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A BRIEF HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN DIASPORA IN MANCHURIA, 1898-1945¹

Key words: *Ukrainian diaspora, Manchuria, settlement*

Słowa kluczowe: *diaspora ukraińska, Mandżuria, osadnictwo*

In the first half of the twentieth century, Manchuria occupied a special place in the Chinese scenery. More importantly, the land distinguished itself with a conflict-free multiculturalism. Further, it was a territory lying immediately in the borderland between Slavic and Chinese spheres of influence with all ensuing consequences. The Ukrainian diaspora was an important part of this cultural melting pot, involving a fusion of nationalities and ethnicities. Undoubtedly, Ukrainians in Northeastern China contributed greatly to the cultural enrichment of the inhabited area. Regrettably, the socio-cultural activities of numerous Ukrainian communities scattered across the region came to a sudden halt with the Soviet invasion of Manchuria in August 1945. Therefore, this text is devoted primarily to the study of Ukrainian settlement in Manchuria as well as the emergence of local Ukrainian institutions and organizations, especially of cultural and educational nature.

The study of large-scale European migration at the turn of the twentieth century has overwhelmingly emphasized the transfer of emigrants to North and South America which compose most of the land in the New World². Nevertheless, coinciding with this movement was another directed towards the Old World, especially regions conventionally included under the term Far East. In this case, Europeans from the western fringes of the Russian Empire emigrated to its recently acquired possessions

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² S.L. Baily, E.J. Míguez, *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America*, Wilmington 2003, p. 10; M. O'Neal, *The Chambers Dictionary*, London 2011, p. 1780.

in the East³. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, geopolitical, political as well as economic considerations combined to induce the Tsarist government to pursue a policy of mass colonization of the Far East⁴. This process led to the appearance of numerous Slavic enclaves in Northeastern China from the late 1890s onwards. As a consequence, northern Manchuria became the final major meeting point between European settlers and Asian inhabitants of the borderland encompassing Tsarist Russia as well as Imperial China. The European settlement in Manchuria was to leave profound imprints on the region's changing landscape for the next half-century⁵.

The widespread emigration from Ukraine began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, especially due to the overpopulation of arable land. Transoceanic emigration, which started in 1871, was directed primarily toward the United States, where the emigrants worked usually in industry and construction⁶. In the 1890s, Ukrainian peasants began emigrating to Canada's prairie provinces⁷, Brazilian state of Paraná⁸ as well as Argentinian province of Misiones⁹. Prior to World War I, nearly 500,000 Ukrainians immigrated to the Americas, of whom 350,000 settled in the United States, 100,000 in Canada and 50,000 in Brazil and Argentina¹⁰. On the American continent, Ukrainians created a network of religious, economic, educational, civic, sport¹¹ and political organizations, helping them maintain their national distinctiveness and ties with their native land¹².

³ The first Russian colonists in the Far East had come chiefly from the overpopulated gubernias (provinces) of Kiev, Chernigov and Poltava. All in all, the inhabitants of over forty-five European Russian provinces participated in the colonization after the hardships of a long and complicated journey had been alleviated by the opening of direct rail communication between Russia and the Far East around 1900 ("Вестник Европы" 1905, vol. 233, p. 233-234; W. Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies*, London 1952, p. 126).

⁴ W. Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, New York 1954, p. 12.

⁵ Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN: Central Archives of Modern Records), Kolonia Polska w Mandżurii (KPM: Polish Colony in Manchuria), file no. 66, History of the Polish colony in Manchuria, edited by Kazimierz Krąkowski, p. 8-10.

⁶ Y. Chyz, *The Ukrainian immigrants in the United States*, Scranton 1939, p. 4-15; P. Buhle, D. Georgakas, *The Immigrant Left in the United States*, Albany 1996, p. 185; Т.В. Вронська, *Об'єднання українських організацій в Америці*, [in:] *Енциклопедія історії України*, vol. 7, ed. В.А. Смолій, Київ 2010, p. 501.

⁷ F.A. Swyrypa, *Canada*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, ed. V. Kubiyovych, Toronto 1984, p. 348-352; idem, *Ukrainians*, [in:] *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, ed. M. Hurtig, Edmonton 1985, p. 1862-1863.

⁸ O. Subtelny, *Ukraine. A History*, Toronto 2000, p. 539.

⁹ V. Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora*, London 2002, p. 56.

¹⁰ Z.E. Kohut, I. Katchanovski, B.Y. Nebesio, M. Yurkevich, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine*, Lanham 2013, p. 126.

¹¹ In 1930s, the first Ukrainian football team in Manchuria was created, which presented itself very well during the urban competition in 1934, having played a draw with the best Russian team in Harbin and finishing in the first place of the local competition. In early October 1935, Ukrainian players managed to beat the team of the Russian Fascist Party, despite their aggressive behavior during the game, with a score of 3:0 (В. Яковенко, *В здоровому тілі здорова душа*, "Молодий українець" 1936, March, p. 2).

¹² Similar measures were used by members of the Ukrainian community in Manchuria. There were several relatively small organizations that tried to preserve the socio-cultural life of the Ukraini-

The Ukrainian diaspora in the Russian Empire, especially in Asia, was predominantly agrarian. After 1861, emigration from Ukraine was directed towards the Volga region and the Ural Mountains. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when no vacant land remained in European Asia, Ukrainians began moving to western Siberia, neighboring Central Asia, and later to the Far East¹³, where they settled within the so-called Green Wedge (Zeleny Klyn)¹⁴. According to the census of 1897, the Ukrainian diaspora in the Russian Empire consisted of 1,560,000 people, with 1,232,000 in the European part, 311,000 east of the Urals, and 17,000 south of the Caucasus¹⁵. By 1914, more than 3 million Ukrainians in the Russian Empire lived outside Ukrainian ethnic territory, including almost 2 million in Asia. Unlike emigrants to the West, these emigrants had few Ukrainian institutions and tended to assimilate more quickly¹⁶.

an diaspora in Northeastern China, including the Ukrainian Publishing Society, the Ukrainian Galician Committee (or the Charitable Ukrainian Galician Committee), the Union of Ukrainian Students as well as the Association of Ukrainian Far Eastern Organizations. These organizations, however, due to their semi-legal status, remained largely inactive and unknown. The Sich Society, on the other hand, was one of the most active Ukrainian associations in Manchuria. It was founded in 1926 by a group of activists from Harbin, namely I. Paslavsky, R. Barilovich, F. Bogdan, V. Kushnarenko and G. Totsky. Beyond its immediate practical purpose of physical education, it strove to promote national consciousness and to raise the educational and cultural level of Ukrainian colony in Harbin. The first Sich Society was founded by Kyrylo Trylovsky in Zavalia, Sniatyn county, in May 1900. In the next few years similar societies arose in other parts of Galicia, and then spread to Ukrainian communities abroad (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed. V. Kubiyovych, vol. 4, Toronto 1993, p. 701). In 1928, the Sich Society was replaced by Prosvita, a society created in order to preserve and develop Ukrainian culture and education among local population. The association was headed by Ivan Paslavsky. It emerged as an institution within the American Young Men's Christian Association, which enjoyed the right of extraterritoriality in China. The establishment of Prosvita under protection of the American flag was a significant step forward in restoring Ukrainian civil activities in Harbin, which in view of rapprochement with Moscow, were suppressed by the Chinese authorities in 1923 (Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe [CAW: Central Military Archives], Oddział II Sztabu Głównego (Generalnego) z lat 1921-1939 [Od. II Szt. Gł.: The Second Department of Polish General Staff, 1921-1939], file no. I.303.4.5515, Letter of Władysław Pelc to Włodzimierz Bączkowski, Harbin, February 27, 1932, p. 12). Initially, Prosvita had a general educational purpose, but over time it assumed a mass character and diversified into a number of areas of activity, including studies of Ukrainian language, literature, history, geography as well as preparation of concerts broadcasted by local radio stations. Prosvita in Harbin received a diploma from the Prosvita center in Lviv and the right to be named as its branch in 1930. It existed until 1937, when all organized Ukrainian life in Manchuria was concentrated in the association called Ukrainian National Colony (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine...*, vol. 4, p. 245-252). By then, a small Sokil group existed in Harbin. Like the rival Sich societies movement, Sokil devoted more attention to athletics and sports. Soon, however, it was replaced by Prosvita (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine...*, vol. 4, p. 814).

¹³ В. Сергійчук, *Українізація Росії*, Київ 2000, p. 275-322.

¹⁴ А.А. Попок, *Українські поселення на Далекому Сході: Історико-соціологічний нарис*, Київ 2001, p. 14-15.

¹⁵ *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5, ed. V. Kubiyovych, Toronto 1993, p. 499.

¹⁶ B.S. Wynar, *Independent Ukraine. A Bibliographic Guide to English-language Publications, 1989-1999*, Englewood 2000, p. 101.

World War I and the defeat of Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1921)¹⁷ resulted in the first mass political emigration from Ukraine. This process augmented the existing Ukrainian labor diaspora with politicians, scholars, economists and cultural figures, providing it with intellectual leadership. The main centers of the new emigration were Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Poland¹⁸, Austria, Romania as well as Yugoslavia. A relatively new diaspora center was established in Northeastern China¹⁹. In the postwar years, the transoceanic emigration of workers from western Ukraine resumed, though on a much smaller scale than before. Altogether the western diaspora, encompassing Ukrainian communities in North and South America as well as Western and Central Europe, consisted of almost 2 million people²⁰. According to

¹⁷ It was a period of sustained warlike conflict lasting from 1917 to 1921, which resulted in the establishment and development of a Ukrainian republic, later a part of the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It consisted of a series of military conflicts between different governmental, political and military forces. Among them were Ukrainian nationalists, anarchists, Bolsheviks, the forces of Germany and Austria-Hungary, the White Russian Volunteer Army and Second Polish Republic forces. They struggled for control of Ukraine after the February Revolution in the Russian Empire. Also involved were the allied forces of Romania and France. The struggle lasted from February 1917 to November 1921 and resulted in the division of Ukrainian territory between the Bolshevik Ukrainian SSR, Poland, Romania as well as Czechoslovakia (V. Kubyiovych, *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, Toronto 1963, p. 831-833; R. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923-1929*, Kraków 1989, p. 8-10; B.Ф. Солдатенко, *Українська революція. Історичний нарис*, Київ 1999, p. 146-150).

