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**A WELCOMING AND HOSPITABLE STATE:
POLITICAL EXILES AND REFUGEES IN INTERWAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA[□]**

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Interwar Czechoslovakia, the so called First Republic (1918–1938), enjoys a wide-spread positive image as a state which upheld democracy. This image often came to expression in the historiography in connection with its political pluralism and tolerance towards minorities. However, Prague's efforts to engage with Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian refugees after the Bolshevik revolution should not be overlooked.

The article examines Czechoslovak refugee policy and particularly reactions to the flow of refugees from the former Tsarist Russia in the aftermath of the Bolshevik seizure of power. It directs attention to ways in which Czechoslovak refugee policy gave the Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian exiles unprecedented and considerable experience of democratic co-existence, enabling them to develop their national life abroad.

There is no doubt that Czechoslovakia was, in the interwar period, an important place of refuge. The influx of migrants from the territory of the former Tsarist Russia reached its climax in the mid-1920s, numbering 25 000 people, the majority of whom were Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians. Czechoslovakia attracted them for a combination of reasons stemming from its democratic character, the interests of Czechoslovak political elites and the geographic position of the state. The Czechoslovak humanitarian project called the Russian relief act (1921) created some of the most favorable conditions for émigrés in Europe. Czechoslovakia, as one of the few countries, offered émigrés not only the opportunity to settle and start a new home here, but also to participate in the development of socio-cultural, educational, and scientific spheres. Émigré scientists and experts with their activities and creative work left their mark on the life of interwar Czechoslovakia and contributed to the mutual interaction of Czech-Slovak and Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian science and culture.

Key words: interwar Czechoslovakia, immigration policy, humanitarian relief, refugees, post-1917 revolution emigration, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian exile communities, culture in exile.

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The internal social changes and subsequent political developments, which occurred in Russia after the Bolsheviks took power in 1917, among other things, caused large numbers of inhabitants of the old Tsarist realms to leave their homes. As a result of the intolerable political situation, either by their own choice or involuntarily, thousands of people left their home and became homeless refugees. They found an asylum in various European and non-European countries. Czechoslovakia also attracted emigrants from the former Tsarist Russia¹.

The mass influx of refugees from the former Tsarist Empire to Czechoslovakia began after the defeat of white troops in Crimea in the autumn of 1920. At this time, General Vrangel turned to the Czechoslovak authorities to accept part of his army in Czechoslovakia (Dokumenty a materiály k dejinám československo-sovětských vztahů. Díl I. Listopad 1917–srpn 1922 [hereinafter – Dokumenty a materiály], 1975, p. 383). The Czechoslovak political scene was in favor of supporting Russian emigrants; thus, political leaders suggested that Czechoslovakia engage in an ongoing humanitarian action and support Russian refugees through a broader humanitarian action. At its meeting on June 28, 1921, the Czechoslovak Government approved of a project to help Russian refugees. It was called **Russian relief act** (Бабка и Золотарев, ред., 2012). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic was entrusted with the implementation of the project; it received 10 million Czechoslovak koruna (hereinafter – CSK) for this purpose (Sládek, 1993, p. 3). The act of the government was also supported by President T. G. Masaryk, who on June 28, 1921 wrote: “In this act, we cannot forget the many Russian citizens who live among us in Europe and to whom we have already showed support” (Masaryk, 1938, pp. 56–57).

The further influx of emigrants from the former Tsarist Russia to the territory of Czechoslovakia was coordinated and monitored within the approved humanitarian action. The Russian relief act began in September 1921, when the Czechoslovak Embassy in Constantinople (today's Istanbul) was instructed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to send to Czechoslovakia a thousand Russian students and four thousand Russian farmers staying in Constantinople and on the islands of Gallipoli and Lemnos (Archiv Ministerstva zahraničních věcí České republiky, Praha [hereinafter – AMZV ČR], Fond: Telegramy odeslané. Rok 1921. Telegram V. Girsy z dňa 7.9.1921). Based on this decision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by the beginning of 1922, about 1,500 Russian students and 2,000 farmers and Cossacks originating from the Don, Terek, and Kuban areas had come to Czechoslovakia. The route led from Turkey to Greece, and from there to Czechoslovakia. The last group of Russian emigrants (several hundred refugees from Constantinople, the Far East and a group of Kalmyks) came to Czechoslovakia between 1922 and 1923 (Kaleta, 2015).

With the arrival of emigrants from the former Russian Empire, Czechoslovakia launched one of the most extensive humanitarian acts to help Russian refugees in Europe. Its implementation was influenced by human, socio-political and economic reasons. The entire program of the Russian Relief Act was governed by the following principles: no

¹ The literature in this field is mountainous and growing (Běloševská, ed., 1999; Sládek and Běloševská, ed., 1998; Práce ruské, ukrajinské a běloruské emigrace vydané v Československu 1918–1945: Bibliografie s biografickými údaji o autorech. Díl. I, sv. 1–3. [hereinafter – Práce], 1996; Veber, Sládek, Bubeníková and Harbuřová, 1996; Русская, украинская и белорусская эмиграция в Чехословакии между двумя мировыми войнами. Результаты и перспективы проведенных исследований. Фонды Славянской библиотеки и пражских архивов. Сборник докладов. В 2-х ч. [hereinafter – Русская, украинская и белорусская эмиграция], 1995; Veber et al., 1993–1995; Sládek, 1993; Tejchmanová, 1993).

troops were allowed to withdraw through the territory of the republic; the refugees had to discontinue any political activity; the support was not to be implemented by private organizations, only through a state scheme; the result of the action was to create such conditions that the refugees would be able to take care of themselves. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs proposed that the refugees be divided into three groups. The first was to be émigrés incapable of physical labor. The idea was also to include here the disabled, the elderly, women unable to work, and school children. The Czechoslovak Red Cross was to take care of this group. The second group was to be refugees capable of physical labor. The third group was to be represented by the intelligentsia (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 256. Ruská pomocná akce – realizace).

In addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic, a number of Czechoslovak and Russian organizations participated in the implementation of the Russian Relief Act; along with the Czechoslovak Red Cross, also the Czechoslovak Agricultural Union took part in the act, caring mainly for Russian farmers². The central position among the mentioned organizations was taken by Zemgor (Association of Russian Zemstvo and Municipal figures in the Czechoslovak Republic),³ which was founded in Prague in 1921. Another organization participating in this act, also established in 1921, was the Committee for the Provision of Education for Russian Students in the Czechoslovak Republic.⁴ Since September 1921, the Committee members were also professors who took care of Russian scientists and teachers.

In the first years of the Russian relief act, the emphasis was put mainly on social aspects. Zemgor and its offices in Bratislava and Uzhgorod were in charge of this part of the act. Zemgor provided refugees with temporary accommodation, food, clothing, and footwear. Zemgor representatives sought employment for émigrés in private companies and workshops. They increased their chances for employment by organizing accounting, stenographic, driving, and language courses. This care, executed by Zemgor, was fully subsidized by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the Russian relief act, the greatest emphasis was placed on the educational, study-related and research aspects. Great attention was paid especially to the care of Russian students. In Prague, a system of Russian schools was gradually established; from preschool

² The main organization providing care to Russian migrant farmers was the Czechoslovak Agricultural Union (CzAU). For those émigrés who were to work in agriculture, the CzAU stated the conditions under which they could be hired: Russian émigrés had to report to the relevant local authorities and the police, they had to hand over documents to the employer, and pay for all the expenses incurred on the part of the employer. The workers were not allowed to leave the farm without prior notice, and yet had to have written consent of the CzAU. In exchange for labor, they received food, accommodation, and a salary in the range of 90 – 130 Czechoslovak koruna (CSK) per month (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 532. Československá zemědělská Jednota – ruská emigrace).

³ Zemgor was founded on March 17, 1921, and registered at the State Political Administration in Prague, April 30, 1921. Zemgor was chaired by V. M. Zenzimov in 1921, then by V. J. Gurjevich and from 1922 by I. N. Brushvit. In the management were mainly the representatives of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party (so-called Esers). Out of the 63 members of the management, 29 were Esers. The second strongest group in Zemgor was the representatives of the Cossack Revival Union. Zemgor's goal was to help all former Russian citizens in the Czechoslovak Republic in every possible way (Серрапионова, 1995; Постников, 1928).

⁴ The Committee for the Provision of Education for Russian Students in the Czechoslovak Republic was established on October 1, 1921. Its task was to assist in the settling of Russian students in Czechoslovakia, to allocate students to schools, and to care for them during their studies. Along with this committee, also the Committee for the Provision of Education for Ukrainian students in Czechoslovakia was established. In 1926, the two Committees fused and operated so until 1930, when their activities started to be restricted. They definitively ceased to exist in 1935.

facilities to universities. In addition to this, Russian students were also offered education at Czechoslovak secondary vocational schools and universities. Studying in Czechoslovakia became very popular and sought after among emigrant youth. Therefore, the number of people interested in studying in Czechoslovakia significantly exceeded the estimated number. In 1924 6341 Russian students (out of them, 4663 undergraduates) were studying in Czechoslovakia (Ročenka Československé republiky [hereinafter – Ročenka], 1925, p. 307). In 1928 this number began to decrease and in 1931 it was only 500 students (Ročenka, 1931, p. 371). The report of the Committee for the Provision of Education for Russian Students, prepared in January 1935 for the needs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic, stated that, between 1921 and 1934, it supported 6816 Russian and Ukrainian students studying in Czechoslovakia⁵. The scope of this relief act also included the care of Russian scientists and educators who taught in Russian schools or worked in Czech and Slovak educational and research institutions.

The Russian relief act affected not only schools, students, and teachers, but also Russian scientific institutions, research bodies, and libraries. A significant part of the subsidies under the Russian relief act was intended to support the activities of Russian emigrant associations and unions.

The implementation of the Russian Relief Act far exceeded the expected content and scope⁶. Already in the first years of its implementation, left-wing, mainly communist members of the Czechoslovak parliament, expressed disagreement. They opposed humanitarian aid conceived in this way, accused the Czechoslovak government of providing aid to monarchists and anti-Soviet elements, and demanded its immediate cessation⁷. Providing finances for such a demanding and broadly conceived Russian relief act became an ever-increasing burden for the Czechoslovak government. Therefore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to prepare a plan for its gradual reduction, starting in 1927. Further abrupt reductions in investment for Russian emigrants were instigated by the worsening economic and social situation due to the emerging economic crisis of the early 1930s. In 1934, de jure recognition of the Soviet Union by Czechoslovakia officially ended the Russian relief act. After 1934, emigrants living in Czechoslovakia came under the care of the Czechoslovak Red Cross (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 256. a. Ruská pomocná akce). From 1937, the matter of caring for Russian emigrants was transferred to the powers of the Ministry of Social Welfare of the Czechoslovak Republic (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 277. a. Ruská pomocná akce – ukončení).

