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## THE PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN IN THE FRENCH RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR: TRANSNATIONAL ASPECT

У статті акцентується увага на тому, що в історичних дослідженнях останніх років дедалі більша увага приділяється вивченню минулого світової спільноти і України та Казахстану, зокрема на основі транснаціональної ідеї. Її застосування дозволяє замінити конфронтацію національних наративів їх співіснуванням і тим самим відійти від ізоляціонізму та провинційності національних історіографій. У цьому контексті зроблено спробу розкрити конкретні, документально підтверджені факти про участь у французькому Русі Опору періоду Другої світової війни жителів України та Казахстану й представників інших національностей. Зокрема, обґрунтовано тезу про те, що, крім французів, контингент борців проти гітлерівських окупантів формувався кількома шляхами: а) з колишніх емігрантів, які ще до війни оселилися і жили у Франції; б) людей, яких місцеві патріоти зуміли визволити із полону, розташованих на її території концентраційних таборів і таборів остарбайтерів для робіт на військових заводах й шахтах; в) втікачів із німецьких легіонів. Підкреслено, що французький Рух Опору почав розгортатися з перших днів Другої світової війни та окупації країни гітлерівськими військами. Його ряди росли й набирали дедалі більших сили і масштабів як за рахунок етнічних французів, так і представників багатьох інших європейських народів. Завдяки цьому в ньому нараховувалися тисячі представників України та сотні казахів, які пліч-о-пліч із ними мужньо і хоробро боролися з нацистами й тим самим вносили свій вагомий внесок у визволення Франції від окупантів і розгром гітлерівської Німеччини. Об'єднані спільною метою та тісно взаємодіючи між собою, вони організовували саботування діяльності заводів і шахт, з допомогою диверсій перешкоджали регулярному руху залізничних ешелонів із живою силою, військовою технікою, зброєю та боеприпасами, влаштовували бойові операції щодо німецько-фашистських військових формувань, допомагали визволенню невільників із концентраційних таборів тощо.

**Ключові слова:** Україна, Казахстан, Франція, Європа, Друга світова війна, Рух Опору, транснаціональна історія, нацизм, народи, представники.

Modern socio-political challenges, that people all over the world altogether and each nation separately obstacles nowadays, rightfully make the problem of saving and protection of peace very actual. This also requires the necessity of deep analysis and comprehension of the value and great efforts of many countries, European and world peoples for the victory in the Second World War. However, some of the political forces still exploit historical events and memory of them in order to manipulate public opinion. That's why, one of the most important tasks we have is the deconstruction of mythologem, the stereotypes of the communist times, the political obsession of historical investiga-

tions, and integration into scientific process [35, p.219; 60]. Moreover, the severe hardships of the Second World War had become a vivid testimony to the invincibility of the spirit and the real community of peoples in their common struggle for peace, when representatives of many peoples of the USSR, in particular, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, rose up and walked side by side against the Nazi beast.

Transnational history, as qualitatively new direction, helps to understand this complex problem, but it entered into the scientific circulation of the world historiography only for about a quarter of century ago. Furthermore, there is a certain boom for research within the framework of global history in the world historiography now. In this direction, the first successful steps are made by Ukrainian and Kazakh historians. In particular, in the collection of scientific articles "Laboratory of transnational history. Ukraine in the modern historiography" [69] could be found the thesis that the problem of writing of national and multinational history can be successfully solved by transnational approaches, and it is especially emphasized, that its application allows to reconstruct national and transnational history in such a way that we can see many of themes which represent history of Ukraine outside of the national narrative [49, p.297]. The concept of "transnational history" is used by S. Plokhii (Cambridge, USA), with a particular focus on considering Ukraine from the point of civilization and cultural division – in other words, at the same time as a separate line and a bridge between Central and Eastern Europe. According to him, Ukraine fits better than any other country of the region into this paradigm, taking into consideration its location at the crossroads of not only Eastern and Central Europe, but also Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Eurasian steppes [45]. Principal significance has A. Wendland's hypothesis of that the history of the regions of Ukraine can also be correctly understood in terms of its transnationality. This is a «cross» history with equal participation of Ukrainian and other inextricably intertwined communities [14, p.61-80].

In this regard, a lot has been done by Ukrainian and Kazakh historians. Significant contribution to the scientific reconstruction of the problem is made by Ukrainian scientists T. Berehovenko, A. Bolyanovskiy, V. Vyatrovych, L. Dolyshnya, S. Drobyazko, A. Duda, S. Yelisavetskiy, A. Kentii, Y. Kaliberda, A. Karashchuk, A. Kudrytskyi, O. Lysenko, V. Lozytskyi, I. Mukovskiy, M. Nebeliuk, I. Patryliak, V. Serhiichyk, M. Slobodianiuk, V. Staryk, A. Fedko, Y. Fedko, Y. Shapoval and Kazakh researchers S. Antonov, E. Aubakirov, K. Dzhumabaieva, G. Mendikulova, A. Prokofiev and others. Particular attention deserves the research of the French author J. Souffle. However, a complex, synthetic study has not yet been created.

The purpose of this article, which is the first attempt by historians divided with more than 1,650 kilometres, but united by the desire to investigate commonly the objective historical truth about the Second World War, is to show on the example of the participation of the Kazakhs and Ukrainians in the French Resistance Movement,

that Victory over Hitler's Germany was the result of the joint efforts of the world community.