¹⁸ It is impossible to determine the exact number of Ukrainian emigrants in Poland between the 1920s and 1930s due to the lack of proper records (J.J. Bruski, *Petlurowcy. Centrum Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej na wychodźstwie (1919-1924)*, Kraków 2000, p. 239-240; E. Wiszka, *Emigracja ukraińska w Polsce 1920-1939*, Toruń 2005, p. 9). In 1920, however, the total number of Ukrainian emigrants in Poland reached 43,000 people ("Вісти УЦК" 1927, no. 18-19, p. 49).

¹⁹ A rather large group of Ukrainians lived in Manchuria. Most of them had come originally in connection with the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the tsarist government in the early years of the twentieth century. Their biggest center was Harbin, a city founded in 1898, where nearly half of the 30,000 Ukrainians in China lived. Zeleny Klyn, however, formed basis for the expansion of Ukrainian settlers into Manchuria (Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie [AAG: Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno], Archiwum Prymasa Polski [APP: Primate of Poland Acts], file no. 65, Letter from Sister Maria Immaculata, O.S.U., to Cardinal August Hlond, Primate of Poland, Harbin, December 27, 1928, p. 33; V. Kubyiovych, *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia...*, p. 869; A.A. Попок, *Українці на Далекому Сході: організації, події, персоналії*, Київ 2004, p. 106). Smaller Ukrainian enclaves were founded in central and southern Manchuria, including those in Dairen, Kirin and Mukden. Outside Harbin, Ukrainians also set out to establish their own communities. As a result, a Ukrainian Hromada existed in Shanghai as well as Ukrainian Club in Tientsin. Under auspices of these organizations, they conducted various Ukrainian activities, including exercises commemorating Ukrainian historical dates. In early 1930s, the number of Ukrainians in China was estimated at about 70,000 people (CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.5515, Report dated September 30, 1931, p. 9; *Shanghai Woman Urges Youth to Study Ukrainian*, "The Ukrainian Weekly" 1940, vol. 8, no. 12, March 23, p. 1; A. Len-cyk Pawliczko, *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World. A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and its Diaspora*, Toronto 1994, p. 502).

²⁰ Z.E. Kohut, I. Katchanovski, B.Y. Nebesio, M. Yurkevich, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine...*, p. 126-127.

the census of 1926, there were 3.4 million Ukrainians in the Soviet Union living outside the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. At that time, the Ukrainians in the Russian Far East numbered 315,000 and the Byelorussians 41,000²¹.

The Ukrainian participation in the colonization of Russian-occupied territories in the Far East received some scholarly treatment²², though the research on this subject remains at an early stage. The Ukrainian settlement of Manchuria, which by the second decade of the twentieth century is said to have embraced over 22,000 families²³, has been documented even less²⁴. Moreover, it could be difficult to locate source materials on Manchuria that deal exclusively, or in part, with the Ukrainian diaspora. The tendency has been to confuse Ukrainians with Russians. Thus, the word 'Russian' has been used as a generic term to include many of the ethnic groups of the former Russian Empire²⁵. Even the term 'White Russian' has erroneously been applied to point out these groups²⁶. In practice, Russian presence in Manchuria drew on considerable participation of Poles, Jews, Georgians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians²⁷. In other studies of a more specialized nature, these errors are equally apparent²⁸.

²¹ W. Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet...*, p. 13.

²² See: Т. Морозова, *Экономическая география России*, Москва 1999; А.А. Попок, *Українські поселення на Далекому...*; idem, *Українці на Далекому Сході: організації, події, персоналії*, Київ 2004; О. Малицький, *Українські й тематично українські періодичні й серійні видання в Росії і в її дотеперішніх колоніях, у цьому й у ще досі нею окупованих частинах України (пробна версія)*, Калгарі 2002; М. Посівнич, *Українська національна колонія в Манджурії у 1920-1945 рр.*, "Острозька академія" 2010, vol. 15, p. 43-54.

²³ І. Світ, *Українсько-японські взаємини*, "Визвольний шлях (Лондон)" 1967, no. 11-12, p. 1276.

²⁴ Fortunately, valuable data on the Ukrainian diaspora in Manchuria is available in the works of a former resident of Harbin, Ivan Svit. Although his studies are, in places, marred by subjectivity and tend to focus only on the political and organizational aspects of Ukrainian life in Manchuria, they are, nonetheless, useful and detailed, see: idem, *Український Національний Дім в Харбіні*, Одеса-Харбін 1943; idem, *Зелена Україна. Короткий історичний нарис українського політичного і громадського життя*, Нью-Йорк-Шангай 1949; idem, *Український календар на 1957 р.*, Бавнд Брук 1957; idem, *Українсько-японські взаємини 1903-1945, Історичний огляд і спостереження*, Нью-Йорк 1997.

²⁵ S.V. Vostrotin, *A Russian View of Manchuria*, "The Slavonic and East European Review" 1932, no. 2, p. 20-26; G. Guins, *Russians in Manchuria*, "The Russian Review" 1943, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 81-87.

²⁶ F.C. Jones, *Manchuria Since 1931*, London 1949, p. 77-78.

²⁷ Е.А. Оглезнева, *О динамике языковых ситуаций с участием славянских языков в XX в. (на материале Дальнего Востока России и Северо-Востока Китая)*, "Библиотека журнала «Русин»" 2015, no. 3, p. 113.

²⁸ In this case it is worth pointing out a book by Amleto Vespa, *Secret Agent of Japan*, London 1938. Vespa, an Italian businessman and journalist in Manchuria, who in 1932 unwillingly became an agent for the Japanese Secret Service during the Japanese occupation of the region, provides a firsthand account of Manchuria under their rule. Unfortunately, Vespa, who was appointed partly because of his knowledge of languages and customs of various people living in Manchuria, is capable of distinguishing between Russians and Poles, however fails to tell apart Russians and Ukrainians (ibidem, p. 49-50). Similarly, David M. B. Collier and Cecil L'Estrange Malone, in their study of Manchuria, refer to Harbin as a "very strong centre of White Russian emigrants and

Although virtually ignored, the Ukrainian community in Manchuria had an interesting and dynamic history. That this has not been widely acknowledged until now can be attributed partly to their Russo-centric orientation. The Ukrainians formed a substantial proportion of the Russian world in the Far East, but owing to the dominant position of the local ethnic Russian group and the low national consciousness of many of the Ukrainian settlers, coupled with unfavorable conditions for Ukrainian community leaders to redress this malady, they did not evolve as an influential minority tantamount to their numbers. Despite the fact that the Ukrainian influence in Manchuria was less pronounced than the Russian, the group was significant in the region²⁹.

The Ukrainian community in Manchuria, present between the 1890s and 1940s, had several distinguishing characteristics. First of all, the community there was situated in close proximity to the belt in the Far East known unofficially as the Green Wedge (Zeleny Klyn)³⁰, which included regions of Transbaikal, Amur, Khabarovsk, Primorsky Krai and Sakhalin³¹. The Zeleny Klyn (Fig. 1), populated by up to half a million to one million ethnic Ukrainians who had emigrated or been deported there³², was three times the size of Soviet Ukraine³³. The potential for distant regions such as this one to secede from central control was manifested during the Bolshevik Revolution and it should not come as such a surprise, given the large as well as compact Ukrainian settlement of Zeleny Klyn, that a group there discussed plans to create a local Ukrainian state to be known as Zelena Ukraina (Green Ukraine)³⁴.

Ukrainians (D.M.B. Collier, C.L'E. Malone, *Manchukuo. Jewel of Asia*, London 1936, p. 145), but elsewhere in the study describe all Slavic immigrants in Manchuria as Russians.

²⁹ D.Z. Manauilsky, *The Russian Revolution from the October Revolution to the Moscow trials, 1917-1936*, Nendeln 1975, p. 107.

³⁰ *Зелений Кли́н*, [in:] *Енциклопедія українознавства*, ed. В. Кубійович, Львів 1993, p. 768-769.

³¹ AAN, Ambasada RP w Berlinie (ARP: Embassy of the Second Polish Republic in Berlin), file no. 387, Report of the Polish Consul in Harbin, December 23, 1938, p. 40; В. Сергийчук, *Українці в імперії*, Київ 1992, p. 45-56.

³² H. Kuromiya, P. Libera, *Notatka Włodzimierza Bączkowskiego na temat współpracy polsko-japońskiej wobec ruchu prometejskiego (1938)*, "Zeszyty Historyczne" 2009, no. 169, p. 119. There are different estimates concerning the possible number of Ukrainian colonists in the Green Wedge. These numbers, however, appear to be largely overestimated. According to the 1926 census, the Ukrainians within the territory of the Green Wedge numbered 303,000 people, whereas the whole Ukrainian population in the Far East amounted up to 315,000 residents (*Зелений Кли́н...*, p. 775).

³³ І. Світ, *Зелена Україна...*, p. 89.