As a result of the widely conceived humanitarian aid, the interwar Czechoslovakia had become a destination for thousands of Russian émigrés. The number of emigrants in Czechoslovakia culminated in the mid-1920s. In the subsequent years, their number began

⁵ In 1928, 1591 university students were enrolled. In 1930, there were 906 of them. The largest number of students studied in 1923. On average, the monthly allowance per student was CSK 500. Out of 6818 students, 4,180 completed their studies. Each diploma cost approximately CSK 45,000. Of all students, 72,3% (4,862) were Russians, including Tatars, Kalmyks, and inhabitants of the Caucasus region, 27,7% (1,992) were Ukrainians, including Belarusians and Cossacks (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 187. Správa Komitétu pro zabezpečení studia ruských studentů. Január 1935).

⁶ The Russian relief act took place in 1921–1937 and cost CSK 508 034 511,11. The project with the highest cost was implemented in 1924 – CSK 99,775,428.54, in 1925 – CSK 72,934,702.62, and in 1926 – CSK 71,010,294.56 (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 256. a. Ruská pomocná akce).

⁷ It was K. Kreibich's (the communist MP) interpellation in December 1923, but there were also interpellations of other left-wing politicians in the later period, in which they demanded an immediate cessation of support for anti-Soviet elements in Czechoslovakia (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 39. Stanovisko komunistických poslanců k Ruskej pomocnej akcii).

to decline. This is also documented by the following data: in 1920–1921 6–15 thousand emigrants from Russia lived in Czechoslovakia; in 1923 – 21 thousand; in 1924 – 20 thousand; in 1925 – 25 thousand; in 1926 – 17 thousand; in 1931 – 9 thousand; in 1932 – 10,5 thousand; in 1936 – 8–9 thousand; in 1939 – 8 thousand (Veber, Sládek, Bubeníková and Harbuřová, 1996, p. 58; Sládek, 1993, p. 4).

This externally amorphous multitude of emigrants was considerably differentiated internally. The émigré community in Czechoslovakia comprised mainly civilian refugees who emigrated owing to military actions of civil war, voluntary political emigrants, participants in the civil war, people who were forcibly expelled from Soviet Russia, and former prisoners of war (Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci [hereinafter – Československá pomoc], 1924, p. 3). The following nationalities were represented: Russians⁸, Ukrainians⁹, Belarusians¹⁰, Georgians, Armenians, and others. The social layers were represented by soldiers, peasants (Cossacks), students, the intelligentsia (researchers, artists, clerks). The available Zemgor statistics show that the vast majority of emigrants (90–93%) were manual workers. About 40 % of emigrants worked in agriculture, 20% in industry and crafts. The remaining 30% was a group that originally belonged among the intelligentsia, but here, for various reasons, they worked manually. Of the total number of emigrants, only 7–10% performed intellectual work (artists, scientists, teachers, students, doctors, or engineers) (Veber, Sládek, Bubeníková and Harbuřová, 1996, pp. 58–59).

One of the conditions that emigrants had to respect when arriving in Czechoslovakia was that they would not become politically involved and form political groups. However, a part of the émigré community was unable to distance itself from political activities. They were unable to part with their political beliefs, but also mutual animosity and disputes. Political affiliation and thinking or affinity with one of the political directions became a significant differentiating aspect of the émigré community. The Russian émigré community living in Czechoslovakia was of three political movements: monarchists (40%), socialists (11%), and democrats (about 10% of the total number of emigrants). The rest of the emigrants were politically indifferent (Magerovskij, 1928).

The division into three political movements, which stemmed from the pre-revolutionary distribution of political forces in Russia, lasted among the emigrants until the end of the 1920s. With the changing political and economic situation at the turn of the 1920s, new political movements emerged. They reflected not only the new social reality but also the changes within the émigré community. The younger generation came to the forefront, no longer confining themselves to condemning the Bolshevik regime and anticipating its downfall, but taking its existence as a reality and hoping for its transformation. These views were expressed mainly in the *Smena vekh* ideology¹¹ and Eurasianism (Voráček, 2004).

⁸ The present paper draws on the general conditions that apply to the entire emigration from the former Tsarist Russia in interwar Czechoslovakia; however, the analysis of specific institutions and personalities focuses primarily on the characteristics of Russian émigré community.

⁹ Ukrainian émigré community established numerous organizations, institutions, and associations in the Czechoslovak Republic. Ukrainian émigrés were provided aid that was almost identical with that provided to the Russian émigrés. The activities of Ukrainian émigrés in interwar Czechoslovakia make a special object of research; therefore, the present paper deals with it only to the necessary extent. Recent studies of Ukrainian émigré community include Lubica Harbuřová (2000), Jiří Vacek (1998), Bohdan Zilynskyj (1995), Alexander Muřinka (1993), and Stepan Vidňanský (1992).

¹⁰ For recent studies of Belarusian émigrés in Czechoslovakia, see Daniela Kolenovská, Michal Plavec (Kolenovská, and Plavec, 2017) and Irina Shablovskaja (Шабловская, 1995).