First of all, we emphasize that the article uses a transnational direction of scientific research that helps to involve Ukrainian history and history of the Kazakh people to the world historical narrative, and the subject of this involvement is the study of the problem of the participation of representatives of both peoples in the Second World War [46, p.12] in the European, in particular in the French Resistance Movement. Indeed, the Resistance Movement in Europe was international, and both of the mentioned countries historically were and remain polynational. Meanwhile, in modern European, in particular, French historiography, the history of the Resistance Movement has been put into wider transnational and ecumenical frames since the mid-1990s by historians J. Dreyfus-Armand, D. Pieshchanskyi and E. Temim [59; 61-62]. R. Gildeyev went even further, proposing to call «Not French Resistance, but Resistance in France», because its participants were ordinary Frenchmen, French Communists, Spanish Republicans, Italian anti-fascists, British and American agents, Jewish refugees, immigrant Poles, women and representatives of other countries who lived in France during the occupation. Finally, the scientist stressed that in the French Resistance Movement the cost was much more expensive than the liberation of one nation from Nazi tyranny [63]. Thus, the last few years have led to a transnational turn in research on the Resistance Movement. On the other hand, according to a modern French researcher J. Souffle, “the phenomenon of the Soviet Resistance Movement on French territory was poorly investigated: because of the lack of interest of those who represented the Resistance Movement, or the reluctance to discuss the Franco-Soviet times during this period, the lack of documents, the unwillingness of witnesses to remember those events, because a large number of these people went through a system of camps in France after the war, and later in the Soviet Union as well. For many years, the Cold War has far removed the Allies ...” [68, p.12].

The study of the problem of participation of Ukrainians and Kazakhs in the Second World War in European countries leaves much to be desired in the historiography of Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Obviously, it was not included in the range of relevance, and moreover it was banned during Soviet times. The labels of «traitors and spies» were attached to all those who were outside their own country and lived in one of the occupied Nazi troops of Western European countries for various reasons. The only one mention of «former citizens» became the pretext for repression in the conditions of the Stalinist regime, and subsequently somewhat weakened command-bureaucratic system. Nowadays, the problem of participation of Kazakhs and Ukrainians in Resistance Movement during the Second World War is extremely important and relevant. It is complex as it consists of a number of such topical issues as: participation in different sides in the Second World War, participation in the «Turkestan Legion», Resistance Movement and partisan detachments, as well as the issue

of the repatriation of prisoners of war in the USSR and those who did not come home.

Such status quo has an explanation connected with the ideological ban during the Soviet period and the lack of access to archival documents stored in our countries and abroad. Nowadays, researchers from independent Kazakhstan and Ukraine have the opportunity to contribute to the coverage of these questions. Kazakhs and Ukrainians made great contribution into the great friendship during the Second World War both on the Soviet-German front and in the European Resistance Movement, which appeared on its beginning [24, p.404].

We emphasize that the Second World War was the time of the widest development of the partisan struggle as the most effective form of resistance to the occupation forces and its great impact on the battling on the fronts [23, p.4]. People of different nationalities were united by the anti-fascist struggle, for fight against a common enemy – «for yours and ours freedom» in all the occupied countries of Europe during the Second World War. Residents of Ukraine and Kazakhstan were widely represented among the 22 million members of the Resistance Movement. Only at the territory of France representatives of 57 peoples took part in the Resistance Movement [64, p.19]. Because of the lack of its own state, Ukraine has become one of the main arenas of the world's arsenal, and Ukrainians were the soldiers of actually all the armies that went through the war. The UPA officially included 100 000 members, while in the ranks of the Allied army, the number of Ukrainians was 250 000 [52].

Ukrainians were dragged into the battles almost from the first days of the war. In March 1939, the soldiers of the Carpathian Sich repulsed the offensive of the superior forces of the Hungarian army, and in September 1939, together with the Poles, they opposed the offensive of the German troops. In particular, 12 000 of Ukrainians were called into the Polish Army, 8 thousand of them died in the “September campaign” of 1939. Incidentally, P. Shandruk, who commanded the 28th Brigade of the Polish Army during the “September campaign” in the battles against the Germans, showed up his worth. He was awarded the highest Order of Poland ‘Virtuti Militaria’ from the Polish exile government in London, also he got a honorary sword (the gift of Polish officers) [17, p.205].

It is worth noting that all Soviet people who were living in Western Europe, were called “Russians” in Western European literature. But the Russians were not the only national group that participated in the European Resistance. Besides them, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Armenians, Georgians, Kazakhs and representatives of other Eastern European peoples fought against the occupation regime with weapon in their hands. Ukrainians, in particular, constituted a significant part of the prisoners of war and most of the “Ostarbeiter” [40, p.116].

According to the analysis of documents and scientific literature, the forms of struggle of the International Resistance Movement were the most diverse: failure to follow the orders of the enemy, anti-fascist propaganda, assistance to the people who were persecuted by

the Nazis, reconnaissance activities in favour of the anti-Hitler coalition, strikes, sabotage, mass demonstrations and declarations, underground and guerrilla warfare in temporarily occupied territories, armed operations and uprising.