³⁴ After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Ukrainian Republic of the Far East was a projected country in the Russian Far East (J.D. Smele, *Historical Dictionary of the Russian Civil Wars, 1916-1926*, Lanham 2015, p. 476). With the establishment of the Bolshevik Far Eastern Republic on April 6, 1920, Far Eastern areas with an ethnic Ukrainian majority attempted to secede and establish an entity called Green Ukraine (Fig. 2). This was a reoccurring theme during the 1930s as well. During the revolution and civil wars, efforts were made in the region to forge autonomy or even independence from Russia, as the Ukrainian Republic of the Far East. On 11 June 1917, the First All-Ukrainian Far Eastern Congress at Nikolsk-Ussuriysky formed a Far Eastern Kray Rada (Land Council). A similar conference was held in Harbin, where delegates selected their short-lived Regional Rada. In January 1918, the Second All-Ukrainian Far Eastern Conference at Khabarovsk proclaimed the union of the region with the Ukrainian National Republic. Further, in

Although this never materialized, Ukrainian political activists in Manchuria as well as Europe remained very conscious of the large Ukrainian community within the region³⁵.

Moreover, Manchuria – together with its largest city, Harbin, in particular – was the only region outside the Soviet Union where Ukrainians and Russians settled alongside each other in almost equal numbers, with the exception of Paris³⁶. Most

April 1918, the Third All-Ukrainian Far Eastern Congress demanded the creation of a fully independent Ukrainian state in the region and the raising of an army. Following the Omsk coup and the establishment of the dictatorship of Admiral Alexander Kolchak (1874-1920), such separatism was suppressed, but efforts were redoubled with the collapse of the Whites in 1920 and the creation of the Far Eastern Republic, which laid claim to the lands of Green Ukraine. By 1922, however, with the advance of the People's Revolutionary Army of the Far Eastern Republic into the Maritime Province, the Soviet authorities were again able to suppress the movement (М. Андрус'як, *Державні змагання українців на Далекому Сході в 1917-1920 рр.*, "Літопис Червоної Калини" 1931, no. 4, p. 3-9; В. Сергійчук, *Українська соборність. Відродження українства*

в 1917-1920 роках, Київ 1999, p. 294-302; М. Посівнич, *Українська національна колонія...*, p. 43-46). The head of the Kray Secretariat of Green Ukraine, from June 1918 to 1919 and from 1919 to 1922, was Yuri Hlushko-Mova (1882-1942) (Fig. 3). Interestingly, between 1904-1907 he worked for the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria. From 1907 he lived in Vladivostok, worked as a draftsman and technician. Soon he became active in the amateur Ukrainian theater society organized by the local Ukrainian community. Hlushko was mobilized during the World War I and served at the Caucasian front in the years 1916-1917. In the spring of 1918 he became the head of the Vladivostok Ukrainian society Prosvita and the Vladivostok Ukrainian Council. Also, in the summer of 1918, he became the chairman of the Third All-Ukrainian Far Eastern Congress. He was arrested by Kolchak's White forces in 1919 for Ukrainian activism. In 1922, on the other hand, he was arrested by Bolshevik authorities. Accused of anti-Soviet activities and plans to split Far East from Russia, Hlushko was sentenced in Chita in 1924 to five years imprisonment. After serving the term, he returned illegally to Ukraine in 1930. In the autumn of 1941, he participated in would-be Ukrainian government in occupied Kiev, until it was suppressed by the Nazis. Hlushko died, reportedly of starvation, the following autumn and is buried in the Ukrainian capital (І. Світ, *Український Далекий Схід. З передмовою та доповненням Василя Кийовича*, Одеса-Хабаровськ 1944, p. 7; *Суд над українцями в Читі (1923-1924 роки)*, "Визвольний шлях" 1963, no. 4, p. 389 and no. 5, p. 517-524).

³⁵ In 1931, the Ukrainian diaspora in Manchuria began encouraging the idea of creating an independent Ukrainian state, with Japan as its implicit protector, in the so-called Zeleny Klyn (H. Kuromiya, *Ukraine and Eurasian History in the Twentieth Century*, "Harvard Ukrainian Studies" 2016, vol. 34, no. 1-4, p. 202). In fact, Ukrainian nationalists referred to the entire Russian Pacific coastal area as the Green Wedge (Zeleny Klyn) as distinct from the Grey Wedge, which was the Ukrainian settlers' area in northern Kirghizstan and southern Kazakhstan. These nationalists were inclined to consider the Russian Pacific region a Ukrainian and not a Russian national possession. Indeed, the *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, published by Ukrainian scholars of Eastern Galicia during the interwar period, described the Green Wedge as Ukrainian colony on the Pacific Ocean. The encyclopedia estimated that 30% of the population of the Green Wedge were Ukrainians, against 52% Muscovites, that is Russians (І. Раковський, *Українська загальна енциклопедія*, vol. 2, Львів-Станіслав-Коломия 1935, p. 42-43).

³⁶ S. Сірко, *Ukrainians in Manchuria, China: A Concise Historical Survey*, "Past Imperfect" 1992, vol. 1, p. 156.

importantly, whereas in Russian, and later on Soviet, Central Asia and Far East the Slavs were the dominant group in terms of the authority wielded, the reverse was true in Manchuria, where the Slavic population was ultimately subjected to Chinese, and then Japanese central control³⁷.



Fig. 1. Flag of Zeleny Klyn (the Green Wedge)

Source: W. Trembicky, *Flags of Non-Russian Peoples under Soviet Rule*, "The Flag Bulletin" 1969, vol. 8, no. 3, p. 133

Furthermore, Ukrainians settled an area which had variously been contested by local warlords, and by the Russian (later Soviet), Japanese as well as Chinese powers. All of them were seeking, at one time or another, to establish their dominance

³⁷ In early 1930s, Japan, in view of possible war with the Soviet Union, began earnestly looking for reliable allies among the émigré communities in Manchuria, including Ukrainians (CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4. 5568, С. Танака, Новый советский выпад против Японии, 1933). However, Ukrainian diaspora, especially in Manchuria, was in the very center of Polish-sponsored Promethean movement as well. This movement, implicitly supported by France and Britain, was designed to destroy the Soviet Union and to create independent states from its republics. The concept was based on liberal and social-democratic notions of freedom (R. Woytak, *The Promethean Movement in Interwar Poland*, "East European Quarterly" 1984, vol. 18, no. 3, September, p. 273-278). On the contrary, Japan was motivated purely by its imperialist agenda. Japan's goal was to dismember Soviet Union for its own gain. Ukrainian émigré political leaders, who were disappointed by the Polish-Soviet nonaggression pact, turned to Japan for support. After Warsaw and Paris signed nonaggression pacts with Moscow in 1932, Japan sought to convert disillusioned activists from the Promethean movement. The foundation of Manchukuo only enhanced Japan's prestige among them. In 1937, Japan began to encroach on the Polish-backed Promethean movement in Manchuria. Members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, with the consent of the Japanese authorities, managed to reorganize the Ukrainian colony in Harbin by expelling supporters of the Promethean movement from the Ukrainian community. Nevertheless, Poland and Japan continued to cooperate against the Soviet Union (П. Мірчук, *Нарис історії Організації Українських Націоналістів*, vol. 1: 1920-1939, Мюнхен-Лондон-Нью-Йорк 1968, p. 510; Н. Kuromiya, *Ukraine and Eurasian History...*, p. 201; Н. Kuromiya, G. Mamoulia, *The Eurasian Triangle. Russia, the Caucasus and Japan, 1904-1945*, Warsaw 2016, p. 145).

over the region³⁸. As the region became more densely populated, and centers such as Harbin expanded, Manchuria attracted overseas commercial interests.

LES NATIONS OPPRIMÉES PAR MOSCOU

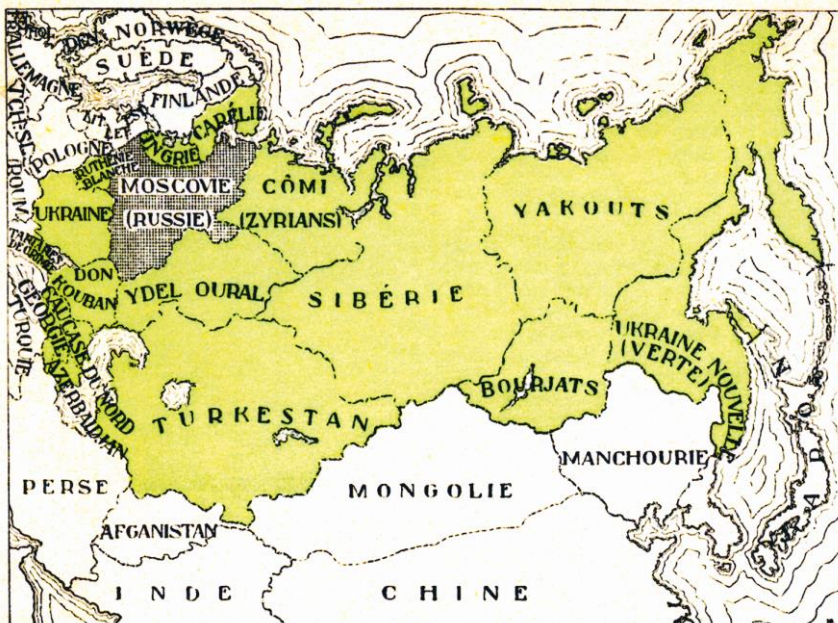


Fig. 2. Postcard issued by the League of Nations for *Prométhée*, shows nations oppressed by Moscow. Map of projected Green Ukraine, marked as Ukraine Nouvelle

Source: Front cover of *II Rzeczpospolita wobec ruchu prometejskiego*, ed. P. Libera, Warszawa 2013

Harbin soon emerged to become the “Paris of the Far East”³⁹, with diverse foreign consulates, enterprises, and institutions, most enjoying extra-territorial privileges⁴⁰. Therefore, developments in Manchuria were very closely monitored by international agencies anxious to protect their vested interests in that part of the Far East.