¹¹ The *Smenavekhovtsy*'s basic goal to eradicate the Bolshevik system after the defeat of counter-revolutionary and interventional attempts were formulated by N. V. Ustrialov (1890–1938). N. V. Ustrialov was a

The legal status of emigrants in Czechoslovakia was similar to that in other countries. Until 1921, they came as citizens of Tsarist Russia. After issuing the decree of the Soviet government that deprived all emigrants of their citizenship, they became refugees without rights and a home. The vast majority of Russian emigrants lived in Czechoslovakia on the grounds of permits and passes issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Only a small number of the emigrants received temporary Czechoslovak passports during this period. Emigrants who entered the country illegally lived without the necessary documents. Since January 1930, in accordance with the procedure of the League of Nations, the Prague Police Directorate began issuing so-called Nansen passports with a one-year validity period. However, the legal status of Russian emigrants in Czechoslovakia basically did not change. According to the Act on the Protection of the National Labor Market, emigrants could enter employment only with the consent of the State Political Administration. Domestic residents were prioritized in obtaining work. Emigrants who wanted to settle in Czechoslovakia permanently tried to acquire Czechoslovak citizenship and assimilate as soon as possible.

After coming to Czechoslovakia, the life of most emigrants focused on securing basic material and social needs. Support organizations, especially Zemgor, provided them only with the most necessary assistance (accommodation, food, and medical treatment). Due to the unfamiliar social and linguistic environment, this care was vital for the livelihood. After overcoming the initial obstacles, emigrants began to seek a job. They were interested in any job, irrespective of whether it corresponded to their education and social status.

Emigrants from the former Russian Empire were very intent on settling in Czechoslovakia. Prague became the main hub with the largest concentration of emigrants. Among other centers were Příbram, Poděbrady, Moravská Třebová, Brno. Part of the emigration settled in Slovakia, where it formed two major centers, namely Bratislava and Košice. A significant part of the émigrés also found their new home in Carpathian Ruthenia (which in the interwar period was part of Czechoslovakia); its center was Uzhgorod¹². All emigrant centers in Czechoslovakia were interconnected and coordinated not only by the Czechoslovak government and state authorities, but also by the central bodies of the emigrant organizations based in Prague.

Prague became the central administrative center of Russian emigrant life in Czechoslovakia. The Russian creative top-level intelligentsia also settled in the capital of Czechoslovakia. Already in the first years after the arrival of Russian emigrants in Prague, Russian educational institutions began to emerge. In 1922, the Russian Law School (Русский юридический факультет) was founded; it had all the attributes of a university, but was not equivalent to Czechoslovak universities. Three hundred eighty-four students graduated from the School. The second Russian university was the J. A. Comenius Russian Pedagogical Institute (Русский педагогический институт имени Я. А. Коменского), in which 2100 students graduated. In 1921, the Russian Institute of Agricultural Cooperation (Русский институт сельскохозяйственной кооперации) was established and involved cooperative, economic, and legal departments. During its existence, it trained 585 specialists. In the same year, the Russian Institute of Commercial Studies (Русский институт коммерческих знаний) was

member of the Russian Cadet (Constitutional Democratic) Party and journalist. After the revolution, he emigrated to China, and in 1935 he returned to the USSR. N. V. Ustrialov introduced a request of "smena vekh" (changing of signposts) and called on the émigré camp to reconcile and begin cooperating with the Soviet power.

¹² In the early 1930s, 1428 Russian and Ukrainian émigrés lived in Carpathian Ruthenia, of which 230 were Russians and 217 were Ukrainians from the former Tsarist Russia, and 981 said they came from Eastern Galicia. For more details, see Lubica Harbuľová and Ihor Likhtei (Harbuľová and Lichtej, 2017; Harbuľová, 2000a).

established as a parallel of the University of Business. It had 37 graduates, and it ended its activities in 1925. In 1922, the Russian People's University (Русский народный университет) was established in Prague. It had an extensive network of colleges throughout the country and 450 graduates.

Russian high schools were represented by Russian Reformed Real Gymnasium in Prague-Strašnice (Русская реформированная реальная гимназия) (1922); Russian High Specialized School of Railway Technicians (Русское высшее училище техников путей сообщения) (1922), which was attended by 80 students, and others. The Russian Reformed Real Gymnasium of the boarding school type (Русская реформированная реальная гимназия-интернат) was transferred from Carhrad to Moravská Třebová. Later, it merged with the Russian Reformed Real Gymnasium in Prague so that one Russian gymnasium, at Pankrác, Prague, could emerge (Postnikov, 1928; Československá pomoc, 1924).

The teaching staff of Russian schools was made up of leading Russian educators and scholars. Some of them came to Czechoslovakia by invitation of the Czechoslovak government, and also worked at Czech and Slovak universities. Since 1922, at Charles University, the following professors of Slavic linguistics lectured: V. A. Frantsev, N. P. Kondakov, N. V. Jastrebov; later on A. A. Kizevetter, A. V. Florovskij, N. L. Okuniev, R. O. Jakobson joined them. The junior lecturers at Charles University were L. U. Kopeckij and A. L. Bem (Šimeček, 1993). Prominent representatives of the St. Petersburg philosophical school, denounced from Russia in 1922 (N. Losskij, I. Lapshin, P. Sorokin, S. Franko, L. Krasavin), gradually gathered in Prague (Vacek, 1994, p.1; Gonč, 1993, p. 38).

