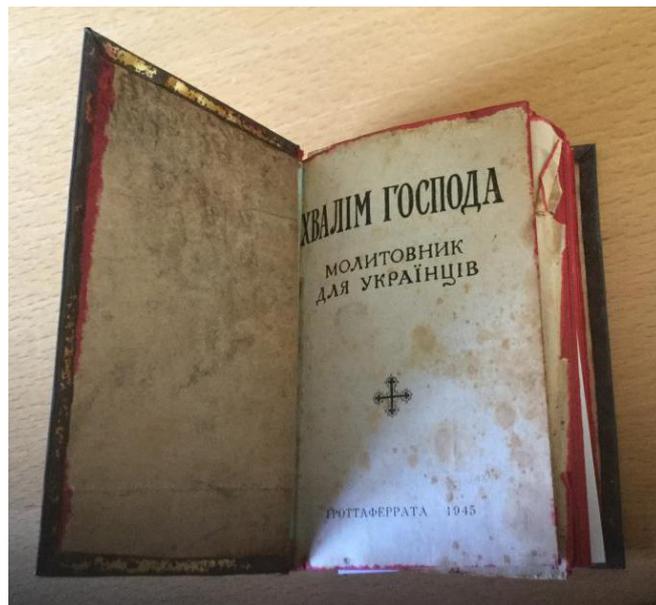


Image 6: Cover page of *Скоро по Англійськи* ('Quick English'). Produced in Rimini as a teaching aid for *Divizijnyky* wishing to learn English (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of R. Ciurpita.

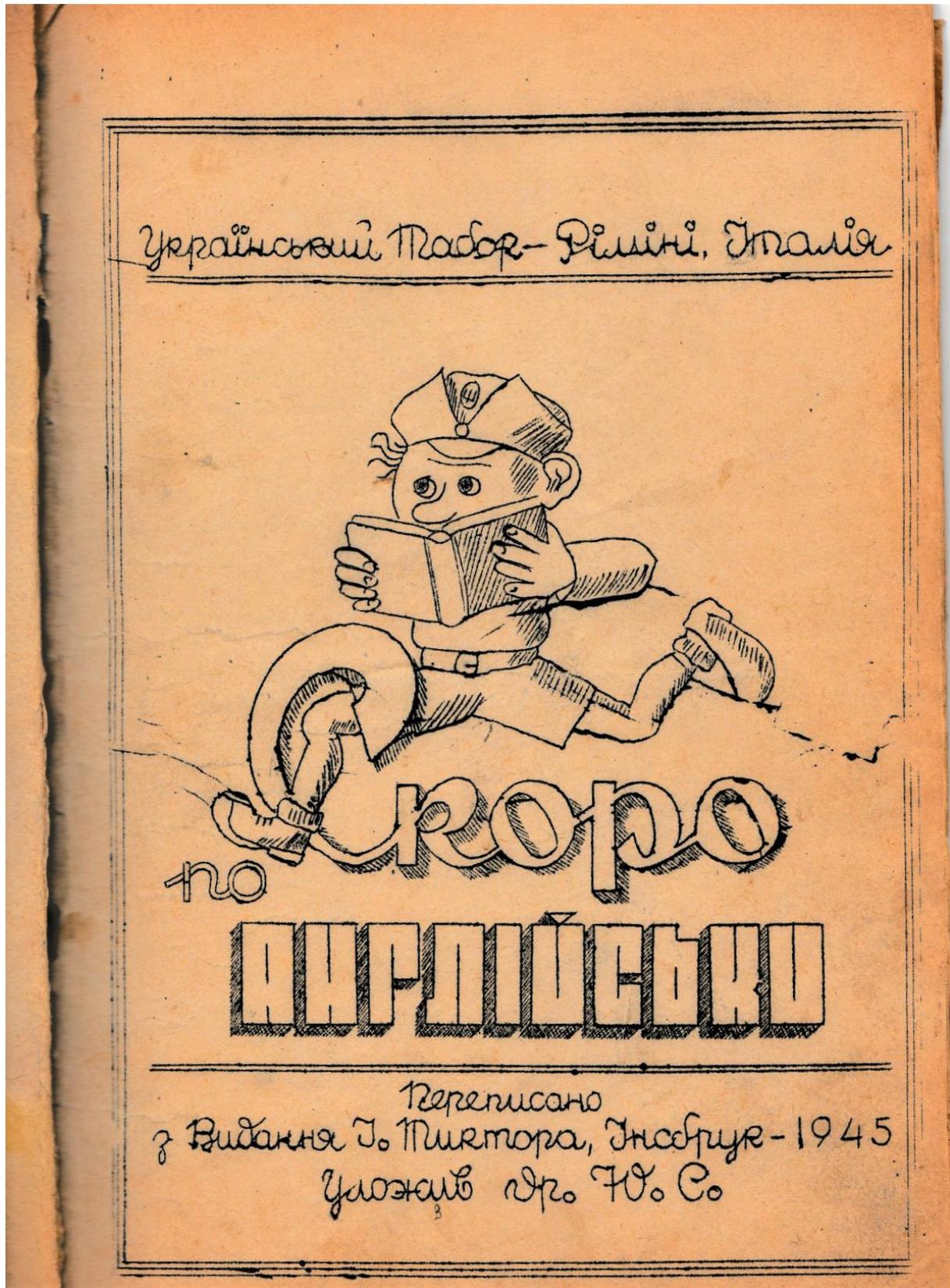


Image 7: *Скоро по Англійськи* ('Quick English') p.7. Produced in Rimini as a teaching aid for *Divizijnky* wishing to learn English (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of R. Ciurpita.

- 7 -

couch	кауч	отомана
chest of drawers	чест оф дроуерз	комода
cupboard	капборд	шафа
writing-table	райтінг-тейбл	бюрко
table	тейбл	стіл
chair	чейр	крісло
picture	пикчир	образ
looking-glass	лукінгглас	дзеркало
lamp	ламп	лямпа
paper-basket	пейпер-баскет	кіш на папір
inkpot	інкпот	каламар
ink	інк	чорнило
pencil	пенсл	олівець
tool	тул	знаряддя
material	матерієл	матерієл
fire	файр	вогонь
pail	пейл	відро
barrel	берел	бочка
bottle	ботл	пляшка
wood	ууд	дерево
coal	коул	вугілля
candle	кендл	свічка
light	лайт	світло
broom	брум	мітла
spoon	спун	ложка
fork	форк	вилки
knife	найф	ніж
plate	плейт	тарілка
glass	глас	склянка
cup	кип	чашка
top	то	горшок
sugar-basin	шугер-бейсн	цукорниця
painting	пейнтінг	малюнок
piano	пієноу	п'яніно
river	рівер	річка
brook	брук	потік
pond	понд	став
mountain	маутн	гора
valley	велі	долина
bridge	брідж	міст
bank	бенк	беріг
field	філд	поле
way	уей	дорога
foot-path	фут-пєсз	стежка
meadow	мєдоу	левада
farm	фарм	господарство
ditch	діч	рів
church	чирч	церква
barn	барн	стодола
stable	стебл	стайня
crib	кріб	жолоб
well	уел	криниця

Image 8: A nursery class of Ukrainian children in a DP camp in Germany (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of J. Kybaluk.