The weakness of the Ukrainian diaspora in Manchuria might have resulted from the fact that the language of administration, schools, institutions and business trans-

³⁸ W. Skóra, *Placówki MSZ Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w Harbinie w latach 1920-1941 na tle dziejów Chin i Mandżurii (Mandżukuo). Szkic do problemu*, [in:] *Na szlakach dwóch światów. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Hauzińskiemu*, ed. A. Teterycz-Puzio, Słupsk 2016, p. 677-683.

³⁹ Between the mid 1900s and the late 1920s, Harbin gained a wide array of nicknames encapsulating its dynamic growth in that period. The evaluation of the city ranged from the “Manchurian Paris”, through the “Paris of the Far East”, to the “Pearl of the Far East” or the “Pearl on the Swan’s Neck” (B.L. Putnam Weale, *The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia*, London 1908, p. 115; Y. Liberman, *My China. Jewish Life in the Orient, 1900-1950*, Jerusalem 1998, p. 16; M. Meyer, *In Manchuria. A Village Called Wasteland and the Transformation of Rural China*, New York 2015, p. 123).

⁴⁰ W. Skóra, *Sytuacja materialna Polonii mandżurskiej w 1929 roku (w świetle raportu konsula RP Konstantego Symonolewicz)*, “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 2010, no. 3-4, p. 125-128.

actions for the Slavic population in cities such as Harbin was Russian. Even non-Slavic inhabitants learned Russian, while the Russians studied the Chinese language⁴¹.



Fig. 3. Yuri Hlushko-Mova, Head of the Kray Secretariat of Green Ukraine

Source: В. Черномаз, *Юрій Глушко-Мова – провідник українців на Зеленому Клині*, “Свобода” 2008, no. 37, September 12, p. 21

For this reason, Ukrainians increasingly became functionally bilingual, not in Ukrainian and Chinese, but in Russian and Chinese. Russian influence extended to local government that was established in Harbin. Curiously, Russian self-government was shared by the representatives of other nationalities⁴². However, the Russians outnumbered all of them. Thus, they were at the head of the city administration and business affairs were conducted in Russian⁴³. Moreover, the names of many streets and shops were printed in Russian, and much of the architecture in

⁴¹ G. Guins, *Russians in Manchuria*, “The Russian Review” 1943, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 82; O.G. Гончаренко, *Русский Харбин*, Москва 2009, pp. 35-60.

⁴² For example, Harbin’s town council, initially, was dominated by Poles and Germans. The magistrate adopted a key plan for the construction of Harbin, which was developed by Polish engineer, Konstanty Jokisz, in the closing months of 1898 (K. Grochowski, *Polacy na Dalekim Wschodzie*, Harbin 1928, p. 55; “Biuletyn Polskiej Izby Handlowej w Harbinie” 1932, no. 5, p. 3; “Listy Harbińskie” 1932, no. 5, p. 2; E. Kajdański, *Polacy na Dalekim Wschodzie. Inżynier Kazimierz Grochowski, Czngis-chan i złoto barona Ungerna*, Warszawa 2014, p. 30).

⁴³ CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.5515, Report dated September 30, 1931, p. 3; Chinese Eastern Railway Company, *North Manchuria and the Chinese Eastern Railway*, Harbin 1924, p. 41-43.

northern Manchurian cities assumed Russian style⁴⁴. Foreign observers were therefore correct in their impression that a city such as Harbin projected Russian rather than Ukrainian character. This view was confirmed in an official Japanese description of Harbin, which openly stated that the city was planned along the lines of Moscow⁴⁵.

In addition, the massive influx of Russian pro-Tsarist exiles in Manchuria after the Bolshevik Revolution strengthened the concept of indivisible Russia in the region. The extreme chauvinists among them were uncompromising in their attitude toward those among the non-Russian Slavic nationalities in Manchuria who wished to retain a separate identity⁴⁶. Their presence and agitation intensified the Russification of the region⁴⁷. Sadly, the national consciousness of the Ukrainian immigrants, especially the majority who had settled in Manchuria prior to the Revolution, had been rather low⁴⁸. During the course of time, deprived of mechanisms of support for national identity retention, a very large proportion of these settlers and their offspring had become almost entirely or partially assimilated to the Russian language and culture⁴⁹. Many of the immigrants had learned Russian and become comfortable or accustomed to operating in the prevailing Russian environment. Younger generations, educated for the most part in Russian schools, by and large began to consider themselves as Russians. There were also cases of national dualism or dual loyalties. As a result, those who were aware that their roots and culture were Ukrainian, but who, for various reasons, chose to declare their nationality as Russian⁵⁰.

Ukrainian immigration into Manchuria was initially tied with the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway, a connecting link in the Trans-Siberian railway to Vladivostok, which run directly through Manchuria⁵¹. A subsidiary company of the

⁴⁴ From the architectural and conventional point of view Harbin, despite its international character, was a distinctly Russian city in China. Its building design was reminiscent of Moscow or St. Petersburg, as well as other European cities, with onion-domed cupolas, empire-style façades, wide boulevards and touches of art nouveau (M. Jankowski, *Mandżuria. Wrażenia i wspomnienia*, Warszawa 1909, p. 19; E. Таскина, *Русский Харбин*, Москва 2005, p. 300-330).

⁴⁵ *Japan-Manchukuo Year Book for 1939*, Tokyo 1939, p. 869.

⁴⁶ Private collection of Leonard Sychalski, Story of my Harbin, manuscript written by Leonard Sychalski, (lack of date), p. 1-5.

⁴⁷ Every level of White-Russian society was represented in Manchuria, including Harbin, from former royalty to unskilled labor. Russian was spoken in the streets, shops and theatres, and it was also the dominant language within administration, commerce and education. Street signs and billboards were also written in Russian (G. Melikhov, *Glimpses of Old Harbin*, "Far Eastern Affairs" 1990, vol. 4, p. 160-164; M. Moustafine, *The Harbin Connection: Russians from China*, [in:] *Beyond China. Migrating Identities*, eds. S. Yuanfang, P. Edwards, Canberra 2002, p. 75-83).

⁴⁸ CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.5515, Report dated September 30, 1931, p. 5.

⁴⁹ А.А. Попок, *Українці на Далекому Сході...*, p. 56-65.

⁵⁰ This type of dualism was not limited to the Ukrainian community in Manchuria. For instance, similar cases took place within the Polish enclave in Harbin (Private collection of Jerzy Czajewski, Selected memories from the life of Emilia Czajewska, manuscript written by Emilia W. Czajewska, August-October 1980, p. 3-7).

⁵¹ CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.2726, Political and military situation in the Far East, 1921-1922, p. 5-7.

Russo-Chinese Bank, known as the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, was created, and therefore in 1896, a rail contract was signed between this company and the Chinese government. Construction work began in August of 1897 and the company's administration established itself in Harbin in 1898⁵². Officially, traffic on the line started in November 1901, but regular passenger traffic from Saint Petersburg to Vladivostok did not commence until July 1903⁵³. The Chinese Eastern Railway Company did not limit itself to rail construction but also engaged in such auxiliary activities as lumbering, coal mining, navigation, and in establishing telegraph communication⁵⁴. By 1920, there were an estimated 150,000 citizens of the Russian Empire in the Harbin area and a further 50,000 scattered elsewhere in Manchuria⁵⁵. Among this number, as noted earlier, were 22,000 Ukrainian families, an estimated 100,000 persons⁵⁶. As the number of permanent employees of the Chinese Eastern

⁵² С. Харбинский, *Что такое Китайская Восточная ж.д. и куда идут её миллионы?*, Санкт-Петербург 1908, p. 8-10; "Пионерская Правда" 1929, no. 145, December 5, p. 4.

⁵³ E. Kajdański, *Korytarz. Burzliwe dzieje Kolei Wschodniochińskiej 1898-1998*, Warszawa 2000, p. 56.

⁵⁴ R. Dyboski, *Siedem lat w Rosji i na Syberii (1915-1921). Przygody i wrazenia*, Warszawa 1922, p. 33.

⁵⁵ R.E. Glatfelter, *Chinese Eastern Railway*, [in:] *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, vol. 7, ed. J.L. Wiczynski, Gulf Breeze 1978, p. 49-56.