The most active was the Resistance Movement in France, which was in a special situation: two thirds of its territory, including Paris, were occupied by Hitler's Germany, and the southern regions with a centre in the city of Vichy and French colonies were part of the so-called Vichy state with the puppet government headed by Marshal Petten, who collaborated with the occupiers [43]. Ukrainian and Kazakh emigrants contributed greatly to the rise of the European Resistance against Nazi Germany, as many European countries were and remain those democratic states in which the forced expatriates from Ukraine and Kazakhstan found refuge and second Motherland [38, p.157-158]. Thus, from 5 to 7 thousand of Ukrainians fought in the battles for Flanders, under the Sedan, over Soma (May 1940), over the Seine, Marna, Laura, etc. in the Foreign Legion in France during the initial period of the Second World War [17, p.206; 58, p.14]. It was found out that only during the period of state independence of Ukraine more than 5 thousand representatives of the Ukrainian National Union in France (UNUinF), which acted since 1932, had participated in battles with the German troops in Flanders, above Seine, Marna, Laura in May-June 1940. Thousands of Ukrainians became participants of Resistance Movement in a response to Nazi repression [36, p.52; 47].

One of the first leaders of the French Resistance was Y. Klishch (Jewish nationality) from the Chernivtsi region, who in summer 1941 initiated the creation of an underground group in the Mandansky concentration camp near Paris. This group led the uprising of the prisoners and became the basis of four partisan detachments, and in the end of 1943 – of the anti-Nazi organization of people from Ukraine "Ukrainian People's Front" (UNF) [25, pp.95-97; 26, p.175]. AS organizational unit the UNF had branches all over France, with a membership of more than 9 thousand participants [32]. Ukrainian Mykola Tereshko successfully operated in the vicinity of Lyon, Ivan Sheptytsky – near the city of Villefranche, brothers Mykhailo and Leonid Khandoginy – near Toulouse, and Petro Dyachuk – in central France.

Fighting the invaders required significant funds for the purchase of clothing, food for the support of orphans and widows. The UNF made a lot of efforts in collecting material valuables into the fund of the liberation army of the French people. Significant work on the consolidation of the forces of Ukrainian emigration was carried out by the underground printing authority of the UNF, the 'Batkivshchyna' newspaper, which was published in Paris. It criticized the exiting position of those emigrants who were still outside of the Resistance Movement. The UNF agitated the Ukrainians in France to increase sabotage, and the youth – to join the partisan detachments [30, p.70-77; 34, p.117-118].

In addition, during the active phase of the development of the Resistance Movement in the occupied by Nazis European countries

(1943-1945), the process of consolidation of the patriotic forces of the Italian, Spanish, Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Russian, Kazakh and other immigrant communities was strengthened. Besides already existed and emerged new anti-fascist centres of emigration, developed their international ties. In particular, in the territory of France, in October 1943, a central command of the Soviet prisoners of war was established, and dozens of partisan detachments and underground groups operated, 14 of which were headed by Ukrainians [53]. A French Centre for Action and Protection of Immigrants was created in Paris at the beginning of 1944 [19, p.61-62].

It should also be noted that the fact of allegedly non-participation or ignorance of the participation of Soviet soldiers and officers in the French Resistance Movement is often found in local archives. The fact is that the lists of members of the Resistance Movement for well-known reasons were restored after the war and only French were mentioned there. Practically the same situation has developed in all the archives in France. Although the documents found in the French archives show the opposite. For example, in a report dated July 21, 1944, signed by Resistance Colonel Fernand, it was documented a fact of passing to the side of the French partisans of 47 people who deserted from the German garrison and represented 5 nationalities, in particular 27 Uzbeks, 17 Kazakhs, 6 Turkmen, and one Kyrgyzstan and one Tajik [48, p.196-199].

The armed groups and members of the Resistance Movement appeared in many concentration and labour camps in the departments of Nor and Pa de Calais, in Lorraine, in the regions of Meza, Rouen, Valenciennes, Béthune, Arras, Saint-Paul, Frewa, Dullances. An important joint result of sabotage of slaves from the east (now called 'Ostarbeiters') was a reducing of coal mining at 44 mines for 25-30% in February 1944. Moreover, the underground camp committees organized the massive escapes of our compatriots to the French guerrilla detachments taking advantage of the weakening of the protection through the mobilization of the Germans and their followers to replenish the losses of the Wehrmacht on the fronts. In particular, more than 100 prisoners, mostly immigrants from Ukraine, were able to get rid of already mentioned camp Beaumont in the beginning of June 1944 [57, p.426].

Representatives of Kazakhstan and Ukraine conducted an active partisan struggle in the French Resistance Movement in all the departments of the country (without any exception), occupied by the Nazi troops. In a part of them, Ukrainians led the groups and companies of French patriots or the mixed units. For example, the "Maxim Gorkyi" squad was led by Ivan Skrypai from Cherkasy in the department of Côte d'Or. In the squad of Maquis "Colonel Nicolas" – the so-called fearless Ukrainian – "... there were 42 Russians, 90 Spaniards, 5 or 6 Poles, Italians and several Frenchmen". Frenchwoman Rosa "Anna" Garnier was a communication agent with the central headquarter of FFI in Paris, and Serge Chubar, a Kharkov citizen, was a translator, who performed important missions of "Colonel Nicolas". Finally, the

forces of this international detachment managed to get rid of the occupation of the city of Chatillon-sur-Seine [67, p.132, 136].