In addition to educational institutions, a number of scientific organizations, institutions, and bodies were established in Prague; this enabled many Russian scientists to continue their scientific work even in the émigré circumstances. One of the most important ones was the Russian Foreign Historical Archives (Русский заграничный исторический архив), founded by Zemgor in 1923. In 1928, the Archives came under the administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Pavlova, 1990). The second most important Russian scientific institution in Prague was the Economic Cabinet of prof. S. N. Prokorovich (Экономический кабинет проф. С. Н. Прокоповича) (1924). It arose from the need to systematically and competently acquaint Russian émigrés with the processes taking place in the economy of Soviet Russia (Tejchmanová, 1993a, p. 55). In Prague, the following institutions had their seats: Institute of Russian Studies (Институт изучения России),¹³ Russian Scientific Institute of Agriculture (Русский научный институт сельскохозяйственной культуры),¹⁴ and the Russian Institute that focused on the popularization of Russian history and culture¹⁵. Other professional institutions included: N. P. Kondakov Seminar and Institute (Семинар и Археологический институт имени Н. П. Кондакова), Don Cossack Archives (Донской козацкий архив), Belarusian Foreign Archives (Белорусский заграничный архив), Russian People's Library (Русская народная библиотека) (1921), Russian Cultural and Historical Museum (Русский культурно-исторический музей) (1935) located near Prague, Zbraslav and many others (Vacek, 1993).

¹³ Institute of Russian Studies was headed by the representatives of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party V. M. Chernov, S. S. Maslov, I. A. Jakushevich. Its activities focused on the history of Russian agriculture and peasantry. Due to the lack of funds, it ceased its activities in the late 1920s.

¹⁴ The Russian Scientific Institute of Agriculture was led by K. B. Kocherovskij. It was under the auspices of the Union of Russian Academic Organizations and researched the state of agriculture in Russia.

¹⁵ The Russian Institute was to contribute to the convergence of Czech-Slovak and Russian cultures. The Prague Institute suspended its activities in 1928, after the establishment of the Russian Scientific Institute in Belgrade.

The system of educational and scientific institutions was complemented by extensive publishing activities. Initially, until the émigrés settled, publishing outputs had the form of brochures, newspapers, and magazines. Gradually, as the émigrés switched to a more settled way of life, Russian classical literature and fiction, textbooks, and children's literature, memoirs, and field-specific literature began to appear. The most important Russian-language publishing house in Prague was Plamia (Пламя) (literally Flame), founded in 1923 under the leadership of prof. J. A. Liackij. By 1926, it had published more than 100 publications (Vacek, 1993, p. 64). Plamia had branches in Prešov, Warsaw, representations in Harbin, London, Riga, Kaunas, Paris, and other cities. After 1926, its publishing activities were limited and later stopped. Its publishing plan included Russian fiction, historical, philosophical, and political works, as well as translations of world literature. Other Russian-language publishing houses included Slavic Publishing House (Славянское издательство) (1920), publishing houses Village (Хутор) and Russian Freedom (Воля России) (Vacek, 1993).

An overview of publishing activities would not be complete without periodicals. Between 1920 and 1940, about 100 Russian magazines and about 20 newspapers were published in Prague; e.g. *Naval Magazine* (Морской журнал) (1928–42), *Bulletin of the Economic Cabinet of prof. S. N. Prokopovič* (Бюллетень Экономического кабинета проф. С. Н. Прокоповича) (1924–38), *Revolutionary Russia* (Революционная Россия) (1920–31), *Russian Freedom* (Воля России) (1922–32), etc. (Podhájecka, 1993). The importance of Prague as a publishing center of the Russian émigré community is also confirmed by the fact that in 1925 Prague ranked second after Berlin in the number of titles published, out of 32 places in the world publishing Russian-language books (Vacek, 1993, p. 63). Prague, together with Berlin and Paris, was one of the most famous publishing centers in the Russian émigré diaspora.

After settling in the new conditions, the émigré community began to develop large-scale social and cultural initiatives, which led to the creation of various associations and unions. Émigrés needed, thus sought, mutual contacts and cooperation; this also served as a means of solving their material and social problems, as well as a means of alleviating their moral and psychological traumas. The associations were established under the permission of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior and had to be duly registered. Within the Russian relief act, they received financial subsidies to support their activities. The associations were cultural, specialized and professional, and supportive in nature. The duration and quality of work of Russian associations varied. In 1934, 33 Russian cultural, 11 specialized and professional, 26 support organizations were registered in Prague (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 258. Ruská pomocná akce – spolková činnost). Many of the associations (Gallipoli Association, Cossack Associations, Union of Russian Engineers and Technicians, Russian Falcon, and others) operated nationwide. Their central authorities were located in Prague, and had a network of offices in various cities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. Such a structure of associations helped to improve the interconnectedness of the Russian émigré society.