⁵⁶ "Український емігрант" 1929, 15 February, p. 4. This periodical, published in Lviv, reported that prior to the 1929 the Manchurian District Council based in Harbin conducted a census of Ukrainians living in Manchuria and arrived at the figure of 100,000 people. In reality, it is impossible to determine the precise number of Ukrainians in Manchuria and to discern them from the other groups in the region emanating from territories of the former Russian Empire. Official statistics prior to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 were rather vague, listing all Europeans under the same rubric. From composite accounts, it may seem that up to the 1920s the Ukrainian and Russian contingents constituted a sizable proportion of the local population, especially in Harbin. By the end of 1930, they remained a significant element of the northern Manchurian population, constituting the majority of the 69,987 Europeans and sharing the city with 309,253 Chinese, 3,910 Japanese and 1,422 Koreans (East-Asiatic Economic Investigation Bureau, *Manchuria Year Book*, Tokyo 1931, p. 7). As the Chinese, Korean and Japanese share of the population rose in the 1930s, the European proportion progressively declined. The Chinese population increased substantially with economic development of the region and through government-supported settlement, owing to its concern over the large presence of foreigners (Chinese Eastern Railway Company, *North Manchuria...*, p. 8). By 1934, the total Manchurian population had swollen to 32,869,054. In addition to the Chinese majority, there were 76,429 Japanese, 62,861 Koreans and 77,545 foreigners (The South Manchuria Railway Company, *Eight Report on Progress in Manchuria*, Dairen 1936, p. 151). With the Soviet sale of Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan in 1935, the majority of Soviet citizens in Manchuria returned to the Soviet Union, so that the number still holding Soviet citizenship in the region was reduced to 5,000 by the following year and to less than 1,000 by 1939 (J.J. Stephan, *The Russian Fascists. Tragedy and Farce in Exile, 1925-1945*, London 1978, p. 176; "Визвольний шлях" 1968, no. 3, 357). As a consequence, both the Russian and Ukrainian diasporas in Manchuria dwindled to 54,000 by 1940, of which half lived in Harbin (G. Guins, *Russians in Manchuria...*, p. 81). After the departure of those Ukrainians carrying Soviet passports in the 1930s, the Ukrainian community in the whole of China decreased to approximately 30,000 people, of which 15,000 dwelled in Harbin (V. Kubyovych, *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia...*, p. 869; "Визвольний шлях" 1968, no. 1, p. 49-50).

Railway grew, the Company established a network of schools, parks, hospitals, and other social infrastructures and amenities for the settlers⁵⁷.

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians were initially employed in railway construction. Thereafter, as the Chinese Eastern Railway Company diversified its interests to include the development of the timber industry, public works, manufacturing, mining and agriculture⁵⁸, Ukrainians became engaged in maintaining these sectors. The profits the Chinese Eastern Railway Company accrued from its activities were partially reinvested in developing the city of Harbin⁵⁹, which became a centre of supply and distribution. By 1905 the population of this city had risen to 150,000⁶⁰ and continued to grow unabated, attracting native as well as foreign merchants, architects, land developers, bankers, entrepreneurs, and labor migrants from within and outside the region⁶¹.

The growing population in Manchuria induced the Chinese Eastern Railway Company to promote diversified agriculture in the area. Initially, the development of agriculture was in response to the consuming needs of the railway employees and soldiers stationed in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese war⁶². However, the demands for foodstuffs grew still further as Manchuria became progressively densely populated, and agri-business, fostered, primarily by the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, gradually evolved into a thriving enterprise in the region. The development of agriculture benefited many Ukrainians who were granted land allotments along the railway. They cultivated a wide range of grains and sugarbeet, and maintained cattle ranches, poultry farms and apiaries⁶³. Cereals gradually became the most important export commodity of Manchuria⁶⁴.

The lumber industry became another activity associated with the Ukrainian, Polish and Russian immigrants⁶⁵. Timber and lumber products, together became the

⁵⁷ L. Tsao, *The Chinese Eastern Railway. An Analytical Study*, Shanghai 1930, p. 8.

⁵⁸ *Gothaisches Jahrbuch für Diplomatie, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft 1928*, Gotha 1928, p. 458-459.

⁵⁹ By 1935, Harbin had become an established multiethnic city with over 450,000 inhabitants (J. Jaworski, *Mandżuria*, [in:] *Encyklopedia nauk politycznych*, vol. III, ed. E.J. Reyman, Warszawa 1938, p. 866-867).

⁶⁰ Chinese Eastern Railway Company, *North Manchuria...*, p. 271.

⁶¹ Manchuria was a veritable treasure house of natural wealth. However, Manchuria's economy in the interwar period was mainly based on agriculture, forestry products, and to a lesser extent, on abundant reserves of numerous minerals, such as coal, iron, petroleum and aluminum (*Knaurs konversations Lexikon*, Berlin 1932, p. 945; *Gothaisches Jahrbuch 1943*, Gotha 1943, p. 403; J.F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*, Berkeley 2003, p. 139-144; R.B. Marks, *China: Its Environment and History*, Lanham 2012, p. 222).

⁶² Chinese Eastern Railway Company, *North Manchuria...*, p. 73.

⁶³ S. Cipko, *Ukrainians in Manchuria...*, p. 163.

⁶⁴ Chinese Eastern Railway Company, *North Manchuria...*, p. 285; F.C. Jones, *Manchuria Since 1931...*, p. 7.

⁶⁵ D.M.B. Collier, C.L'E. Malone, *Manchukuo...*, p. 96; H. Shukman, *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution*, Oxford 1988, p. 324.

second largest export commodity of Manchuria⁶⁶. Certain Ukrainians developed successful firms in the lumber industry, for instance, the Shevchenko Brothers, who owned a forest concession near the Shitouhezi railway station, which was located along the line running from Manzhouli to Suifenhe⁶⁷. The workforce in the lumber industry, though, was largely of Chinese origin⁶⁸.

A side-effect of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company's operations in Manchuria was industrialization. Industrial activity was concentrated mainly in Harbin, with much of its flour mills⁶⁹, vodka distilleries⁷⁰, beer breweries⁷¹, sugar refineries⁷², furniture factories, manufacturing firms, and food processing plants, developed by Slavic settlers⁷³. The coal and iron-ore mines exploited by the Chinese Eastern Railway Company in the interior provided much of the raw materials for heavy industry to be developed in the city. An ever-enlarging bureaucracy emerged in Harbin to manage this industrialization process⁷⁴.

The second wave of Ukrainian immigration into Manchuria comprised an undetermined number of political refugees travelling with a larger contingent of Russian and non-Russian exiles from various parts of the Russian Empire after the Bolshevik

⁶⁶ In the early 1900s, lumber production and forest products constituted the most profitable branch of industry in Manchuria (CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.2725, Timber industry in Siberia and the Far East, 1921, p. 29-32).

⁶⁷ S.T. Hu, D.B. Hannaway, H.W. Youngberg, *Forage Resources of China*, Wageningen 1992, p. 20. Shevchenko Brothers found themselves among a group of European businessmen, including Kowalski, Skidelsky and Popoff, who were deprived of their timber concessions by the Japanese authorities in 1936 (CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.2015, Report on the attitude of Japanese authorities towards Polish citizens in Manchukuo. September 22, 1937).

⁶⁸ K. Grochowski, *Polacy na Dalekim Wschodzie*, Harbin 1928, p. 193.

⁶⁹ In early 1900s, the first place in manufacturing industry across Manchuria was taken by flour-milling. In 1920s, the railway zone contained in all 35 flourmills, which milled up to 300,000 tons of wheat. At least 24 of these mills were situated in Harbin. Besides flour, these manufactures produced manna and buckwheat grits. Out of the flour produced, about $\frac{2}{3}$ were brought to the Chinese Eastern Railway beltway and the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ was consumed directly at the points, where the mills were located (*Milling in Manchuria*, "The Northwestern Miller" 1908, no. 76, p. 155; Economical Bureau of the Chinese Eastern Railway, *The Chinese Eastern Railway and its Zone*, Harbin 1923, p. 21).

⁷⁰ M. Kałuski, *Polacy w Chinach*, Warszawa 2001, s. 41.

⁷¹ Książnica Pomorska (KP: Pomeranian Library), Zbiory specjalne (ZS: Special Collections), file no. 3392, Extracts from the land and mortgage registers, 1917-1939, p. 1-10.

⁷² Interestingly, Bohdan Broniewski built a substantial sugar factory, for which the equipment was supplied by a Polish firm called Szpotański, Borman and Swede. Apart from the equipment, many specialist were brought from Poland to work in the sugar company. The sugar beet cultivation, however, took place in Manchuria. Therefore, a group of Polish managers introduced sugar beet cultivation to the Chinese farmers of the area, which was previously unknown in China (CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.4476, Report from the visitation of Manchuria, written by Lt. Col. W. Jędrzejewicz, September 30, 1925, p. 7-8; B.Z. Wojas, *Dzieje Polonii Charbińskiej*, "Zeszyty Historyczne" 1974, vol. 30 (250), p. 9).

⁷³ W. Syzdek, *Na mandzurskim szlaku*, "Życie Warszawy" 1988, no. 1, January 8, p. 3.

⁷⁴ "The Chinese Social and Political Science Review" 1931, vol. 15, p. 35.

Revolution. Together they initially numbered up to 25,000 people⁷⁵, most of them settling in Harbin, or eventually shifting towards Shanghai and even further afield in Asia, usually to Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, Macao, Indo-China as well as the Philippines⁷⁶. Smaller numbers of Ukrainians continued to arrive in Manchuria during the 1930s, either from the Soviet Far East or directly from Europe⁷⁷.