Vasyl Poryk from Podillia is well-known in Ukraine and abroad. The indomitable Ukrainian became one of the leaders of the liberation struggle in the north as a partisan commander and a member of the Central Committee of Soviet POWs in France. It played the role of the centre of the political and military struggle of Soviet patriots with Nazism on French territory [565, p. 425]. In July 1944, Mr V. Poryk fell into the hands of the Nazis and he was executed after brutal tortures. On his account there were the destruction of 300 invaders and the detonating of 11 railway trains [17, p.209]. The lieutenant of the Soviet Army V. Poryk was posthumously awarded with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union War on July 21, 1964 for the manifestations of heroism in the struggle against the Nazi occupants during the Second World War. In the same year, he was also awarded with the highest award of France – the Order of the Honor Legion, and his name was stamped on the wall of the Arras Fortress, along with other names of the members of the Resistance Movement [22, p.69].

The Shchor's squared became famous for its struggle in the north of France. Yosyp (Josef) Kalinichenko from Kagarlyk (Kyiv region) was its organizer. The unit grew out of the siege group of the 'Tiers' camp near Valenciennes, three quarters of the prisoners of which were Ukrainians, exported from the Kyiv and Chernihiv regions. According to Y. Kalinichenko, more than forty Ukrainians were part of the detachment [1, ark.54-57]. Northern France consisted mostly from continuous cities, miners' villages and just small villages. There were no forests where the guerrilla detachment could hide. Therefore, the detachment of Y. Kalinichenko was scattered over these settlements [2, ark.2]. Deserters from the camp were hidden by French families, who were risking their lives [65, p.81-83]. One of the assistants of Y. Kalinichenko was a young man from the Chornobyl district – Sergii Potapenko. He studied French at school, so the commander did not take him to combat operations. Instead, he maintained to contact with partisan detachments which were consisted from Soviet prisoners, that operated in different parts of France. Several times he delivered the dispatches to Vasyl Poryk from Vinnytsia [5; 28].

At the end of 1943, a mixed Franco-Soviet detachment "Jeanette" operated in the Valencian district, it was headed by French captain André Gaze and Major M. Tkachuk, a Ukrainian from Cherkasy region. Partizans conducted a series of military operations in the areas of the cities Amiens, Abvil, Saint-Omer, Bayel and Azbrook [29, p.14]. After the landing of the Allies in Southern France in August 1944, the French took more and more part in the military efforts of the Allies, providing France with the right to vote in international affairs [33, p.16]. At the same time, Ukrainians also increased their contribution. Sergeant O. Tkachenko's (from Cherkasy region) squad intensified its combat operations in the summer of 1944. Among its fighters were Ukrainians, Russians, Czechs, Frenchmen, Italians. During May-August 1944, the partisans, commanded by Ukrainian,

destroyed the railway bridge, which held over 20 trains every day. This squad carried out sabotage at the enterprises of the city Frevan, beat the Germans from the village Even Likot, and successfully attacked one of the enemy's military airdoms [27, p.95-97].

Four units of the Shchor's squad began military operations in early 1944. Individual groups of the detachment were commanded by Y. Boyko from Kyiv region, by V. Pcholin from Pryluky and D. Rudkivsky from Vinnytsia. The communication agent between them was V. Chalyi from Chernihiv region. Guerrillas acted in the area of the cities Valenciennes and Duneng.

Lieutenant I. Samarin from the Luhansk region led the international unit 'Liberasion', which consisted of 27 fighters. According to the commander's notes there were 8 Ukrainians among them. The unit has carried out 16 operations. In one of them, on June 13, 1944, the avengers drove into the air a railway bridge, resulting in a military train crash of live power and equipment. On August 6, 1944, detachment fighters liberated 47 political prisoners from Bar-le-Dyuk prison, who were sentenced to death. In September of that year, the guerrillas, under the leadership of a brave Ukrainian, participated directly in the liberation of the city Eruvil [44].

In July 1944, a mass escape of former prisoners of war was carried out from the camp 'Albi'. Lately they organized a separate battalion. Partisans liberated the 'Debernet' and 'Castres' camps, later their prisoners joined the Makzar battalions. In this way, the First Soviet partisan regiment was formed, Georgian, Lieutenant Otari Ishkhneli became the Commander, Kazakh Ali Moldagaliev became the Chief of Staff, Serbian Ivych became the Battalion Commissar, and Ahmet Bektayev became Senior physician. The regiment listed about 300 Kazakhs: U. Bisengaliyev (deputy commander of the battalion), S. Zhumashev, M. Kunayev, J. Katshikov, S. Karenov, D. Karazhumin, M. Utieshev, B. Yedrisov, Z. Amangaliyev, S. Balykiv, M. Ilyasov, M. Nugmanov, G. Martynenko, K. Khan-gerev, B. Seksenbayev, S. Khusainov and others [8, p.3; 53].

A participant of the French Resistance Movement, Volodymyr Boyko from Kirovograd region, remembered: "The partisan contact person led us to the city of Courtesy. After a thorough check, we were taken to a guerrilla battalion commanded by Captain Morvan. We met our guide, Zilbert and partisan Emile Bernard. The squad was international. There were Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, German anti-fascists, many Ukrainians, Russians, Armenians. From us was formed a troop of free rifles, as a commander was elected Grygorii Viktorov from Chernigiv" [13, p.3]. An active soldier of this detachment was Kazakh A. Nasulin [12, p.2; 37, p.2]. It is also worth noting that partisan groups headed by representatives of Ukraine, for the most part, received a name that would remind them of their homeland. So, only around the city of Nancy, the were detachments "Kovpak", "Kotovskiyi", "Donbas", "Poltava", "Kakhovka" and others.