Image 9: Rozalia Pankiw being escorted by the wedding party to the camp chapel (Bielefeld) where her intended husband Mykola was waiting (16 November 1947). By permission of A. Drapan.



Image 10: Mykola Pankiw (second from the left) with the tenor section of a choir based in Bielefeld DP camp, Germany (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of A. Drapan.



Image 11: Mykola Pankiw playing the part of a *Dið* (old man) alongside the hapless Malanka - enacted on this occasion by Katyryna Krawczuk (date ca. 1972-74). By permission of J. Kybaluk.



Images 12-13: Anna Sydor singing in a mixed voice choir (front row fifth from the right) and performing in a musical production (second to the right of the bandura player). These events took place in a DP camp in Germany (date ca 1945-47). By permission of Z. Sydor.



Image 14: Classical play in the theatre at Rimini (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of M. Drapan.



Image 15: Ukrainian and Italian women socialising at the Huddersfield Ukrainian club (date ca. 1965-69). By permission of J. Kybaluk.



Image 16: Deonizij Dumskyj walking in front of a wagon full of labourers being transported to various jobs located on the outside of Kiel DP camp in Northern Germany (date ca. 1945-47). By permission of D. Dumskyj.



Images 17: Displaced persons and refugees leaving the DP camps of Germany and Austria to start new lives in the West (date ca. 1947-48). By permission of M. Drapan.



Image 18: Displaced persons and refugees leaving a DP camp near Munster, Germany, to start new lives in the United Kingdom. Maria Drapan (my mother) is standing in the centre (behind a white parcel) holding a bouquet of flowers (date ca. 1947-48). By permission of M. Drapan.



Image 19: Rozalia Pasicznyk's DP Camp Identity Card (Germany) showing authorisation from the Ministry of Labour to work in the United Kingdom (date 31 July 1947). By permission of John Pasicznyk.

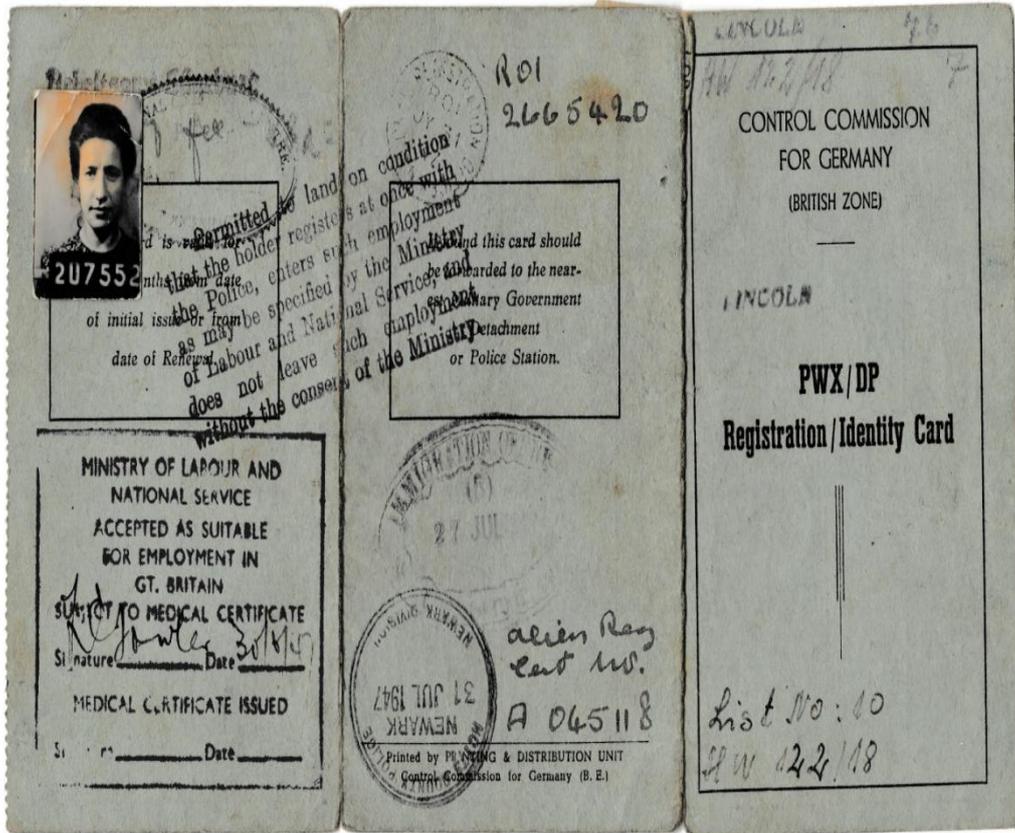


Image 20: A photograph sent by Rozalia Pankiw (my mother-in-law) to her husband Mykola who had moved to England as an EVW in 1948. She would rejoin him a year later in 1949 (dated 9 October 1948). By permission of A. Drapan



Дарую своєму найдорожчому
 чоловіку фотографію
 щоб ти її завжди
 пам'ятав і доки
 скоро ми знову
 зустрінемося.
 Твоя любляча
 дружина Розалія Панків.
 9.10.48р.

Image 21: Written on the back in Ukrainian was the following message: “I gift to my dearest husband a photograph to remember me by until the time that we are reunited. Your ever-loving wife Rozalia (dated 9 October 1948).” By permission of A. Drapan.

Image 24: Framed newspaper article written by Tom Bower (dated August 21, 1987). 'Conspiracy in Whitehall.' *The Times*, (p. 7).

THE TIMES FRIDAY AUGUST 21 1987

SPECTRUM

Conspiracy in Whitehall

Tom Bower concludes his investigation into how the Foreign Office suppressed the truth about thousands of Ukrainian SS troops brought to Britain after the war

In the last days of February, 1947, the Conservative MP Fitzroy Maclean returned back to the Foreign Office in London after his imprisonment in the Adriatic coast of Italy. Thanks to his wartime success as Churchill's emissary to Tito, he had been sent by the post-war Labour government to screen the camp's inmates — mostly Yugoslavs, Ukrainians and Balts — and to provide the evidence that would permit the British to tell Stalin that the camp harboured no war criminals whose nationalities would permit the Soviet Union to demand their repatriation to Russia.