Occasionally, Ukrainian activity in the Far East closely paralleled, or even preceded, developments in Ukraine in scope, essence and timing. The first Ukrainian Club in the Russian Empire in the twentieth century was founded in 1907 in the city of Harbin⁷⁸, which, although technically on Chinese soil, was nevertheless at that time administered de facto by Tsarist officials⁷⁹. The Ukrainian Clubs of St. Petersburg and Kiev were founded a little later. Also in 1907, an Ukrainian Students' Union was formed at the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok and, a year later, another students' union was established at the university in Tomsk. A number of Ukrainian amateur drama troupes emerged at the same time, and, in 1909, another Ukrainian Club was established in Blagoveshchensk. Further, in 1909, a Ukrainian daily called "Дума" ("The Thought"), to be published in Ukrainian, Mongolian and Russian, is said to have been attempted in Chita. Prior to the World War I, there were also secret Ukrainian political organizations operating in Iman, Nikolayevsk and Vladivostok. During the World War I, Harbin, where conditions were more liberal, became the main center of Ukrainian organized life in the Far East⁸⁰.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century several thousand Ukrainians lived in China. An overwhelming majority were employed in various institutions of the Russian Empire on Chinese territory, including legations, consulates, postal service and merchant marine. Unfortunately, little is known about the early Ukrainian organizations. Probably, the first Ukrainian cultural society was established in Liao-yang, in southern Manchuria around 1903⁸¹. Ukrainians formed various amateur and professional drama troupes within the railway workers' clubs. After the 1905 Revolution a Ukrainian Hromada Society was created in Shanghai (1906) from Ukrainian migrants formerly in Manchuria, and a year later a Ukrainian Club was created in Harbin⁸². The Ukrainian Club, renamed the Ukrainian National House in 1918, became the backbone of organized Ukrainian life in northern Manchuria throughout the period of Ukrainian settlement in the region⁸³. This institution was secular in nature and soon engaged in educational and charitable work. In 1916, for example, thanks

⁷⁵ C.F. Smith, *Vladivostok under Red and White Rule. Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Russian Far East, 1920-1922*, London 1975, p. 75.

⁷⁶ B. Dorfman, *White Russians in the Far East*, "Asia" 1935, March, p. 167.

⁷⁷ "Визвольний шлях" 1968, no. 3, p. 357.

⁷⁸ САУ, Од. II Szt. Гл., file no. I.303.4.5515, Report dated September 30, 1931, p. 1.

⁷⁹ А.А. Попок, *Українці на Далекому Сході...*, p. 126.

⁸⁰ A. Lencyk Pawliczko, *Ukraine and Ukrainians...*, p. 131.

⁸¹ V. Kubyovych, V. Markus, *Ukrainians Abroad*, Toronto 1971, p. 167.

⁸² "Визвольний шлях" 1967, no. 9, p. 1038.

⁸³ І. Світ, *Український Національний Дім...*, p. 1-4.

to the support of the Club, the first Ukrainian elementary school in the Far East was opened in Harbin⁸⁴.

The drive for independence in Ukraine in the years 1917-1921 stimulated intense organizational activity among Ukrainians in Manchuria. Several organizations were founded and affiliated with a coordinating board, the Manchurian District Council, which was set up in 1917 in Harbin and, till its expiry in 1921, embraced nine different Ukrainian communities in Manchuria⁸⁵. This Council, with Ivan Mozolevsky as president and Petro Tverdovsky (1889-1938)⁸⁶, H. Peshtich, S. Kukuruza as well as M. Yurchenko as outstanding members, maintained strong ties with the Ukrainian settlements in the Russian Far East and also with Ukraine, itself. At the end of 1917, a Ukrainian military unit commanded by Tverdovsky, was dispatched from Harbin to Ukraine so as to help the Ukrainian government in its efforts to establish an independent state. In the fall of 1918, Tverdovsky returned to Harbin as a consul of the Ukrainian People's Republic⁸⁷. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Consulate encountered many difficulties, such as a severe lack of financial resources, lack of qualified personnel and hostile attitude of the local Russian officials. Finally, the Consulate was closed in 1919, and subsequently Tverdovsky was forced to leave Harbin⁸⁸.

⁸⁴ E. Chernolutskaia, *Religious Communities in Harbin and Ethnic Identity of Russian Émigrés*, [in:] *Harbin and Manchuria. Place, space and identity*, ed. T. Lahusen, Durham 2001, p. 88.

⁸⁵ *Зелений Клин...*, p. 776.

⁸⁶ Petro Tverdovsky was born in a small village called Sosnivka within the Poltava province. After graduating from the Military School in Irkutsk, he became a senior officer of the Russian Army in the Far East. In 1917, he formed Ukrainian military units in Manchuria. Shortly after leaving Harbin in 1919, he was arrested by the revolutionary Russian authorities in the Far East and taken to Omsk, where he was released. However, he was repressed and executed in 1938 (V. Veryha, *Ukraine's Struggle for Independence 1914-1923*, Lviv 1998, p. 384; А.А. Попок, *Твардовський Петро*, [in:] *Енциклопедія історії України*, vol. 10, ed. В.А. Смолій, Київ 2013, p. 41).

⁸⁷ A. Lencyk Pawliczko, *Ukraine and Ukrainians...*, p. 132. The Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR), based in Kiev, was a predecessor of modern Ukraine declared on 10 June 1917 following the Russian Revolution. It was initially part of the Russian Republic but proclaimed its independence on 25 January 1918. During its short existence, the republic went through several political transformations from the socialist-leaning republic headed by the Central council with its general secretariat to the national republic led by the Directorate and by Symon Petlyura (1879-1926). Between April and December 1918, the Ukrainian People's Republic did not function, having been overthrown by the Ukrainian State of Pavlo Skoropadsky (1873-1945). From autumn 1919, the UNR operated as a Polish ally. Nevertheless, by then the state, in reality, no longer existed. The 18 March 1921 Treaty of Riga between the Second Polish Republic, Soviet Russia, acting also on behalf of Soviet Belarus, and Soviet Ukraine sealed the fate of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The Soviet Union would, after the 1921 Treaty of Riga, extend control over what would ultimately become the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and a founding member of the Soviet Union. At present, former territories of the Ukrainian People's Republic constitute parts of modern Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Moldova, Poland and Slovakia (В. Винниченко, *Відродження нації: Історія української революції: марець 1917 р. – грудень 1919 р.*, Відень 1920, p. 254-257; S. Ye-kelchuk, *Ukraine. Birth of a Modern Nation*, Oxford 2007, p. 72-83; Z.E. Kohut, I. Katchanovski, B.Y. Nebesio, M. Yurkevich, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine...*, p. 301).

⁸⁸ I. Світ, *Український консульство в Харбіні...*, p. 127-132.

After the Bolsheviks assumed control of the Russian Far East, the links between Ukrainians there and the Ukrainian organizations in Manchuria were terminated⁸⁹. After the Bolshevik Revolution, the leadership of many of the existing Ukrainian organizations in Harbin was taken over by political refugees from the Far East, who imbued in them a new direction. Most of these political refugees were supporters of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the short-lived democratic independent Ukrainian state, which had an uneasy and intermitted existence in 1918-1921, and, thus, were anti-Soviet⁹⁰. A small minority, known as the Hetmanites, were sympathetic to Pavlo Skoropadsky, who briefly established a monarchy in Ukraine, with the help of German forces in 1918, which the Ukrainian People's Republic subsequently overthrew⁹¹.

The settlement of assorted political refugees in Harbin, including Petro Marchyshyn (1889-1954)⁹², a former officer of the Austrian Army, Yuri Roy⁹³, a for-

⁸⁹ А.А. Попок, *Українці на Далекому Сході...*, p. 51.

⁹⁰ І. Світ, *Українська молодь Далекого Сходу*, "Визвольний шлях" 1976, no. 2, p. 172-173.

⁹¹ J.J. Bruski, *Petlurowscy...*, p. 46-47.

⁹² Petro Marchyshyn was one of the leading Ukrainian public figures in the Far East. A student at the Law Faculty of Lviv University, as a prisoner of war, found himself trapped in the Trans-Baikal region, where he was held in a detention camp in Berezovka. In May 1921, he became the Head of the Ukrainian Department and Deputy Minister of National Affairs of the Far Eastern Republic. In this post he was actively involved in the organization of Ukrainian educational institutions in the Far East. In 1922, Marchyshyn fled to Manchuria, where he also engaged in the activities of different Ukrainian organizations, such as the Union of Ukrainian Students, the Ukrainian Teachers' Union and Prosvita. In 1939, he became the editor of a periodical called "Далекий Схід" ("Far East"). On January 15, 1949, he was arrested and then, on July 20, he was sentenced under Articles 58-4 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to ten years in corrective labor camp by the Special Board of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). He died in prison. However, he was rehabilitated on November 1, 1989 by the Chita oblast prosecutor's office (І. Світ, *Українсько-японські взаємини 1903-1945...*, p. 246; А.А. Попок, *Марчущин Петро...*, p. 540; О. Сиротюк, В. Уніят, *Тернопільщина. Історія міст і сіл*, vol. 2, Тернопіль 2014, p. 183).

⁹³ Yuriy Roy (his true surname was Kolchanov) was born in Volyn. He received secondary education in Kyiv. During the World War I, he served in the 12th Finnish Rifle Regiment of the Russian Army, and subsequently graduated from Sevastopol Military Aviation School. Later on he served as the Lieutenant Colonel of the Ukrainian People's Republic army. In 1925, Roy came to Harbin, where he actively participated in Ukrainian public life. In 1935, for instance, he was elected to the Board of the Ukrainian National Colony. In the years 1936-1939, the Japanese military authorities appointed him as the head of the Ukrainian National Colony. From June 1938 to February 1939, he worked as editor of the "Далекий Схід" ("Far East") magazine (Fig. 4), the organ of the Ukrainian National Colony in Manchukuo. In 1945, as soon as Manchuria was overrun by the Red Army, he was arrested and taken to the Soviet Union, where he was executed in 1946. The officials of the Polish Consulate in Harbin suspected that he was a German spy whose task was to subordinate the Ukrainian National Colony to supporters of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (AAN, ARP, file no. 387, Report of the Polish Consul in Harbin, December 23, 1938, p. 42; А.А. Попок, *Рой Юрій*, [in:] *Енциклопедія історії України*, vol. 9, ed. В.А. Смолій, Київ 2012, p. 270).

mer colonel of the Ukrainian People's Republic army and Professor Ivan Shlendik⁹⁴, added to the sonority of polemics between the various rival political factions among Ukrainian community in the 1920s. Harbin attracted supporters of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the monarchist Hetmanate government, diverse Russian exile groupings united only in their dissatisfaction with the new order in what was the Russian Empire, but divided on the issue of what ought to take its place, and smaller contingents of Georgians, Turkic-Tatars, Cossacks as well as Siberian separatists⁹⁵. In addition, there were pro-Soviet elements among the Ukrainian railway workers of the Chinese Eastern Railway⁹⁶.