In August 1944 V. Pcholin's group, which included 14 people of different nationalities, landed in the air a strategic rail bridge within



30 kilometers of Valenciennes, it was guarded by the whole unit of the Nazis [3; 4]. The department of D. Rudkivsky also successfully operated. One of his reports stated: "On the night of August 30, 1944, a truck between Saint-Aman and Franz was destroyed. Three boches killed, three wounded. On September 1 at 8:00 am, a group of Germans who had convoyed a hundred captured Moroccans were stopped near the town of Tre. Six Germans were captured, while all Moroccans were released. Shchor's squad along with the French patriots attacked boches on the same day at 15:00 in the district of Bruyère. Nine soldiers were disarmed and captured". The guerrillas captured 35 Nazis and gained significant trophies during just two days. Shchor's squad took direct part in the liberation of the cities of Irson, Charleville, Saint Aman, Tre [13, p.3; 64, p.265].

Many Ukrainians were included into different French units. Thus, in the Captain Barr's detachment that acted in the area of the cities of Dijon and Gran Orances there was a small unit of Sergeant A. Pavlovskiy from Kyiv region. One of the platoons of the 8th battalion of the Maquis group 'Jean Shove' was commanded by Sergeant O. Kotov from the Donetsk region [29, c.18]. The Soviet detachment headed by the Crimean D. Markelov was a part of the battalion of Captain Michel in August 1944 [50, c.3-4]. I. Pylypenko from Chernihiv region was a teacher of the interdisciplinary school of partisan command personnel in the detachment "Jacques-le-Crockan" in the department of Dordogne. Once the Nazis managed to surround the school. The battle started. The wounded Ukrainian, gave the opportunity to retreat to his comrades covering them with fire from a machine gun. After heavy interrogations, I. Pylypenko was executed by Nazis in Limoges [6, c.63-65].

In October 1941 German reconnaissance group began work on the creation of two battalions from the prisoners of war for special purpose, – to place forces of German troops forward in the Caucasus and Central Asia. In addition to performing special tasks such as fighting with partisans, a reconnaissance and sabotage activity, the battalion's staff was to outreach efforts to attract defectors from the Central Asian and Caucasian peoples to the German side and to organize anti-Soviet uprisings on the territory of national republics. The so-called "Turkestan Regiment" (later renamed into the 811th Infantry Battalion), was the first of Turkic Parts formed in the Wehrmacht, was formed on the order of the General Staff Chief of the General Staff of the Army E. Wagner on November 15, 1941, as a part of the 444th Guard divisions. It consisted of 4 troops commanded by German officers and sergeant majors [16]. Turkistan Legion in its ranks united representatives of different peoples of Central Asia – Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Tajik, and Uzbek. Part of the legion was formed in special camps in Germany and Poland [70].

Georgian, Tatar-Bashkir, Azerbaijanian, Armenian and Ukrainian legions were also formed. Thus, by the summer of 1942 there were the first units of the 'Armenian', 'Georgian', 'Azerbaijanian', 'Tatar' (Ilyas-Urals), and in early 1943, – units of the 'Islamic Corps of the "SS"'. Western historians estimated the number of eastern legions as of 130-150 thousand people [66, p.54-55].

The creation of the military units from the Soviet prisoners of war by the Nazi command was, in essence, a gross violation of the basic rules of international law, in particular the Geneva Convention of 1929 on POWs, and had no precedent in the history of wars. Many facts are known in the history, that show that the Kazakhs prisoners of war, who were drowned by force and compulsion to the legion, remained loyal to military duty and the Motherland, refusing to fight against their foes – Russian and Ukrainian guerrilla fighters [15].

In the autumn of 1943 Hitler issued an order to remove national legions from the Eastern Front and transfer them to France, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands. The camps of the Soviet prisoners of war also were thrown over the same countries. The units of the Turkestan Legion were transported to European countries in early 1944. The headquarter was located in a small town of Albi, in the south of France. At first, the legionnaires were used in a fight against local partisans, but this plan failed. Then legionnaires began to be involved in the protection of various objects and as a work-force – in the mines in the vicinity of Albi and Carmo. They lived in small camps of 500-1500 people, separated by nationality [20; 71].

Former legionnaires and prisoners of war from the KazSSR fought in the detachments named “Stalingrad” and “Mongols”. Its fighters organized successful attacks on small German garrisons, undermined warehouses with valuable goods for the enemy on railways, and liberated prisoners from the camps of southern France. Moreover, at the end of 1944 they participated in the liberation of cities such as Albi, Carmo, Toulouse, Montauban, Carcassonne and others. The Kazakhs Zunum Zhamankulov and Kadem Zhumaniyazov were especially distinguished among the commanders of the troops for their heroism. For example, K. Zhumaniyazov was the commander of the reconnaissance detachment. He knew German and French fluently. His detachment was preparing prisoners of concentration camps for release. Sometimes Kadem even himself entered the camps of prisoners of war pretending German [7].

K. Zhumaniyazov wrote in his diary: “On December 12, 1944, our First Soviet partisan regiment stood in the city of Toulouse (Southern France), it consisted mainly of Kazakhs and Georgians who were refugees from the Prisoners’ Camp, then became partisans and fought against Germans. I commanded a guerrilla detachment of 90 sub-machine gunners, mostly Spaniards, French, Poles, Russians and Kazakhs. We liberated many cities and villages of Southern France” [21].