In particular, Maclean was asked to screen the camp's 8,000 Ukrainians, many of whom admitted membership of the SS and were suspected of having committed war crimes. With only 10 weeks to go before the withdrawal of British troops from Italy, the FO had realized that to leave the Ukrainians behind would be to hand them over to the Soviet Union and in the gradually enveloping cold-war atmosphere, with the dispute over the ill-fated hand-over of Cossack battalions to the Russians still fresh in their minds, the politicians and their civil servants were also inclined to show sympathy towards anti-communists — even if they had fought on the German side only two years earlier.

Maclean soon realized the impossibility of the task given limited time, meagre facilities and the fact that those with connections to him had been obliged to spend two years sneaking cover stories. The camp did not even have a nominal roll of those present and the Ukrainians carried identification cards. Indeed, it was on transcripts that they had liberally destroyed their own records of their wartime activities, including every own document about the alienized SS division, to which the Germans had recruited many Ukrainians in their fight against the Bolsheviks in 1943.

There are indications that they may have served in SS units, Maclean cabled back Whitehall. "It must be in my mind that we only their word for it that... have not committed crimes or war crimes," he wrote, "but he felt that they'd be given the benefit of doubt."

London, A.W.H. Wilton, the FO representative at the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration, read Maclean's report with concern, revealing a shocking state of affairs and it is clear that Ukrainians are in no way regarded as innocent "dissidents," he wrote, "on was even prepared to repatriation to the Union, which he concedes "all they deserve."

Senior, Evelyn Boothby, to abandon the screened, would be going way of winding up military responsibility quickly persuaded the Office to consider the Ukrainians the prisoners of war, a guiding philosophy among FO officials that is well established.

By 1947, the antagonisms caused by Moscow's post-war

UKRAINIANS FROM ITALY
TRANSFER FOR WORK IN BRITAIN

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT
About 8,000 men of the former German army, in the Ukrainian Division, who were held as prisoners in Rimini, Italy, are being moved to Britain for agricultural work.

According to a press release, the men came from...

Men in the middle: Ernest Bevin obtained Clement Attlee's signature to divert ships to Italy for the Ukrainians' evacuation

reflect the change. Whereas earlier he had told Whitehall that he would be unable to "fulfil this portion of my task in any but the most superficial manner," he now telegraphed: "I expect to have completed my investigation of the Rimini camp by March 15." The refugee department was delighted. To have suddenly compressed "many months' work into just three weeks was indeed phenomenal. In a measured understatement, Wilkinsons commented: "This is good news."

Officials now needed all of Whitehall to give their support. Hence, late on March 23, Hector McNeil, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, went to the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, for his approval of the policy. On April 1, it was endorsed by the full Cabinet, although later that day Ernest Bevin was forced to obtain Attlee's signature to an order to Whitehall to divert ships to Italy for the evacuation.

Bevin's explanatory letter described the Ukrainians as "innocent people" endangered by "an unjust fate". Since no one had ever searched for or received any evidence to the contrary, his department's fanciful description achieved its purpose. By the end of June the transportation to Britain was completed, the newcomers being housed in Scottish POW camps vacated by departing Germans.

The arrival of the Ukrainians provoked noticeable disquiet in the FO. Brimelow could not hide his concern that, despite his department's assurances to the rest of Whitehall, the Ukrainians had never been screened. Boothby, while admitting that "it will not be so easy to screen them," did not share his colleagues' concern. As long as the Soviet Union did not make a fuss, he believed that there was time to arrange their resettlement in Britain with the Home Office. The only obstacle to be overcome was public opinion.

Among the first inquirers, in July, was the Labour MP Richard Crossman, who forwarded a constituent's letter complaining about the arrival in Britain of "8,000 blood-thirsty cut-throats" who were "guilty of the most brutal atrocities." Wilkinsons

shall not be in a position to screen them for some time to come," and suggested that they be quietly released from POW camps, since the Ukrainians were "excellent" workers. Swiftly, the Ukrainians were released and Whitehall seemed united.

The FO's conspiracy was now called upon to suppress questions about the 1,000 Balts who had arrived from the Rimini camp along with the Ukrainians during May and June. These questions, by contrast, were based on "real" evidence.

Some of the Balts had been described by visitors to the camp as "special Poles," and were rightly suspected of war crimes. But since the British had not recognized the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states, there was never any suggestion that they be screened for forcible repatriation. Conveniently, just prior to their arrival they were all redescribed in a cable from the British embassy in Rome as "agriculturalists and textile workers." Wilkinsons envisaged no problem for their future: "The Balts," he wrote, "will settle down well here."

On arrival, they were separated from the Ukrainians. All were registered as aliens, given a medical check and offered work in mines or factories with the opportunity of later qualifying for British nationality. They joined nearly 20,000 other Balts who had been recruited by Whitehall in Germany under "Operation Westward Ho" to relieve Britain's acute labour shortage.

Since no British government agency was actively searching for Baltic war criminals, none of those entering, although the Soviet Union had sent substantial material about the Baltic SS units to the British government. That evidence was routinely ignored, but a single report by a Polish doctor in London could not be brushed aside so easily.

In early October, during a routine medical check, one of the recently arrived group of Balts, the doctor whose identity is not divulged by the surviving documents — noticed that they all bore small tattoo marks under their arms. The Pole knew this to be the indelible sign that the Balts had been SS officers: since the tattoo was a guarantee that, in the event of an injury, the SS

officer received only partial credit for his services. The doctor tried to expose the scandal. His report arrived at the FO with another allegation which described, in detail, a covered train in a car at Southampton with a recently arrived Balt who admitted volunteering as an officer. On hearing about the threat to their arrangements, Wilkinsons and Brimelow were noticeably upset, particularly when the Ministry of Labour protested that if it were established that SS officers were working alongside British workers, there would be innumerable problems for the government's priority plan to import thousands of foreign nationals.

Six months later, Wilkinsons organized the suppression of these revelations. The doctor's report was again ordered to "a medical nature" not a political nature. The Ukrainians were again the untruth that the Balts had definitely "not been screened before coming."

Brimelow also joined in the suppression of the report that there would be no work in mines or factories to be sent out artificially repeated their own fictitious excuse: had been tattooed at the time of their capture during the last days of the war.

