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## The youth of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn (1926-1944)

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**Abstract:** *The article highlights the youth of a well-known Ukrainian, scientist and economist Bohdan Dmytrovych Hawrylyshyn (1926-2016). Important factors that affected further development of his worldview and personality are traced. Important facts from the life of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn over the researched period are clarified on the basis of the memories left, interviews, and other sources.*

**Key words:** History, Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, childhood, Plast, Koropets, Eastern Galicia, Halychyna, Second Polish Republic, the USSR, German occupation, Ukraine

### Introduction

It is childhood and young years of life that play an important role in the biography of every person. It is then that the foundations of self-perception, national identity, ethics, and worldview are laid down, that the experience in solving these or those issues is gained, that the vision of one's future is developed, etc. Analysis of this stage of the individual's biography makes it possible to understand the further life trajectory of the person under study, the preconditions, and the motivation behind his actions. For that sort of research, the personality of Bohdan Dmytrovych Hawrylyshyn (1926-2016) is interesting and unconventional.<sup>1</sup> He was a Ukrainian, Canadian, Swiss economist, a co-founder of the World Economic Forum in Davos, a citizen of Canada, a benefactor, a public figure, a member of the Club of Rome, a foreign member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, an honored scientist and engineer of

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<sup>1</sup> In the personal documents that Bohdan Hawrylyshyn used abroad, his name was written as Hawrylyshyn with letter w, not v. The text will use the form of the surname as in Bohdan Hawrylyshyn's personal documents.

Ukraine, an honorary consul of Ukraine in Switzerland, Head of the legislative body of Plast – Plast Country Council (2006-2008), a founder and President of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn Charitable Foundation.<sup>2</sup> This publication aims to study the period of youth of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn (1926-1944), highlighting the core facts and conditions that influenced the development of his personality. The chrono-logical boundaries of the researched period are from his birth up to the moment of his coming of age and going to the Third Reich for compulsory labor.<sup>3</sup>

### **The family and family area of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn**

Bohdan Hawrylyshyn was born in 1926 in the village of Koropets that belonged to the Buchach poviato of Ternopil voivodeship of the Second Polish Republic back then (now – an urban village in Chortkiv raion, Ternopil region). When he was born, his father Dmytro was 38 years old, and his mother Teodoziya was 31. They already had three children: Mykhaylo (13), Kateryna (10), and Myroslav (3). Bohdan was the last, the youngest child.<sup>4</sup>

The official date of birth of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn is October 19.<sup>5</sup> The register of births at St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church in Koropets confirms that Bohdan Hawrylyshyn was born in October 1926, but, unfortunately, over the Soviet period, the edges of the register were so much cut by the archive staff that we cannot see the exact date when he was born.<sup>6</sup>

Back then the residents in rural areas of Galicia were mainly Ukrainians, unlike in cities and towns where mainly Jewish and Polish people resided.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> TsDAGO, f. 334 op. 12, p. 5, 11; Vidnianskyi, 2014: 88-9; Subtelnyi, 2019: 415; Hawrylyshyn & Hawrylyshyn, 2004: 208-14; Puayetton, 2015; On the scientific achievements, see Holianych, 2017: 472-4; Herashchenko 2019: 116-20; In 1995 a long interview taken by a well-known Ukrainian dissident and intellectual Ivan Dziuba in 1992 in the city of Geneva was published as a separate book (Hawrylyshyn & Dziuba, 1995). The scientist left a number of other, relatively small interviews. In 2011 detailed memoirs of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn *Залишаюсь українцем* (I remain a Ukrainian) were published, and the story in it reaches the year 2010 (Hawrylyshyn, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Hawrylyshyn, 2023.

<sup>4</sup> Puayetton, 2015: 19.

<sup>5</sup> Puayetton, 2015: 3-4. Hawrylyshyn himself stated: “I don’t know the accurate date of my birth. Probably, that happened on October 17, 1926, but the date October 19 is written by some mistake in my birth certificate. Till about the age of 15, I thought that my birthday was on October 17, but since then I consider that I was born on October 19, but, in fact, that does not really matter to me”.