The first Soviet Partisan Regiment became famous in many battles in the liberation of the cities of Carmo, Saint Antoine, Albi, Toulouse and Marseille. The Victory met fighters in Paris. On May 1, 1945, the Government of France awarded the First Soviet Partisan Regiment with a Battle Flag and the Order of the Military Cross with the Silver Star. At the same time, the Regiment was awarded by the three Red Banners from the municipal organizations of Marseilles, Lyon, and Nima. In addition, 665 soldiers were awarded with French orders and medals.

There were found correspondence, memoirs, and documents on the creation of the First Soviet Partisan Regiment, in which the Kazakhs fought side by side with Georgians, Ukrainians, Russians and representatives of other peoples, at the National Archives in Paris [20]. In August 1945, the regiment was withdrawn from France and disbanded. In October 1945, part of the fighters had to return partisans permits and French awards. At that time, the return of prisoners of war to the Motherland began. Repatriation specialists came to Europe. Throughout all Europe, soldiers of international units returned home on the American "Studebakers". They gave an oath of allegiance to the memory of the dead prisoners of fascist concentration camps, photographed, exchanged addresses. Most Kazakhs from former prisoners of war and legionnaires returned to their homeland. In total, 26,000 Kazakhs were repatriated from European countries, who, having passed through filtration camps, and returned home. However, after several months and even years, many of them were accused of collaborating with the Germans and working on foreign intelligence and were arrested. For example, Z. Zhamankulov was accused of collaborating with Americans. And A. Mukanov, who was one of the active members of the Resistance Movement, was thrown into the camps for as long as 10 years [41].

Ukrainian squads ('kurins') T. Shevchenko' and I. Bogun' successfully conducted a fierce struggle against the Nazi invaders in the Resistance Movement in France at the last stage of the liberation of the French territory. They were formed by the Germans in February 1942 as the 102nd and 115th Ukrainian police battalions "Schutzmannschaft" [55]. They mainly consisted from the soldiers of the 'Bukovyna Kurin', a volunteer national military formation, created in July 1941 on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists from Bukovyna and Bessarabia [11, p.182-188]. In July 1944 both battalions were included in the SS brigade "Zigling" (from August 1944 – the 30th Grenadier Division of SS troops) for the purpose of their usage against the French Maquis [40, p.529].

The Germans did not relentlessly rely on Ukrainian soldiers, those were members of underground groups that maintained ties with the OUN and guessed about the true intentions of the Nazis. The most active of them were the first sergeants Fedoriv, Meleshko, Bilyk, Globa, Vozniuk and others, around whom all those who were dissatisfied with the German policy began to rally. Exactly these first sergeants began to seek for connections with the French Resistance Movement [42]. At the end of August 1944, Ukrainian soldiers of both units switched to the side of the FFI [18, p.75-76]. Each Ukrainian shooter received a tricolor bandage of the French Resistance Movement, supplemented by Ukrainian colors. Ukrainian 'kureni' named after T. Shevchenko and I. Bogun fought bravely together with fellow brothers in the ranks of the Resistance fighters – in the 1st Ukrainian battalion named after Ivan Bogun, commanded by the Frenchman, Lieutenant Claude Vunyon [31]. An indication of this was the high estimation of the French high command and the awarding of 8 Ukrainian riflemen with high military awards.

In October 1944, after the liberation of most of France territory, Ukrainian military formations stopped their existence due to the orders of the French command. More than 2 300 Ukrainians signed up for a foreign legion, where, as part of the 13th Brigade and the March Regiment, they fought against the Nazi occupiers till the end of the war. Only a small part of the soldiers returned to the USSR, but was repressed [22, p.70].

The guerrilla detachment of the lieutenant Osyp Krukovskiyi also fought in France. O. Krukovsky was on earnings in France. During the war, he fought in a foreign legion and during some time he was in the Galician Division, but with several dozen of Ukrainian soldiers he moved to the side of French. Together with the allied troops, the Ukrainian detachment participated in the liberation of France [54].

Regarding the joint actions of Ukrainians and Kazakhs in the ranks of the French partisans, first of all, it should be emphasized that their military brotherhood was one of the strongest and most long-lived. For example, one of the participants of the French Resistance Movement Ahmet Bektaiev from Shimkent issued a memoir "Under the Sky of France" in his native language, in which he told about the involvement of the Kazakhs in the battles with fascists in the south of France, and their fate and fraternal friendship on the fronts of the Second World War. Ukrainian Petro Dyachuk (underground name – Stepan Martyniuk) was one of his war friends.

Being called into the army in 1939, A. Bektaiev, on the beginning of the invasion of the German fascist hordes, fought in the 545th artillery corps on the Kalinin Front and in the first months of the Great Patriotic War, he was captured. Until 1943 he was in concentration camps located in Prussia and Poland.

These camps also held Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kirghizs, representatives of the Muslim religion, over which the Nazis in every way mocked, accepting them as Jews. According to his memoirs, in September 1941 Mustafa Chokan arrived in one of these camps, and explained to the Nazi overseers that the representatives of the above-mentioned nationalities professed the Muslim religion, and after his arrival many Turkestans were saved from death, but not from captivity. In addition, the Nazis began to differentiate them, assigning them the code "A", which meant "Asians". The letter "R" determined Russians, the letter "B" – Belarusians.