The center of the cultural and artistic activities of the Russian émigrés was mainly Prague. They included the literary group *Daliborka*, exhibitions of the Prague organization of Russian painters called Russian artisan (Русский кустар). The music world included, for example, composer A. N. Poshevskij, opera singers B. Khorovich, A. P. Chvanova, S. S. Jevtushenko, or prima ballerina J. Nikol'skaja. Among active artistic ensembles were Russian Chamber Theater (Русский камерный театр) (Martínek, 1993), a popular choir

A. A. Arkhangel'skij All-student Russian Ensemble (Студенческий русский сбор имени А. А. Архангельского) or Ataman Platov Don Cossack Ensemble (Донский Козацкий сбор атамана Платова). The center of all émigré activities in Prague was the house "Russian Hearth" (Русский очаг), which was built in 1925 by Countess S. V. Panina. The cultural life of Russian Prague was made complete by numerous social events, concerts, balls, cabarets and the famous Russian Christmas trees associated with the celebrations of Christmas and New Year. The émigré community met during the celebrations of traditional Russian holidays and, since 1925, also at the annual Days of Russian Culture (Дни русской культуры) (Veber, 1994). The range of activities of the Russian community also included various events organized in support of former soldiers and the disabled, or the very popular Russian Children's Day.

In addition to Prague and other Czech and Moravian cities, part of the Russian émigrés also settled in Slovakia¹⁶. At the beginning of the Russian relief act, Slovakia served only as a transit territory for most emigrants. The first reports of the arrival of political emigrants from the former Tsarist Russia in Slovakia appeared in August 1921, when 49 Russian students from Belgrade came to Bratislava. In Bratislava, they were received by the representatives of the Bratislava branch of the Czechoslovak Red Cross, which sent them to other cities according to the instructions (AMZV ČR, Fond.: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 256. Ruská pomocná akce – realizace). The arrivals of transports with emigrants continued throughout the autumn. Incoming refugees were provided with the most necessary assistance in Bratislava; then they continued their journey to Prague or to the countries of Western Europe.

In Slovakia, Russian refugees were provided humanitarian aid by the Bratislava office of Zemgor, founded in 1921; since 1922, the director was I. A. Jakushev¹⁷. In the first months of its existence, the Zemgor was in charge of the transit of emigrant transports through Slovakia and the provision of necessary social and medical assistance to refugees. During the first months of their stay in Slovakia, the Bratislava office of Zemgor was irreplaceable for most emigrants; it looked for work for them and also helped to obtain the documents allowing them to stay in the Czechoslovak Republic. While in the first years of its existence, social, health and financial aspects dominated its work, in the following period, the socio-cultural aspect came to the fore.

The number of Russian émigrés who lived in Slovakia for a longer or shorter time in the interwar period was around 2000–2500 people. The Russian émigré community that settled in Slovakia was not numerous in comparison with the Czech and Moravian areas or other European Russian émigré centers. Nevertheless, it was in a way distinctive and possessed internal life. One of the differentiating aspects was the nationality of the émigrés. In Slovakia, the most numerous ones¹⁸ were Russians and Ukrainians, rarely Georgians, Armenians or Belarusians.

In the interwar period, the social structure of the community gradually changed. At the beginning of the 20th century, workers, peasants and craftsmen prevailed among the

¹⁶ For more information on the life of the Russian émigré community in Slovakia, see Lubica Harbuľová (Harbuľová, 2001).

¹⁷ Ivan Alexandrovich Jakushev (1883–1935), a Russian politician, Eser, publicist, chairman of the Siberian Regional Duma. During Kolchak's rule, he was deported to the Far East. In 1921, he emigrated to the Czechoslovak Republic. He was actively involved in the work of Zemgor. He was also the chairman of the Association of Siberians in Czechoslovakia.

¹⁸ On the life of Ukrainian emigrants in Slovakia, see Lubica Harbuľová (Harbuľová, 2000; 2002).

émigré. In the first years of the arrival of emigrants in Slovakia, very little representatives of intelligentsia were present. This component of the Russian community emerged with the arrival of Russian students at Slovak secondary schools and faculties of Comenius University in Bratislava¹⁹ and with the work of Russian scholars and teachers at Slovak universities (E. Iu. Perfetskyj, V. A. Pogorelov, M. M. Novikov, D. Andrusov, N. O. Losskij, K. Belousov and others) (Harbuľová, 2015; 2015a). Physicians and lawyers substituted for the small number of the intelligentsia during this period. The social structure of Russian émigré community changed more fundamentally at the beginning of the 1930s, when the first Russian graduates of Prague universities began to come to Slovakia. It was mainly the Russian technical intelligentsia – engineers (forestry, construction, mining, commercial, chemical) and middle technical staff mostly working on the construction of railways and road networks. The middle technical staff worked as land surveyors, accountants, and some as administrative staff. More Russian medical professionals and Russian intelligentsia were employed in the state and public services. The Russian émigré community living in Slovakia did not engage in the political life. Its inaction was influenced by social composition, livelihood problems, and territorial fragmentation.

The Russian émigré community, which settled permanently in Slovakia, was scattered in small numbers across all Slovak regions. With the growing number of the Russian community, larger émigré groups were formed only in two Slovak cities – Bratislava and Košice; in the interwar period, they became the centers of Russian emigration in Slovakia. Other Slovak cities with larger groups of Russian émigré were Martin, Banská Bystrica, Zvolen, Nitra, and Prešov.