Harbin became the center of Ukrainian organized life. A Ukrainian gymnasium, an Orthodox parish⁹⁷, and a number of Ukrainian organizations were established in that city. All these were housed in the building of the Ukrainian National House⁹⁸. The group associated with the Ukrainian National House, its leadership now dominated by Ukrainian People's Republic sympathizers, had to contend with many hostile conditions. On the one hand, there was the local Chinese administration, which at first took an ambivalent attitude towards its activities but eventually, partly in response to the demands of local Russian circles and partly due to the rise of Chinese nationalism, repressed most Ukrainian organizations altogether⁹⁹. On the other hand,

⁹⁴ Ivan Shlendik was a scientist as well as public figure in Harbin. In 1923, he taught at the pedagogical courses at the camp of interned soldiers of the Ukrainian People's Republic army in Kalisz (Poland). Between 1923-1934, he studied chemistry at the Ukrainian High Pedagogical Institute in Prague (Czechoslovakia), where he received a doctorate. In the 1930's, he came to Harbin, instantly becoming a member of the Union of Ukrainian Emigrants. In May 1935, he turned out to be among the founders of the Ukrainian National Colony in Manchuria. In 1939, he became the co-editor of the periodical "Далекий Схід" ("Far East"), where he also appeared as a publicist. He wrote to a number of Ukrainian newspapers in Europe under the pseudonym Tkach-Oliynyk. In 1945, as soon as the Red Army entered Harbin, he was arrested and taken to the Soviet Union. Most likely, Russians, just like the Poles, believed that he was a German spy and supporter of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In all likelihood, he was executed in 1946 (AAN, ARP, file no. 387, Report of the Polish Consul in Harbin, December 23, 1938, p. 42-43; A.A. Попок, Шлендик Іван, [in:] *Енциклопедія історії України...*, vol. 10, p. 644).

⁹⁵ S. Postnikov, *Separatist Tendencies among the Russian Émigrés*, "The Slavonic and East European Review" 1938, vol. 17, p. 358-359.

⁹⁶ F.C. Jones, *Manchuria Since 1931...*, p. 76-77.

⁹⁷ The construction of an Ukrainian Orthodox church in Harbin was extremely important for the Ukrainians. The design had been developed back in 1905 as a church monument to the pioneers of the Chinese Eastern Railway. However, the construction was never carried out. Only many years later, through the initiative of the Church Construction Committee headed by Fr.N. Trufanov, the Church of the Protection of the Virgin in the Old Cemetery was finally completed in 1931. The building was erected under the supervision of engineer M.A. Ter-Ovakimov, chairman of the local Armenian society's administration, and according to the design of engineer Y.P. Zhdanov (E. Chernolutskaya, *Religious Communities in Harbin...*, p. 90).

⁹⁸ "East Europe and Contemporary Russia" 1936, vol. 1, p. 59.

⁹⁹ Between 1922-1931, the Ukrainian diaspora in Manchuria experienced a major setback, which resulted from both the severing of its ties with the Zeleny Klyn community in the Far East in the aftermath of the Revolution and the increasingly hostile attitude of the Russian-influenced Chinese administration. Local authorities confiscated the Ukrainian National House, closed the

there was the chauvinist attitude of certain Russian political factions, some of which would tolerate Ukrainian organizations only if these institutions accepted Russian domination¹⁰⁰.



Fig. 4. Front page of “Далекий Схід” (“Far East”)

Source: “Далекий Схід” 1938, no. 20, p. 305

Ukrainian gymnasium and abolished many organizations. Only the Prosvita society in Harbin continued to exist (Ossoliński National Institute, Periodicals, file no. 294.827, *Listy Harbińskie (Letters from Harbin)*, no. 12, 1932, p. 8).

¹⁰⁰ “Визвольний шлях” 1967, no. 7-8, p. 875.

Polemics between the Ukrainian press in Manchuria and the press of these Russian circles were carried out throughout the period of the settlement of both groups in Harbin and added to the cohesion of the permanently threatened Ukrainian minority associated with the Ukrainian National House¹⁰¹. Finally, the latter received opposition from within the Ukrainian community in Manchuria, itself. Friction occurred between old and new immigrants over the purpose of Ukrainian organizational life in Manchuria. Many of the old immigrants resented the sharp, occasionally antagonistic¹⁰², political, tone of activities conducted by the refugees and preferred the stress to be placed on cultural issues and on matters directly concerned with the welfare of the community in Manchuria¹⁰³.

More favorable conditions prevailed in 1931, at the time the Japanese established the buffer state of Manchukuo, even though the Japanese authorities frequently meddled in Ukrainian affairs¹⁰⁴. Thus, the Ukrainian community was permitted to revive their banned organizations. The Ukrainian National House in Harbin once again became the center of all Ukrainian community life. A number of new associations, catering to youth, pedagogical and publishing concerns, were also set up. For instance, supported by Poland, a Promethean Club was created in 1932, with Ivan Svit (1897-1989)¹⁰⁵, a Ukrainian, as its leader¹⁰⁶. Georgians and Tatars also joined the club. Although Japan did not explicitly support the Promethean Ukrainians, who were inclined to support the social-democratic forces of the former Ukrainian People's Republic, and therefore Japan was more inclined towards the monarchist supporters of Pavlo Skoropadsky as well as the more radical Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists¹⁰⁷, it did fi-

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 867.

¹⁰² "Визвольний шлях" 1967, no. 11-12, p. 1287-1288.

¹⁰³ In the second half of the 1920s, due to the internal feuds among the leaders of the Ukrainian diaspora in Manchuria and the passivity of the rank-and-file colony members, the activities of the Ukrainian Club almost came to naught (E. Chernolutskaia, *Religious Communities in Harbin...*, p. 89).

¹⁰⁴ V. Kubiyovych, V. Markus, *Ukrainians Abroad...*, p. 168.

¹⁰⁵ Ivan Svit lived in Harbin throughout most of the Manchukuo period. Further, he was a journalist, writer, historian, enthusiastic stamp collector and part time dealer. Born in Kharkiv region of Ukraine, Svit settled in the Zeleny Klyn region in 1918 and from there moved to Harbin. In Harbin he assumed a leading role in organizing Ukrainian community life, editing newspapers and writing extensively on Ukrainian affairs in Manchuria. From 1932 to 1937, he was the editor of a Ukrainian-language journal called "Маньдзурський вістник", secretary of the Ukrainian National House as well as representative of the Union of Ukrainian Emigrants in Manchuria. In 1940, he was acting as a secretary for the Harbin Philatelic Club. In November 1941, Svit moved to Shanghai, where, among other duties, he continued trading as a stamp dealer. He survived the war and was still in China until 1947. Later on, he moved to New York, where he prepared most of his studies on Ukrainian diaspora in Manchuria (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine...*, vol. 5, p. 123; S. Cipko, *Ukrainians in Russia. A Bibliographical and Statistical Guide*, Edmonton 1994, p. 18).

¹⁰⁶ H. Kuromiya, *Ukraine and Eurasian History...*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁷ The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was a Ukrainian fascist political organization established in 1929 in Vienna, which operated in Western Ukraine. The OUN emerged as a union between the Ukrainian Military Organization, smaller radical right-wing groups, and right-wing

nance the publication of the club's organ called "Маньджурський вістник" ("Manchurian Herald")¹⁰⁸.

In the 1930s, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was active in Manchuria. There they created one of their representations. In the event of a major war between the Soviet Union and Japan, leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists considered it possible to establish a Far Eastern Ukrainian state under the Japanese protectorate¹⁰⁹. In connection with these plans, Yevhen Konovalts decided to send several members of his organization to Manchuria. As a result, Omelyan Khmelovsky arrived in Harbin under a false name of Boris Kurkchi in 1934, and in the following year, yet another pair representing the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists made their way to Harbin, namely Mykola Mytluk, also known as Bohdan Lukavenko and Mykhaïlo Zatyayko, alias Roman Kordu-Fedoriv¹¹⁰. The Japanese ambassador in Berlin, on the other hand, met representatives of the OUN in 1935. The aim of the meeting was to organize, with the help of the OUN, a military diversionary activity against the Soviet Union¹¹¹.

At the same time, the Poles were anxious not to antagonize themselves with the local émigré communities, especially Ukrainians, by improving relations with representatives of various Russian fractions in Manchuria¹¹². In 1932, Władysław Pelc (1906-2002), a collaborator of Polish intelligence and a former resident of Harbin, came there with a special mission. The goal of the mission was to work slowly towards the unification and revitalization of activities conducted by the local Ukrainians, Georgians and Tatars, as part of the mobilization of the Promethean movement

Ukrainian nationalists and intellectuals represented by Yevhen Konovalts (1891-1938). The OUN strategy to achieve Ukrainian independence included violence and terrorism against perceived foreign and domestic enemies, particularly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union. In 1940 the OUN split into two parts. The older, more moderate members supported Andriy Melnyk and the OUN-M, while the younger and more radical members supported Stepan Bandera's OUN-B. In October 1942, the OUN-B established the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In order to prevent future Polish efforts at reestablishing Poland's prewar borders, between 1943-1944 UPA military units carried out large-scale ethnic cleansing against Polish people. An estimated number of 60,000-100,000 Polish civilians were massacred in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia. After World War II, the UPA fought against Soviet and Polish government forces (S.G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945*, London 1995, p. 428; J.J. Lerski, *Historical Dictionary of Poland, 966-1945*, Westport 1996, p. 624; O. Subtelny, *Ukraine. A History...*, p. 443; G. Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942-1960*, Warszawa 2006, p. 311-326; idem, *Od rzezi wołyńskiej do „Akcji Wisła”*, Kraków 2011, p. 134-150).