By the early Fifties the Balts had not been applied for British citizenship — including those who had been SS officers, like Gecas, now resident in the north of England, and "amongst a list of criminals presented to the British government by Simon Wiesenthal in 1961."

Of the Ukrainians emigrated to Canada and America, investigations in those countries by government agencies revealed the unpopularity of a high proportion of those Ukrainians who remained in Britain. No record available to disclose they now live and names.

© Times Newspapers

Scotchgard protector.

We thought we'd bring it up before the baby did.

Your baby has just had lunch. Now it's your settee and carpet's turn.

And suddenly you've got a sticky problem.

Scotchgard protector puts an end to these little dramas by surrounding every fibre of fabric with an invisible shield that resists spills and dirt. This keeps fabrics looking good for up to three times longer.

Because if a whoopie can't go through fabric, it's less likely to become a stain.

But it's not just fabrics that can be protected by Scotchgard protector. Even pure wool carpets can be made to resist the messiest babies.

You can buy ready-treated fabrics, furniture and carpets or have them

phone the number below for details of your nearest stockist.

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NAME: _____
ADDRESS: _____

“We only have their word for it that they have not committed war crimes”
Fitzroy Maclean

“There is no evidence that the Ukrainians were bloodthirsty cut-throats”
Hector McNeil

noticeable. The evidence of any cogent reasoning is glaringly absent, although the personnel of that time is well established.

By 1947, the antagonisms caused by Moscow's post-war

government's adherence to the treaty increasingly difficult.

In that context, the fate of the Ukrainians in Rimini presented barely a dilemma for most officials in Whitehall. To leave Britain's former enemies to their fate in Italy would have been perfectly legal, and undoubtedly acceptable to many. But to return the 8,000 to Russia would have provoked repercussions which they were unwilling to face. To bring the Ukrainians to Britain was an easy gesture in the new anti-communist atmosphere — which, in this case, encompassed suspected mass-murderers.

Consequently, the same Ukrainians who four days earlier had been condemned

CROSSWORD NO 1341

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21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50

Image 25: Hryhoryj Chomeczko (left) and Mykola Krawec (right) – formerly of Lindley and Marsh, Huddersfield, respectively – sporting new civilian clothes (donated by Ukrainians in the USA) in readiness for their permanent departure from Rimini to the United Kingdom (date 1947). By permission of I. & R. Krawec.



Image 26: Volodymyr Szpak (second from the left) joking with a sailor whilst on board a troop ship that had embarked from Venice and was destined for Liverpool via Gibraltar (date 1947). By permission of V. Szpak.



Image 27: A group of former *Divizijnyky* based at Hallmuir POW camp, Lockerbie, Scotland. It features several future members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community including: Wasyl Zubak; Andriy Prychidnyj; Stefan and Mychajlo Hnatkiwskyj (date ca. 1948-49). By permission of P. Kemp.



Image 28: A group of former *Divizijnyky* at Amisfield POW camp, Haddington, Scotland. It features several future members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community including Ivan and Volodymyr Szpak (date ca. 1948-49). By permission of M. Szpak.



Image 29: Stefan Drapan (second from the right) ready to start farm work whilst based at Tattershall POW camp, Lincolnshire (date ca.1947-9). His classmate Vasyi Kruk (they were together at the Agricultural Lyceum in Chernytsia, Western Ukraine, before they entered the *Divizija*) is second from the left. By permission of M. Drapan and I. Kruk.



Image 30: Wasyl Iwaniw (stood on the right with a pipe in his mouth) and fellow Ukrainians leaving Tattershall camp to go out for the day (date ca. 1947-9). By permission of E. Iwaniw.



Image 31: A group of former *Divizijnyky* (including four men who would eventually settle in Huddersfield: Wasyl Zubak, Andriy Prychidnyj, Stefan and Mychajlo Hnatkiwskyj) taking a break from farm work whilst based at Hallmuir POW camp, Lockerbie, Scotland (date ca. 1947-48). By permission of A. Prychidnyj.



Image 32: A group of former *Divizijnyky* (including Ivan and Volodymyr Szpak who would settle in Huddersfield) working in fields in the vicinity of Amisfield POWcamp in Haddington, Scotland (date ca.1947-48). By permission of M. Szpak.



Image 33: Bohdan Panchuk (standing next to the car with a hat on) visiting the *Divizija* in Rimini POW camp (date ca 1945-47). By permission of I. & R. Krawec.



Image 34: A priest conducting mass at Tattershall POW camp (date ca 1947-49). By permission of S. Klymczak.



Appendix 4: Photographs - Chapter Three

Image 1: 163 Trinity Street, Huddersfield, the club premises of the FUGB (Huddersfield branch) between approximately 1966-19



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Images 2 and 3: 7 Edgerton Road, Huddersfield, the club premises of the AUGB (Huddersfield branch) from 1965 to the present.



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TABLE OF INTERVIEWEES

NAME	ROLE IN COMMUNITY	INTERVIEW DATE	QUESTIONS ASKED	SECOND INTERVIEW DATE	QUESTIONS ASKED
<i>DIVIZIJNYKY</i>					
VOLODYMYR SZPAK	Volodymyr is a former multiple chairman of the following: the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch); the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club <i>Kalyna</i> ; the Organisation of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).	06/03/2017	<p>How and when did you first leave Ukraine?</p> <p>What work did you do in Hamburg?</p> <p>Did you go voluntarily or were you taken by force?</p> <p>Who arrested you in Kielce?</p> <p>Where did you return to?</p> <p>Did you sign up to the <i>Divizija</i> voluntarily?</p> <p>How long were you in the POW camp in Italy?</p> <p>When did you first come to Huddersfield?</p> <p>Where did you live?</p> <p>Where did you work?</p> <p>What was early life like?</p>	26/11/2019	<p>Can you give me the exact details of how you joined the <i>Divizija</i>?</p> <p>What regiment were you allocated to?</p> <p>Did you see active service in Yugoslavia and if so can you describe it?</p> <p>Were political activities, in particular appertaining to the OUN, prevalent in your village and then in the <i>Divizija</i>? When did you sign up to the OUN?</p> <p>Were you aware of antisemitism whilst growing up in the village and particularly during the war years?</p> <p>What do you remember of the surrender of the <i>Divizija</i> to the British army in May 1945?</p>