Bratislava, the most important and most prominent center of interwar Slovakia, was initially only a transit city for most Russian emigrants. However, some emigrants decided to stay in this city and settled here permanently. The number of the Russian émigré community in Bratislava began to increase mainly after the Bratislava educational institutions admitted some of the Russian students and teachers. Bratislava gradually became the most important center of Russian émigrés in Slovakia. The life of the community was influenced by its size (about half of all Russian emigrants settled in Slovakia lived in Bratislava),²⁰ and by marked social differentiation with the dominance of ex-soldiers, intelligentsia, and students. This determined association-based activities of the émigrés settled in Bratislava. In the interwar period, 13 Russian associations operated in Bratislava. The associations were cultural, supportive and professional in nature. The most famous associations included: The Russian Circle in Bratislava (1920), Gallipoli Association (Галлипольское землячество) (1926), All-Cossacks Association in Slovakia (1931), Association of Russian Engineers and Technicians in Czechoslovakia, the office in Bratislava (1931), Russian Falcon Athletics Unit in Bratislava (1935).

The second center of Russian émigré community in Slovakia was Košice. In the interwar period, the county town of Košice was the social, cultural, commercial, and financial center of the eastern regions of Slovakia. The rapidly forming and developing cultural life

¹⁹ The number of students who came to Bratislava and other Slovak cities for education was not high and accounted for only 1–2% of the total number of Russian students studying in Czechoslovakia (AMZV ČR, Fond: II. sekcia – politická. č. k. 187. Správa Komitétu pro zabezpečení studia ruských studentů pro Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí). For more information on the stay of Russian students in Slovakia, see Lubica Harbuľová (Harbuľová, 1998).

²⁰ In 1932, 532 Russian emigrants lived in Bratislava (Slovenský národný archív, Bratislava [hereinafter – SNA], Fond: KU. č. k. 46. Ruská emigrácia a Slovensko).

of the city and the ethnically differentiated structure of the city population, in which Russian émigrés found their promoters and the ideas of Slavic reciprocity, offered favorable conditions for Russian emigrants' activities. Although the number of Russian émigrés in Košice was not high, they actively participated in the social and cultural life of the city and the region, mainly through the activities of two associations that they formed here – the Russian Circle (1924) and the Union of Russian Emigrants (1930).

The association activity was the most significant manifestation of the presence of Russian émigrés in Slovakia. The activities of Russian associations in Slovakia were determined by various factors. Associations were established in the centers with the greatest concentration of the émigré community and in which Russian intelligentsia or former soldiers were more strongly represented in its social structure. In comparison with other centers of Russia abroad, the association-based activities of the Russian émigré community in Slovakia were not numerous; even so, it mattered for the émigré community. Although these activities were more important for the mere émigré community than for the natives, they somewhat complemented the cultural life of these cities in the interwar period.

The members of the Orthodox clergy were also part of the Russian émigré community settled in Czechoslovakia. A confessional center was established in Slovakia for the entire émigré community in Czechoslovakia, and its headquarters were in Ladomirová, a village in northeastern Slovakia (Harbuľová, 2000b). The establishment of this center was directly related to the arrival of archimandrite Vitalij (secular name Maximenko) (Harbuľová, 2006), who came to Ladomirová in March 1923, by invitation of Prague Orthodox archbishop Savvatij. Archimandrite Vitalij came to the area not only to spread Orthodoxy among the local population, but also with the mandate of the foreign Russian Orthodox Church to build a church printing house, which would follow the traditions of Pochajv Printing House, the largest church printing house in pre-revolution Russia. In order to fulfill these tasks, first, it was necessary to create suitable conditions. Thus, in the beginning of the mission, the priority task for the archimandrite and Orthodox believers was to build a church (it was built in 1923–24). From the first days of his stay in Slovakia, archimandrite Vitalij also worked to fulfill his mandate. In a short time, he managed to get an old printing machine from the Lemko Student Association, Prague²¹. The printing press was temporarily installed in Vyšný Svidník in December 1923 and it started working at the beginning of 1924. After the construction of a wooden house intended for the mission and the printing press, the latter was moved to Ladomirová in 1926 and in 1927, it was officially registered.

The mission soon became known throughout the Russian émigré world. Many emigrants came here, but only a few remained to live here. The number of permanent members living in the mission ranged from an average of 25 to 30 people. The most famous members of the mission were archimandrite Seraphim (Ivanov), hegumen Sávva (Struve), Jeronim, Grigorii (Pyžov), archimandrite Andrei (Kolomackij), I. Jamshchikov, A. P. Belonin, archimandrite Nafanail (L'vov) and others. Throughout its existence, the activities of the Ladomirová Orthodox Mission focused on several areas: publishing, cultural-charitable and missionary.

The dominant and decisive factor for the existence of the whole mission was its publishing activity. The first religious and liturgical books were printed on a homemade device as early as in 1924. The mission also published church periodicals: since 1924, the Orthodox Calendar; since 1928, the newspaper *Pravoslavnaja Karpatskaja Rus'* (Orthodox

²¹ The printing facilities included a printing press, 200 kg of Russian writing, 400 kg of bad paper, and 300 kg of ink (Orthodox calendar for 1934 [hereinafter – Orthodox calendar], 1933, p. 120).