¹⁰⁸ H. Kuromiya, G. Mamoulia, *The Eurasian Triangle...*, p. 144.

¹⁰⁹ R. Wysocki, *Organizacja Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów w Polsce w latach 1929-1939. Geneza, struktura, program, ideologia*, Lublin 2003, p. 377.

¹¹⁰ H. Kupeckyj, *Place where the sun is rising. Reminiscences of a fighter of the OUN in the Far East*, Toronto 1988, p. 348-350.

¹¹¹ H. Kuromiya, *Ukraine and Eurasian History in the Twentieth Century*, "Harvard Ukrainian Studies" 2016, vol. 34, no. 1-4, p. 206.

¹¹² CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.5527, Report dated October 14, 1932, p. 1.

in Manchuria¹¹³. Władysław Pelc, who could communicate in Chinese, Ukrainian, Russian and English, was one of the actual creators of the Promethean Club in Harbin¹¹⁴. Formally, however, he was the secretary of the Polish Chamber of Commerce in Harbin¹¹⁵. In fact, he worked under direct supervision of Aleksander Kwiatkowski, a Polish consul in Harbin¹¹⁶. In 1937, when the Japanese authorities dissolved all Ukrainian organizations in Manchuria, with the exception of the Ukrainian National Colony, he was forced to leave Harbin and began working for the Polish Embassy in Paris¹¹⁷, where he continued to participate in the Promethean movement¹¹⁸. After his departure from Harbin, the Ukrainian community began leaning toward views and postulates expressed by local representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists¹¹⁹.

The year 1935 marked the peak of Ukrainian socio-cultural activity in Manchuria¹²⁰. In January an umbrella body, the Ukrainian National Colony, was created as the legal representative entity for all Ukrainians in Manchuria. It planned a Far Eastern Conference which aimed to include Ukrainian representatives from China proper, however this objective proved to be unfeasible due to tense relations between Ja-

¹¹³ Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu (BPP: Polish Library in Paris), Archiwum Władysława Pelca (AWP: Władysław Pelc Collection), file no. 1, Curriculum Vitae (lack of date), p. 2.

¹¹⁴ CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.5614, Prominent members of the Promethean movement, August 17, 1934, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, file no. I.303.4.5570, The Polish Chamber of Commerce in Harbin, April 15, 1934, p. 2-3.

¹¹⁶ The Polish Diplomatic Mission in Harbin was, in fact, a Polish consular office operating between 1920 and 1941. The diplomatic post was established in order to protect the economic interests of Polish businessmen in Manchuria and for the benefit of the Polish community involved in the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway, without formal approval of the local authorities. Its territorial and factual competences as well as objectives also changed several times. First, the post was under direct supervision of the Polish Legation in Tokyo, then the Polish Legation in Shanghai, and finally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw (W. Skóra, *Organizacja i pierwszy okres działalności polskich konsulatów w Harbinie i Władystoku w latach 1920-1924*, [in:] *Polskie ślady na Dalekim Wschodzie. Polacy w Harbinie*, ed. A. Furrier, Szczecin 2008, p. 75-100; idem, *Placówki MSZ Drugiej...*, p. 700-710). In order to improve cooperation with the Ukrainian diaspora in Harbin, the consulate employed Stepan Levynsky (1897-1946), a Polish Orientalist of Ukrainian origin (Fig. 5). From 1936 to 1940, he worked in the economics section of the Polish consulate in Harbin and was active in the Ukrainian community there, by contributing to “Маньджурський вістник” (“Manchurian Herald”) as well as helping compile a Ukrainian-Japanese dictionary (AAN, Konsulat Generalny RP w Charbinie [Consulate General of the Second Polish Republic in Harbin], file no. 15, Correspondence dated March 30, 1936, p. 1-3).

¹¹⁷ BPP, AWP, file no. 1, Curriculum Vitae (lack of date), p. 3.

¹¹⁸ CAW, Od. II Szt. Gł., file no. I.303.4.5693, Reorganization of the Promethean movement in Paris, August 31, 1937, p. 1-3.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, file no. I.303.4.5500, Situation in the Far East (lack of date), p. 81.

¹²⁰ A. Lencyk Pawliczko, *Ukraine and Ukrainians...*, p. 132.

pan and China. Nevertheless, the Conference went ahead, albeit limited to delegates of Ukrainian organizations in Manchuria¹²¹.

However, by late 1937, owing to the outbreak of war between China and Japan, the deteriorating relations with the Soviet Union, and influenced by events in Italy and Germany, Japanese policy towards Ukrainians entered a new phase in which the Ukrainian affairs were treated marginally¹²². By then, the Japanese support had shifted only to those groups that they considered unquestionably politically reliable, that is Ukrainian nationalists, who also received help from the Germans¹²³.



Fig. 5. Stepan Levynsky (1897-1946)

Source: V. Kubyovych, *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia...*, p. 183

In response to the changing environment in Manchuria, several Ukrainian community leaders moved on to Shanghai, where there were fewer restrictions. The decline of Ukrainian organizational activity in Manchuria culminated when the Soviets invaded the region in August of 1945¹²⁴. Meanwhile, the declaration of independence of Carpatho-Ukraine¹²⁵ in 1939 caused enormous enthusiasm among the

¹²¹ “Далекий Схід” 1938, no. 2, p. 31; “Визвольний шлях” 1968, no. 3, p. 358.

¹²² “Визвольний шлях” 1967, no. 7-8, p. 913.

¹²³ AAN, ARP, file no. 387, Report of the Polish Consul in Harbin, December 23, 1938, p. 45.

¹²⁴ V. Kubyovych, V. Markus, *Ukrainians Abroad...*, p. 168.

¹²⁵ Carpatho-Ukraine was an autonomous region within Czechoslovakia from late 1938 to March 15, 1939. It was declared an independent republic by Avgustyn Voloshyn (1874-1945) on March 15, 1939. Voloshyn named himself the president and asked Adolf Hitler for support. Hitler did not reply and its historically Hungarian part was annexed by Hungary between March 15 and March 16, 1939, remaining under Hungarian control until the end of World War II, when it was ceded to the Soviet Union. The territory is now administered as Zakarpattia Oblast in Ukraine (M. Jarnecki, P. Kołakowski, “*Ukraiński Piemont*”. *Ruś Zakarpaska w okresie autonomii 1938-1939*, Warszawa 2017, p. 311-338).

Ukrainians in Manchuria¹²⁶. Nonetheless, its quick downfall was sobering. At that time, the OUN's anti-Russian activity disquieted the Japanese, to whom Russian émigrés were equally important as subversive forces, creating serious political discord in their collaboration¹²⁷.

The Ukrainians in Manchuria first began to migrate southward within China to such places as Tianjin and Shanghai in the early 1900s. This process accelerated in the 1930s, when they started to travel overseas, usually to Australia, in large numbers. This was also the case for a sizable portion of Polish population in the North-east China, owing to the deteriorating economic conditions, they decided to emigrate to North America or Australia¹²⁸.

Nevertheless, by far the largest exodus of Ukrainians from Manchuria occurred in the 1940s. When the Soviets arrived in Manchuria in 1945 random arrests and deportations of the Slavic inhabitants took place, accompanied by an intensive campaign urging the settlers and their descendants to apply for Soviet citizenship and return to the Soviet Union, but it was only partially successful¹²⁹. After World War II, the small Ukrainian communities in China, especially in Manchuria, approximately 10,000 people¹³⁰ concentrated around Harbin and Shanghai disappeared, following the takeover of this country by the Communists. In the upcoming years, the Ukrainian diaspora in China had been reduced to a negligible number¹³¹.

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¹²⁶ The situation in Carpatho-Ukraine was closely monitored by the Ukrainian press in Manchuria since 1938 (*Карпатська Україна на заході – Зелений Клин на сході*, “Далекий Схід” 1938, no. 20, p. 305-307).

¹²⁷ H. Kupeckyj, *Place where the sun...*, p. 253.

¹²⁸ AAG, APP, file no. 50, Report of the Polish Consulate General in Sydney, October 18, 1933, p. 63.

¹²⁹ J.J. Stephan, *The Russian Fascists...*, p. 367.

¹³⁰ V. Kubyovych, *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia...*, p. 248.

¹³¹ R. Alley, *Travels in China 1966-1971*, Peking 1973, p. 391; В.П. Петров, *Город на Сунгари*, Вашингтон 1984, p. 82.

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A Brief History of Ukrainian Diaspora in Manchuria, 1898-1945

The Ukrainian settlement of Manchuria, which by the second decade of the twentieth century embraced over 22,000 people, has been rarely documented. Although virtually ignored, the Ukrainian diaspora in Manchuria had an interesting and dynamic history. The number of Ukrainians in Northeast China increased considerably with the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Russian Empire in 1898. Several Ukrainian enclaves were formed in important railway hubs, especially Harbin, which became the main center of Ukrainian life in Manchuria. After the occupation of Manchuria by Soviet troops in 1945, most of the Ukrainians were arrested and deported to the Soviet Union, and all Ukrainian organizations were dissolved.