			<p>How did you join the Ukrainian community in the town?</p> <p>Tell me about your involvement in community politics and where and how people met before the community bought its first club.</p> <p>What issues did you deal with as a chairman of several committees at the club?</p>		<p>Were you individually screened/interviewed whilst interned in Rimini?</p> <p>Do you remember anything about the establishment of an alternative Ukrainian Club in Huddersfield - one under the banner of the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain? Why and who joined this club?</p>
STEFAN KLYMCZAK	Longstanding member of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and an original member of the Ukrainian Youth Association (Huddersfield Branch) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Former Combatants in	27/09/2017	<p>How and when did you first leave Ukraine?</p> <p>Did you sign up to the <i>Divizija</i> voluntarily?</p> <p>Did you or others from Huddersfield fight at Brody?</p> <p>Did you fight at Feldbach?</p> <p>How did you travel from Spittal to Rimini?</p> <p>Where did you sail to on leaving Italy in 1947?</p> <p>On arrival in the UK where were you taken and how?</p> <p>What work did you do in Tattershall?</p>	28/11/2019	<p>Ibid.</p> <p>PASSED AWAY DECEMBER 2019</p>

	Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).		<p>When did you first come to Huddersfield?</p> <p>Where did you live?</p> <p>Where did you work?</p> <p>How did you meet up with other Ukrainians and where?</p> <p>When did you sign up to the Ukrainian Youth Association?</p> <p>Did you take part in the national rally of the Ukrainian Youth Association that took place in Huddersfield in 1952?</p> <p>Where was Ukrainian Mass first held?</p> <p>How did you meet your wife Orazia?</p>		
ANDRIY PRYCHIDNYJ	Longstanding member of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).	15/03/2017	<p>How and when did you first leave Ukraine?</p> <p>What work were you forced to do for the Nazis?</p> <p>When and why were you sent to Finland?</p> <p>When did you return home?</p>	02/12/2019	Ibid.

			<p>When and how did you join the <i>Divizija</i>?</p> <p>Were you involved with the OUN?</p> <p>Where were you taken when you surrendered to the British?</p> <p>On arrival in the UK where were you taken and how?</p> <p>What work did you do whilst stationed at Lockerbie POW camp?</p> <p>Which other <i>Divizijnyky</i> came to Huddersfield from Lockerbie?</p> <p>When did you first come to Huddersfield?</p> <p>Where did you live?</p> <p>Where did you work?</p> <p>How did you meet up with other Ukrainians and where?</p> <p>How did you purchase your first home?</p>		
WASYL TERTIUK	Resides in Welwyn Garden City. Was enlisted	15/10/2017	<p>How and when did you and my father, Stefan Drapan, first leave Ukraine?</p> <p>Can you tell me about your time in the <i>Divizija</i> until the</p>		

	into the Divizija with Stefan Drapan (my father) following capture by Hungarian soldiers.		time you were released from its ranks in the UK?		
FORCED LABOURERS					
DEONIZYJ DUMSKYJ	Deonizyj is a former chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club <i>Kalyna</i> , past secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and has been a member of several committees at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre (Club) in Huddersfield.	27/05/2019	Brief written autobiography provided by Deonizyj covering early life from 1927 to the mid-1960s when he joined the Huddersfield Ukrainian community. Additionally, letters and documents provided by Deonizyj appertaining to his role and contribution to several community committees.	25/11/2019	<p>What was the name of the DP camp you were stationed at in Germany?</p> <p>When and how did you find yourself there?</p> <p>How old were you at the time?</p> <p>Do you remember any activities, especially political ones, that took place in the camp?</p> <p>What skills did people acquire in the camps?</p> <p>Did you witness any religious, regional social or political differences between Ukrainians in the camp?</p> <p>Was communal life/ conditions</p>

					<p>difficult in the camp?</p> <p>Can you describe them?</p> <p>Were there any sensitive issues regarding camp life which people may not have wished to discuss?</p> <p>How did you come to settle in the United Kingdom?</p> <p>Do you recall whether there were people in Huddersfield who held different political views to the majority who were supporters of OUN-B? Were there many OUN-M supporters and did they tend to join the Federation of Ukrainians as opposed to the Association of Ukrainians?</p>
GAVRYLO GEC	Longstanding member of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).	08/06/2017	<p>Tell me how you left Ukraine. When and where was this?</p> <p>How long did you spend with the farmer in Austria?</p> <p>How did he treat you?</p> <p>What work did you do when you arrived in the UK and where did you live?</p>		

			<p>When did you purchase your first house?</p> <p>How did you first make contact with other Ukrainians in the town?</p> <p>Were you active in any community committees or political activities?</p> <p>How did you find early life in Huddersfield and in particular living and working alongside British people?</p>		
<p>DMYTRO CZEREPANIAK</p>	<p>Longstanding member of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch).</p>	<p>11/10/2017</p>	<p>Tell me when and where you were born and how and when you left Ukraine during the war.</p> <p>What work did you do in Germany?</p> <p>Where were you first stationed when you arrived in the UK and what work were you given?</p> <p>When did you come to Huddersfield and what jobs did you hold down in your lifetime?</p> <p>How did you first live in Huddersfield?</p> <p>You were involved in many building and maintenance projects at the Ukrainian club. Can you tell me about these?</p> <p>Did you have an allotment at the club and what did you grow?</p>		

<p>ANNA CZERKAS (in the presence of her son, Michael (born 1966), who briefly interjected to relate a story his mother had told him).</p>	<p>Longstanding member of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and the Association of Ukrainian Women (Huddersfield Branch).</p>	<p>04/05/2017 PASSED AWAY JUNE 2017</p>	<p>When did you leave Ukraine?</p> <p>Do you remember how the Germans first took you?</p> <p>Where were you sent?</p> <p>What work did you do in Germany?</p> <p>Where did you live?</p> <p>Were you placed in a camp?</p> <p>Michael do you want to tell me about one particular incident that befell your mother whilst she was employed in a hotel kitchen in Germany?</p> <p>How long did you spend at Silsden camp, near Keighley, when you first arrived in the UK?</p> <p>What employment were you engaged in?</p> <p>What was it like working in the factories?</p> <p>How were you treated?</p> <p>How did you meet up with other Ukrainians in Huddersfield and did you share housing?</p> <p>What do remember of early community life - the first</p>		
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			church/ club?		
SOPHIA SEMENYTSH	Former member of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Huddersfield Branch) and the Association of Ukrainian Women (Huddersfield Branch) and the Federation of Ukrainians (Huddersfield Branch).	21/03/2017 PASSED AWAY JANUARY 2018	Can you tell me when you were taken to Germany? Was it by force? Where and how did this take place and how old were you at the time? Were you taken to a farm? What were you made to do and how long were you there? Where did you end up at the end of the war? Did you marry and have children in the camp? Where did you work when you arrived in Huddersfield? How did you communicate with other Ukrainians? Did you attend social functions and did your children attend Ukrainian school? Can you remember any issues that broke out within the community?		
<i>ITALIAN WOMEN WHO MARRIED UKRAINIAN MEN</i>					
ANGELINA KYBALUK	Italian wife of Ivan Kybaluk Snr deceased. Born	17/08/2017	Please tell me when and where you were born and describe the situation in Italy during and after the war. What were		