By order of Hitler in early 1944, legionnaires from Turkestan were taken to the carriages and brought to France. In France, they were placed in camps near the cities of Carmo and Albi for working on mines. In the camp where A. Bektaiev was located, an underground organization was created. It was headed by Ukrainian Petro Dyachuk from Lviv Region. This organization has established connections with French partisans – Maquis. Members of this organization, killed the guards, successfully escaped into the forest and joined the partisans of the Resistance Movement on June 16, 1944 [39].

In his memoirs A. Bektaiev said that in 1944 he fought against Nazism with his friends-internationalists: Ukrainian P. Dyachuk,

Kazakhs Z. Zhamankulov, M. Kurmashev, D. Bitanov, B. Utetileuov, V. Dosov, M. Baysenbiev, Karakalpak O. Zhurimbayev and others. Ukrainian P. Dyachuk served as a communication agent and intelligence officer in the Maquis squads under the command of Frenchman Maurice Torez. Guerrillas acted in the Albi-Carmo-Toulouse-Marseille area. Gradually, M. Torez's unit was transformed into an international battalion, the basis of which became the Ukrainian-Polish detachment, created in 1943 by emigrant miners. Ivan Popyk from Zakarpattia commanded there. After his death in a fight with punishers near Zhukovil, Mykola Ankutovich, a Lviv citizen, became the commander. The unit contributed into the liberation of the cities of Carmo, Albi, Castro, Toulouse and other settlements. The guerrillas captured up to 7,000 fascist soldiers and officers. Since February 1944, a detachment consisted from ex-prisoners of war of different nationalities: Byelorussians, Poles, Kazakhs, Russians, and was headed by P. Dyachuk [9-10; 51].

We add an excerpt from a document, found in the National Archives of France, in which Ahmet Bektaiev informed about his Ukrainian counterpart, Petro Grygorovych Dyachuk [60].

TARN : RECIT SUR LE ROLE DES PARTISANS SOVIETIQUES  
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rédigé par M. BEKTAIEV.  
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Au début de 1944, on me transféra du camp d'Albi à Carmaux, où j'exerçais la médecine. Moi et mes compgnons nous pensions nous échapper du camp et rejoindre les forces françaises de la Résistance. Nous attendions le moment opportun.

A Carmaux nous fîmes la connaissance de deux mineurs: PIETR GRIGOREVITCH DIADCHOUK (Ukrainien) et ANKITOVICH (Polonais). Après plusieurs rencontres avec eux, nous apprîmes l'existence de détachements partisans français existant dans les villes du sud de la France. Lorsque nous fûmes convaincus que DIADCHOUK et ANKITOVITCH faisaient partie du mouvement français de résistance nous leur demandâmes d'organiser un rendez-vous avec les chefs du maquis.

Risquant sa vie et celle de sa famille DIADCHOUK organisa un rendez-vous dans son appartement. Là il y avait le chef du P.C. français, le chef de la résistance, le colonel FERNAND. Alors DIADCHOUK, FERNAND et moi-même, nous étudiâmes le plan d'une évasion.

Ainsi, au printemps 1944, la nuit du 16 Juin, avec PIETR GRIGOREVITCH DIADCHOUK, qui vivait à Carmaux, nous avons organisé l'évasion d'un groupe de 40 prisonniers environ. Nous rejoignîmes la résistance dans les montagnes à 40 kms de Carmaux. Nous avions préparé très soigneusement notre évasion. Nous rejoignîmes, la nuit, les partisans français dans les montagnes.

Le matin on nous donna des vêtements, et des armes. Il y eut ensuite une réunion. Prirent part à cette réunion LE Commandant ROUDI EDMOND, le commandant JACQUES, MORICE, et une femme, une française. Je pris la parole au nom des évadés.

Je ne me souviens pas de tous les noms de ces évadés, cependant en voici quelques uns .

- 1) DJAMANKOULOV ZOUNOUM
- 2) MIRSAGATOV GAIMOUTDIN
- 3) GRIGORIEV IVAN
- 4) SAMARATOV MALIK
- 5) JOUNAEV
- 6) KALANOV

COMITÉ D'HISTOIRE  
DE LA 2<sup>e</sup> GUERRE MONDIALE

In total, about 40,000 partisans from 57 countries of the world fought in the ranks of the French Resistance. Among them there were for about 3-4 thousand of Soviet patriots of different nationalities, united in about 50 partisan detachments, and a large number of partisan groups. According to incomplete data, only in the northern part of France, at the time of the landing of the Allies, there were 32 Soviet partisan detachments with a total number of members as of 1,500 people. It is very difficult to establish the total number of Ukrainian and Kazakhs partisans who fought on the French land against Hitler's occupiers. However, without exaggeration, we can tell that their number was for about 25-30% of the total. Moreover, in the northern departments of Nor and Pas-de-Calais, Ukrainians accounted for 70-75%, while the Kazakhs in southern France (the Toulouse region) were the highest number compared to other regions of France [29, p.19].

Consequently, the Resistance Movement in France began with the first days of its occupation by Hitler's troops. It connected both ethnic Frenchmen and emigrants living in the territories of France before the Second World War floated, as well as liberated from concentration and labour camps, prisoners of different nationalities, and also soldiers of international legions who were able to move to the side of the French Resistance Movement. In the struggle against the common enemy, close military cooperation of peoples was established. It was evidenced not only by their strength and powerful potential, but also as one of the main sources and determining factors of victory over the Nazi invaders.