Carpathian Ruthenia) (in 1934, the title was changed to *Pravoslavnaja Rus'* (Orthodox Ruthenia)), since 1935 *Detstvo vo Khriste* (Childhood in Christ) (since 1939 under the title *Detstvo i iunost' vo Khriste* (Childhood and Youth in Christ), since 1939 the liturgical magazine *Pravoslavnyj Put'* (The Orthodox Way). In total, during the twenty-year existence of the mission, the church printing house in Ladomirová published more than 100 mass and religious books, a number of magazines, calendars, newspapers and secular cultural and educational literature (dictionaries, grammars, and others). The Orthodox mission in Ladomirová ended its activities in the autumn of 1944 before the arrival of the Red Army. In the interwar period, Ladomirová was not only the center of the regional Orthodox believers and the spiritual center of the Russian émigré community living in Slovakia and across Czechoslovakja, but also an important center of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad, from where the Orthodox printed word spread throughout the Russian émigré world.

In the interwar period, Czechoslovakja became one of the European and non-European countries that actively participated in providing assistance to refugees from the former Russian Empire. The Czechoslovak humanitarian project called the Russian relief act created some of the most favorable conditions for émigrés in Europe. The international significance and impact of the Czechoslovak relief activity is also confirmed by the 1928 League of Nations statistics. According to the released data, among the countries that provided assistance to Russian refugees, Czechoslovakja was ranked eighth in terms of the number of émigrés received; however, Czechoslovak aid was larger in scope than the combined aid of all other countries²².

Czechoslovakja, as one of the few countries, offered émigrés not only the opportunity to settle and start a new home here, but also to participate in the development of socio-cultural, educational, and scientific spheres. Émigré scholars and experts with their activities and creative work left their mark on the life of interwar Czechoslovakja and contributed to the mutual interaction of Czech-Slovak and Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian science and culture.

The beginning of the Second World War ended the interwar period of the Russian émigré community in Czechoslovakja. The war years brought further internal differentiation of the émigré community, a new wave of voluntary and forced migration, which ultimately led to the destruction of the émigré community formed in Czechoslovakja in the interwar period.

Translated from Slovak by Alena Kačmárová

²² Czechoslovakja was in 8th place behind France and Germany (with 400 thousand émigrés), Poland (100 thousand), China (88 thousand), Lithuania (30 thousand), Jugoslavja (27 thousand) and Bulgaria (26 thousand). For the Czechoslovak Republic, these statistics show the number of 24000 (Veber, Sládek, Bubeníková and Harbuľová, 1996, p. 58).

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ПРИВІТНА І ГОСТИННА ДЕРЖАВА:

ПОЛІТИЧНІ ЕМІГРАНТИ І БІЖЕНЦІ У МІЖВОЄННІЙ ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНІ

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Постановка проблеми: В умовах внутрішніх соціальних змінах та подальших політичних подій, що відбулися в Росії після приходу до влади більшовиків у 1917 р., внаслідок нестерпної політичної ситуації, за власним вибором чи вимушено тисячі людей залишили свої домівки, ставши бездомними біженцями. Вони знайшли притулок у різних європейських і неєвропейських країнах. У міжвоєнні роки Чехословаччина стала важливим пристанищем для біженців і політичних вигнанців. Кількість переселенців з територій колишньої царської Росії сягнула апогею в середині 1920-х років – вона становила 25 тис. осіб, здебільшого росіян, українців і білорусів. Чехословаччина приваблювала їх поєднанням низки чинників, зумовлених її демократичним політичним устроєм, зацікавленням чехословацьких еліт, географічним розташуванням і слов'янським

характером населення. Чехословацький гуманітарний проект під назвою “Закон про допомогу російським біженцям” (1921) створив для емігрантів одні з найсприятливіших умов у Європі. Одна з небагатьох, Чехословаччина пропонувала емігрантам можливість не лише оселитися, а облаштуватися на новому місці, а й брати участь у розвитку соціально-культурної, освітньої та наукової сфер.

Мета: Дослідити діяльність російських емігрантів – учених і фахівців у Чехословацькій республіці міжвоєнного періоду.

Результати дослідження: Чехословацький гуманітарний проект під назвою “Російський акт допомоги” створив одні з найсприятливіших умов для емігрантів у Європі. Міжнародне значення і вплив чехословацької допомоги також підтверджується статистикою Ліги Націй за 1928 рік. Згідно з оприлюдненими даними, серед країн, які надавали допомогу російським біженцям, Чехословаччина посідала восьме місце за кількістю прийнятих емігрантів, чехословацька допомога була більшою за обсягом, ніж сукупна допомога всіх інших країн.

Чехословаччина як одна з небагатьох країн дала емігрантам можливість не лише оселитись і облаштувати тут новий дім, а й долучитися до розбудови соціокультурної, освітньої та наукової сфер. Науковці та експерти-емігранти своєю діяльністю та творчим доробком залишили помітний слід у житті міжвоєнної Чехословаччини та сприяли взаємодії чесько-словацької та російської, української та білоруської науки і культури.

Початок Другої світової війни завершив міжвоєнний період існування російської еміграції в Чехословаччині. Военні роки принесли подальшу внутрішню диференціацію емігрантської громади, нову хвилю добровільної та вимушеної міграції, що, зрештою, призвело до руйнування емігрантської громади, сформованої в Чехословаччині у міжвоєнний період.

Ключові слова: міжвоєнна Чехословаччина, імміграційна політика, гуманітарна допомога, біженці, післяреволюційна еміграція, російська, українська і білоруська емігрантські спільноти, культура еміграції.