	<p>07/04/1936 in Vallecupa, near Cassino. Came to the UK in 1955 under a Ministry of Labour permit to work in the textile industry. Has remained a stalwart of the Ukrainian community in Huddersfield ever since, especially with regard to organising the catering for many community events such as the annual Christmas Holy Supper.</p>		<p>the reasons for coming to England.</p> <p>Did you have employment arranged for you?</p> <p>What was your first job?</p> <p>Did you know of any other Italian women who were already here?</p> <p>How did you meet your husband Ivan?</p> <p>Did other Italian women meet their husbands in similar fashion?</p> <p>When were you allowed to leave the hostel?</p> <p>Where and how did you live when you came to Huddersfield?</p> <p>When did you start going to the Ukrainian club?</p> <p>Where was your husband from?</p> <p>Can you tell me about his experiences during the war and how he came to the United Kingdom?</p> <p>What was he employed as during his lifetime?</p>		
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			<p>How did you both feel about the Ukrainian community?</p> <p>How many times did you visit Ukraine together?</p>		
MARIA GOLOWIAK	<p>One of three sisters who were born near Cassino in the 1930s. They all came to the United Kingdom to work in textiles in the early 1950s and married former Ukrainian forced labourers (Mykola Golowiak deceased, Ivan Wozniak deceased and Dmytro Czerepaniak). They became and have remained</p>	19/07/2017	<p>Can you describe Cassino after it was bombed in the war?</p> <p>Where did you live after your house was flattened?</p> <p>How old were you at the time?</p> <p>Can you describe your journey to England?</p> <p>How did you meet your Ukrainian husbands?</p> <p>How long were based at Hopton hostel whilst working at the Britannia Mills in Mirfield?</p> <p>When did you marry and move to Huddersfield?</p> <p>What did you do for work in Huddersfield?</p> <p>Do you remember your first involvement with the Ukrainian club in Huddersfield?</p> <p>What social occasions have left the best memories?</p> <p>Do you remember working alongside Ukrainian women preparing food for concerts, parties and dances?</p>		

	members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community ever since.		Have you ever thought of returning to Italy?		
GIOVANNA WOZNIAK	Ibid.	19/07/2017	Ibid.		
ANNA CZEREPANIAK	Ibid.	11/10/2017	Ibid. Can you tell me a little more about how your house in Cassino was flattened by a bomb? You mention being taken by the SS, along with the girl next door, and being led up a mountain track. How did you escape? Where did the Red Cross take your sisters when they became ill with malaria? When and how did your father return from the war?		
CLERGY					
REV. FATHER YAROSLAV RIY	Incumbent Ukrainian Catholic priest serving the Bradford, Huddersfield, Leeds, Halifax and Keighley	03/07/2017	Can you tell me about your background and how you became a priest? When and how did you arrive in England? What are your current pastoral duties to Ukrainian Catholics in the Huddersfield parish? Is your work for the Almighty also allied to the cause of Ukrainian nationhood?		

	Ukrainian communities.				
SISTER JACIMTA GRESKIV	Having recently returned to her birthplace in Brazil, Sister Jacimta provided religious education and guidance to a multitude of Ukrainian children in West Yorkshire, including Huddersfield, over a period of more than fifty years.	03/07/2017	<p>Tell me about your early family life in Brazil. Where were you born? How did you become a nun?</p> <p>How did it come about that you were sent to Bradford in the 1960s?</p> <p>Do you remember travelling to the Huddersfield Ukrainian club by bus every Friday evening?</p> <p>What were your aims and objectives in providing religious education to Ukrainian children and did you enjoy teaching them?</p> <p>How many years did you teach at the Huddersfield Ukrainian club and what memories do you have?</p>		
<i>FIRST GENERATION CHILDREN (Second generation)</i>					
JOHN PASICZNYK (born 1950)	Son of original and active Huddersfield Ukrainian community members	29/08/2018	<p>What are your earliest memories of growing up as one of the first Ukrainian children to be born in Huddersfield?</p> <p>Where did you first live and what were conditions like?</p> <p>What work was your father first engaged in?</p>		

	<p>Stefan and Rozalia Pasicznyk. Former chairman of the Huddersfield branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association and former branch committee member of the AUGB, the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra, Huddersfield Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, dance band and various sports teams and social groups.</p>		<p>Did your mother work?</p> <p>Can you remember if it was difficult to communicate when you first started English school?</p> <p>Did you ever feel discriminated against either at school or by neighbours?</p> <p>Do you remember going to Ukrainian mass where you served as an altar boy if I am not mistaken and your father was a church warden?</p> <p>What do you remember about Ukrainian school and of the teachers in particular?</p> <p>Can you tell me about your experiences of playing the drums in the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra, the sextet and dance band?</p> <p>Do you remember being part of the dance ensemble and can you tell me about some of the more important concerts you took part in?</p> <p>What about our early Christmas festivities - the nativity plays and carolling around Ukrainian homes?</p> <p>Do you still enjoy being part of the annual communal Christmas Holy Supper?</p>		
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			<p>What do you remember of summer camps?</p> <p>What recollections do you have of being chairman of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Association?</p> <p>What abiding memories do you have of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community/club?</p> <p>Do you know anything about your mother and father's early lives in Ukraine, during the war and how they first arrived in the United Kingdom?</p>		
BOHDAN WERNEY (born 1950)	Son of original and active Huddersfield Ukrainian community members Andriy and Theofilia Werney. Former secretary of the Huddersfield branches of the Ukrainian Youth	29/08/2017	<p>Can you tell me why, when and how you were sent to the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Rome at the age of 11?</p> <p>Did your father intend for you to become a priest?</p> <p>In what language were you taught?</p> <p>What subjects did you learn?</p> <p>Did you enjoy your time there?</p> <p>How old were you when you returned home and how difficult was it to reintegrate into the English school system?</p>		