In the ranks of the French Resistance Movement, Ukrainians and Kazakhs occupied a significant place. The war has tempered and strengthened the international community and has developed into a great friendship between representatives of the Kazakh and Ukrainian peoples throughout France. As an example of this were the combat units, troops and even legions and unions with the participation of Ukrainians and Kazakhs. According to incomplete data, their share in some cases ranged from 20 to 30 percent. However, the issue of the number of participants in the Resistance Movement still needs its research and requires for the positive results of the unification of the researchers' from many countries efforts.

The transnational history of the Resistance Movement during the Second World War allows contemporary Ukrainian, Kazakh and other researchers to find similar patterns in the integrated study of their own and world history in general. It's high time to all young, independent states of the former USSR, in particular Ukraine and Kazakhstan, to form a holistic scientific vision of the participation of representatives of their peoples in the Second World War and to honour the memory of its victims, as it's done in a civilized world, and 'not in Soviet'.

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**А. Г. Филинюк, Г. М. Мендикулова, Ю. А. Климчук**

**Участие представителей Украины и Казахстана во французском Движении Сопротивления периода Второй мировой войны: транснациональный аспект**

*В статье акцентируется внимание на том, что в исторических исследованиях последних лет все больше уделяют изучению прошлого мировой общественности и народов Украины и Казахстана, в частности на основе транснациональной идеи. Ее применение позволяет заменить конфронтацию национальных нарративов их сосуществованием и тем самым отойти от изоляционизма и провинциальности национальных историографий. В этом контексте предприятия попытка раскрыть конкретные, документально подтвержденные факты об участии в французском Движении Сопротивления периода Второй мировой войны жителей Украины и Казахстана и представителей других национальностей. В частности, обосновано тезис о том, что, кроме французов, контингент борцов против гитлеровских оккупантов формировался несколькими путями: а) из бывших эмигрантов, которые еще до войны поселились и жили во Франции; б) людей, которых местные патриоты сумели освободить из-под плена, размещенных на ее территории в концентрационных лагерей и лагерей старбайтеров для работ на военных заводах и шахтах; в) беженцев с немецких легионов. Подчеркнута, что французское Движение Сопротивления начало разворачиваться с первых дней Второй мировой войны и оккупации страны гитлеровскими войсками. Его ряды увеличивались и набирали все больше сил и масштабов как за счет этнических французов, так и представителей многих других европейских и азиатских народов. Благодаря этому в нем насчитывались тысячи представителей Украины и казахов, которые плечо к плечу с ними мужественно и храбро боролись с нацистами и тем самым вносили свой весомый вклад в освобождение Франции от оккупантов и разгром гитлеровской Германии. Объединенные единой целью и тесно взаимодействуя между собой, они организовывали саботирование деятельности заводов и шахт, с помощью диверсий препятствовали регулярному движению железнодорожных эшелонов с живой силой, военной техникой, оружием и боеприпасами, проводили боевые операции относительно немецко-фашистских военных формирований, помогали освобождению узников из концентрационных лагерей и т.д.*

**Ключевые слова:** Украина, Казахстан, Франция, Европа, Вторая мировая война, Движение Сопротивления, транснациональная история, нацизм, народы, представители.

**A. G. Filiniuk, G. M. Mendikulova, I. A. Klimchuk**

**The participation of representatives of Ukraine and Kazakhstan  
in the French Resistance Movement in the Second World War:  
transnational aspect**

*The article focuses on the fact that in historical researches of recent years more and more attention is paid to the study of the past of the world community and Ukraine and Kazakhstan, in particular based on a transnational idea. Its application can replace the confrontation of national narratives with their coexistence, and thus depart from the isolationism and provinciality of national historiography. In this context, an attempt has been made to reveal concrete, documented facts about the participation of the inhabitants of Ukraine and Kazakhstan and representatives of other nationalities in the French Resistance Movement in the Second World War. In particular, the thesis was based on the fact that, in addition to the French, the contingent of fighters against the Nazi invaders was formed in several ways: a) from former emigrants, who settled and lived in France before the war; b) the people whom the local patriots managed to release from captivity, concentration camps, labour camps, military factories and mines located on its territory; c) fugitives from the German Legions. It was emphasized that the French Resistance Movement began to unfold from the first days of the Second World War and the occupation of the country by Hitler's troops. His ranks grew and were gaining ever greater strength and scope both at the expense of ethnic Frenchmen and representatives of many other European nations. Due to this, there were thousands of representatives of Ukraine and hundreds of Kazakhs who courageously and bravely fought with the Nazis and thus made their significant contribution to the liberation of France from the invaders and to the defeat of Hitler's Germany. With the common goal and working closely together, they organized the sabotage of the factories and mines, prevented the regular movement of railroad trains with live power, military equipment, weapons and ammunition, arranged military operations against German fascist military formations, helped liberation slavery from concentration camps, etc.*

**Key words:** Ukraine, Kazakhstan, France, Europe, Second World War, Resistance Movement, transnational history, Nazism, peoples, representatives.

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**E. Nadezhuk**

**KAZAKHS – PARTICIPANTS OF THE RESISTANCE  
MOVEMENT IN FRANCE**

*The anti-fascist Resistance movement, which unfolded during World War II in the countries of Europe, occupied by German and Italian fascists, including France, made a significant contribution to the victory over fascism. Soviet prisoners of war and civilians, forcibly hijacked by the fascists from the territory of the USSR, took an active part in this movement. Meanwhile, the question of the participation of Soviet citizens, in particular the Kazakhs, in the French Resistance movement*