	<p>Association, the AUGB and the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club <i>Kalyna</i>. Former member of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra, dance ensemble and various social groups. Attended the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Rome during the 1960s.</p>		<p>What do you remember about early Ukrainian community life in Huddersfield?</p> <p>What do you remember of Ukrainian school?</p> <p>What cultural/educational activities were you involved in?</p> <p>Both your parents were active in community affairs, can you tell me what roles they played?</p> <p>Could you tell me about your role as bookkeeper and secretary of the Ukrainian social club <i>Kalyna</i>?</p> <p>Are there any specific special events that you remember?</p> <p>What political demonstrations/rallies did you participate in, especially abroad?</p> <p>What are your happiest memories of life at the club?</p> <p>You mention being discriminated against at English school. Can you give any examples of this?</p>		
<p>ZENON SYDOR (born 1951)</p>	<p>Son of original and active Huddersfield Ukrainian</p>	<p>29/11/2017</p>	<p>Can you tell me how and when the Huddersfield Ukrainian youth orchestra began and the part you played in this?</p> <p>How old were you when you began leading/conducting</p>		

	<p>community members Antin and Anna Sydor. Former chairman of the Huddersfield branch of the AUGB, past bookkeeper of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Social Club <i>Kalyna</i>. Founding leader of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra and member of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Dance Ensemble. Choir master, singing tutor and member of various sports</p>		<p>musical groups at the club?</p> <p>What instruments were played by orchestra members?</p> <p>What level of musicianship did the members reach?</p> <p>What was the favourite piece of music that you transcribed/composed?</p> <p>What do you consider the highlight of the orchestra's many achievements?</p> <p>Tell me about the inter-generational choir at the club, how big it was and when it reached its peak.</p> <p>When did you start teaching children to sing at Ukrainian school and at which occasions did they perform?</p> <p>Tell me about the Ukrainian community radio station that was set up in 1991/2 and the part you played in it.</p> <p>Tell me about the summer camps that you were involved in especially about the singing that you taught there.</p> <p>What do you remember of drama productions at the club?</p> <p>What do you remember of the dance ensemble?</p> <p>Tell me about your experiences at English school?</p>		
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	teams and social groups.		<p>Can you tell me about the very prominent roles your parents played in the community, focusing on your father's huge input in the renovation and maintenance of the club and your mother's involvement in cultural activities both within and outside of the community?</p> <p>What positions did you hold on various committees at the club?</p>		
<p>ROMAN KRAWEC (born 1953)</p>	<p>Son of original and active Huddersfield Ukrainian community members Mykola and Anna Krawec. Former secretary, tutor and music and dance administrator of the Huddersfield branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association. Past leader of</p>	14/03/2017	<p>Tell me about the time you took over as leader of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra and your involvement in the sextet, dance ensemble, dance band etc?</p> <p>Does anyone event/location stand out, for example, playing in front of Cardinal Slipyj?</p> <p>What do you remember of Ukrainian school, religious instruction from the nuns, Ukrainian Youth Association lessons, drama productions?</p> <p>What sports events did you take part in? What social activities, dances, community 'Buster' trips to the coast do you remember?</p> <p>How did these events marry with a heavy schedule of work at grammar school, especially at exam time?</p> <p>Did you face any discrimination at school?</p>	03/12/2019	<p>Can you draw any light on how the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain opened a club in Huddersfield?</p> <p>Was it for political, social, religious or regional differences?</p> <p>Were political differences between OUN-B and OUN-M party members a major factor?</p>

	<p>the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra and sextet. Former member of the dance ensemble and various sports teams and social groups.</p> <p>National chairman of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate Lay Association of Great Britain (1984-2005).</p> <p>Editor of <i>Ukrainians in the United Kingdom online encyclopaedia</i>.</p>		<p>Can you tell me anything about our communal celebrations at Christmas and Easter?</p> <p>Do you remember our youth club?</p> <p>What activities do you remember at summer camp?</p> <p>How did the issue of the ‘Patriarchate’ affect the local community and Ukrainians nationally?</p> <p>What do you remember of the years when community members regularly held political demonstrations outside the walls of the Russian embassy?</p>		
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<p>IHOR KRAWEC (born 1956)</p>	<p>Younger brother of Roman Krawec. Former tutor of the Huddersfield branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association and teacher at the Huddersfield Ukrainian school. Former member of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra and currently a committee member of Huddersfield AUGB, having returned to his home town after living in</p>	<p>05/10/2017</p>	<p>Having recorded your mother whilst caring for her in her old age can you tell me about your mother and father's journeys from Poland/Ukraine to the United Kingdom?</p> <p>Where did she work and stay on first arriving in Huddersfield?</p> <p>How did she meet your father?</p> <p>And your father's story?</p> <p>Where was he from?</p> <p>What happened to your father when the Nazis invaded Ukraine?</p> <p>Can you remember anything of your father's time in the <i>Divizija</i>?</p> <p>What was camp life like in Rimini?</p> <p>What happened to him when he left Italy?</p> <p>What work did he do in Lockerbie?</p> <p>Is that when he helped his comrades to correspond with Ukrainian women in Huddersfield?</p> <p>Did he have lodgings and work arranged for him in</p>		
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	<p>London for over thirty years.</p>		<p>Huddersfield?</p> <p>When did your parents get married and where did they first live?</p> <p>Do you remember anything about your father's first involvement in community cultural/political affairs?</p> <p>Was he a former chairman of AUGB (Huddersfield)?</p> <p>I believe he sang in various choirs?</p> <p>Tell me about his involvement in the purchase of our current club.</p> <p>What personal early memories do you have of growing up in Huddersfield and in particular related to events and activities within the Ukrainian community or to do with the Ukrainian Youth Association?</p> <p>Can you remember how your parents kept Ukrainian culture alive within the home?</p> <p>What are your favourite community memories?</p> <p>Do you remember any difficulties/sensitivities in growing up as a Ukrainian?</p>		
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<p>IRYNA BACZYNSKI (née FRYSZCZYN) (born 1953)</p>	<p>Daughter of original and active Huddersfield Ukrainian community members Mychajlo and Anna Fryszczyn. Former committee member of the Huddersfield branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association, the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra and choir. Ballet master, choreographer, member and</p>	<p>13/11/2018</p>	<p>What can you remember specifically about Ukrainian folk dancing at the Club? When, how and where did it start?</p> <p>Can you tell me about the dance competitions at the annual national rally of the Ukrainian Youth Association?</p> <p>What concerts/festivals/fetes did the first ensemble take part in?</p> <p>How did the first dance ensemble acquire traditional costumes and boots?</p> <p>Can you tell me about the dance lessons you attended with Maestro Buryak in Bradford, the skills you acquired and the subsequent groups you taught?</p> <p>What problems did you face?</p> <p>What successes did you have?</p> <p>How did you choreograph new dances?</p> <p>Where did you get your ideas from?</p> <p>What other cultural activities do you remember participating in?</p>		
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	leader of several Huddersfield Ukrainian Dance Ensembles.				
MARIA SYKES (née FRYSZCZYN) (1955)	Sister of Iryna Baczynski. Former member of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra and dance ensemble.	13/11/2018	Ibid Maria can you tell me how you were knocked down by a car whilst playing outside our first Ukrainian club, as this prompted the community to buy larger premises with their own secure grounds?		
MARIA SYDOR (born 1956)	Daughter of original and active Huddersfield Ukrainian community members Antin and Anna Sydor and younger sister of Zenon Sydor.	25/10/2018	Maria, you began playing the violin at a very early age. What are your earliest memories of being involved in the orchestra and other instrumental groups? Can you remember some of the earliest songs and music you sang and played? What do you remember of orchestra rehearsals? What do you remember of the duet you formed with Anna Drapan and the concerts you performed in? Before joining the first dance ensemble you actually		

			<p>performed a boy's dance solo. This was the <i>Chumak</i> which you performed in Leicester at the national Ukrainian Youth Association rally. How did this go down?</p> <p>When you emigrated to New Zealand did you lose any of your Ukrainian spirit?</p>		
<p>DIANA HAKIMIAN (née GOLOWIAK) and MARIA HURDUS (née SZPAK) (born 1960 and 1957)</p>	<p>Daughters of a Ukrainian father and Italian mother - Mykola and Maria Golowiak and Ivan and Lisa Szpak respectively.</p>	19/07/2017	<p>Did your fathers ever talk about life in Ukraine or about the war?</p> <p>Did they ever talk about the difficulties they faced when they first settled in Huddersfield?</p> <p>Do you remember attending Ukrainian school and church?</p> <p>In what language did you converse with your parents?</p> <p>What was it like growing up as children of immigrants?</p>		
<p>MICHAEL AND BOHDAN CZERNIUCH (undisclosed)</p>	<p>Sons of original and active Huddersfield Ukrainian community members Mychajlo and Halyna Czerniuch. Michael and Bohdan were</p>	29/11/2019	<p>Could you tell me of your father and mother's experiences during the war? Please include anything you consider of significance and interest.</p> <p>Tell me how their courtship unfolded, especially as they were separated as a result of your father contracting TB.</p>		

	<p>actively involved as children in the Huddersfield Ukrainian school and Ukrainian Youth Association. They were both members of the Huddersfield Ukrainian Youth Orchestra and Michael went on to play in one of the club's dance bands.</p> <p>Although they have been far less involved with the community over the last thirty years or so they both</p>				
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	remain proud of their heritage and Bohdan regularly visits Ukraine.				
<i>PEOPLE WHO DISASSOCIATED THEMSELVES FROM THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY FOR DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME</i>					
MICHAEL SEMENCZUK (born 1956)	Michael was born to a Ukrainian father and Italian mother (Wasył and Theresa Semenczuk. As a child he was an active member of the Ukrainian Youth Association (Huddersfield Branch) and participated in Ukrainian school and numerous cultural activities.	14/06/2019	<p>Having been a very active member of the Ukrainian community as a child, why did you disassociate yourself from it for over 30 years?</p> <p>How do you perceive yourself now?</p> <p>Did integration/anglicisation play a part?</p> <p>Did you ever feel that you had lost your Ukrainian identity?</p> <p>How old were you when you became an active member of the community again and joined the committee of the AUGB (Huddersfield Branch)?</p> <p>How many times have you visited Ukraine recently?</p>		

	<p>However, at the age of seventeen he instantly lost touch with the community. He puts this down to two specific events - joining the police force and losing his father. This self-imposed exile lasted over thirty years but eight years ago he renewed his association with the community and is now one of the most active committee members of the AUGB (Huddersfield Branch).</p>				
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<p>JOHN MARKOWYCZ (born 1962)</p>	<p>Born to a Ukrainian father and mother (Ivan and Stefania Markowycz) who were active in the community. John played a full part in the Ukrainian Youth Association (Huddersfield Branch) and participated in Ukrainian school and numerous cultural and social activities before largely disassociating himself from the community some thirty years ago.</p>	<p>21/06/2019</p>	<p>John I remember you both as a child and adult when you were fully engaged in the life of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community. However, in your 30s you largely severed ties with the community and have remained on its fringes ever since. Why was / is this?</p> <p>Did you sense there was a rivalry at the club between different Ukrainian dance bands, one of which you were a member of?</p> <p>Was career progression a reason for drifting away from the Ukrainian Club?</p> <p>Do you still regard yourself as a fully fledged Ukrainian?</p>		
<p>ANTONY</p>	<p>Born to a</p>	<p>27/05/2019</p>	<p>Even though your father was and continues to be a very</p>		

<p>DUMSKYJ (born 1969)</p>	<p>Ukrainian father and English mother (Deonizyj and Margaret Dumskyj).</p> <p>Antony has never regarded himself as Ukrainian despite his father being a very prominent member of the community and having served as a past chairman and secretary of several committees. His mother was also a very active contributor to Ukrainian affairs.</p>		<p>prominent member of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community and your English mother actively supported it during her lifetime, am I correct in thinking you never regarded yourself as Ukrainian?</p> <p>Are you able to expand on this?</p>		
<p>EXTERNAL COMMUNITY SUPPORTERS</p>					

MYKOLA LAJSZCZUK	Former Deputy Mayor of Keighley who successfully put forward the motion (to both Keighley and Kirklees Metropolitan councils) that the <i>Holodomor</i> be recognised as genocide (2008-9).	27/07/2018	Can you describe your role in assisting AUGB (Huddersfield) in their campaign to persuade Kirklees council to accept the <i>Holodomor</i> of 1932-3 as an act of genocide by Stalin's regime.		
PEOPLE WITH LOCAL KNOWLEDGE					
FRANK COLLINS	Long serving textile worker and font of knowledge regarding the Huddersfield textile industry.	16/04/2018	<p>Can you tell me about life in the textile mills of Huddersfield in the late 1940s/early 50s?</p> <p>Can you tell me anything about East European workers in the mills?</p> <p>Was there a difference in the work carried out by men and women?</p> <p>Can you explain different jobs like fettling, feeding, finishing?</p> <p>What were working conditions and wages like?</p>		

			Can you tell me anything about the hostels that East European workers were accommodated in?		
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