<sup>6</sup> DaTo, op. 1, 552, p. 139. There is a record that the newborn child got two names – Volodymyr-Bohdan. Stanislawa Ezenchuk is indicated as the midwife. Father – Dymytriy Hawrylyshyn, the son of Heorhiy and Mariya Rozhniv. Mother – Teodoziya, daughter of Harasym Sadivskyi and Pavlyna Maydanska. Godparents – Ivan Melnyk, the son of Mykhaylo, and Anna Markevych, Yosyf’s wife. The baptism ceremony and the chrismation were delivered by the assistant father Stefan Fibol.

<sup>7</sup> Hawrylyshyn & Dziuba, 1995: 3. In his interview with Ivan Dziuba Bohdan Hawrylyshyn told the following about his native Koropets: “The village is situated closer to Ivano-Frankivsk than to Ternopil, on the bank of the Koropets River that falls into the Danube. The village was large, with some seven thousand residents at that time, and it preserved its folklore and ethnographic coloring. Before

In Koropets their family had a two-room house typical for peasants of that time. Dmytro Hawrylyshyn, the former unterofficer (subordinate officer) of the Austro-Hungarian army,<sup>8</sup> combined farming and entrepreneurial activity: he grew hop for the brewery in Lviv, and he also exported pigs to Denmark together with his Jewish partner. He brought the seeds of hop used for beer brewing from Czechoslovakia. There was a large brewery in Lviv, and it imported hop from abroad.<sup>9</sup> That also partially explains the further interest of his younger son in economic issues. Let us stress that it was the father that was developing the cult of education in his family. During World War I, while in the Austrian army, he went to Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Northern Italy. He noticed that people in those countries had a much better standard of living, Dmytro decided that this could be accounted for by their higher level of education than the one in Galicia. And he drew a conclusion that he would be helping children to get the maximum possible degree of education.<sup>10</sup>

Dmytro Hawrylyshyn's family, thanks to his entrepreneurial skills, reached a higher social level.<sup>11</sup> In his interview with Ivan Dziuba, the scientist recalls the following things about his father: "Sometimes there was election to the Sejm. My father was a collective viyt (headman) for 12 villages, they even wanted him to be elected to the Sejm".<sup>12</sup> And we really find Dmytro Hawrylyshyn on the list of candidates for the Sejm in 1938 – in Buchach constituency No. 64.<sup>13</sup>

### **Education and patriotic upbringing of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn**

Bohdan came to like his studies right from his early years of age. When he was 5, his eldest brother Mykhaylo was already at university, while his brother Myroslav

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the Soviet authorities and then the Germans came, people used to wear national clothes. They used to wear embroidered shirts even on weekdays, not just on holidays".

<sup>8</sup> Puayetton, 2015: 22.

<sup>9</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 12-3: "My father planted hop on almost half a hectare of land, and that caused great frustration and even mockery among neighbors. By the time I was born in October 1926, my father had already sold several hop harvests and was saving money for the acquisition of a land plot near the town of Buchach, for his children to be able to at least complete secondary school (gymnasium)".

<sup>10</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 12.

<sup>11</sup> Havrylyshyn & Dziuba, 1995: 7: "As for such circumstances, he was already a better-off farmer, 'kurkul'. The father hired a servant: a man and a woman. My mother treated them very well; the father was sometimes harsher and shouted at them. Also, people came for the harvesting process and harvested wheat or rye with sickles. They were given every tenth stack belt, and that was their payment. Back then I still could not understand whether it was fair or not, but when I saw those people from Zhyznomyr coming to work in somebody else's field since they lacked their own one, watching their hard labor, I felt frustration and some pain".

<sup>12</sup> Havrylyshyn & Dziuba, 1995: 13.

<sup>13</sup> The list of candidates according to the Lviv newspaper from October 23, 1938: "Juzef Sova, a peasant from Barysh; Volodymyr Tselevych (Ukr.), a journalist from Lviv; Tadeusz Gonczkowski, extra-school education instructor from Terebovlia; dr. Roman Sliusar (Ukr.), a lawyer from Buchach. Deputies: Blażej Ruh, a peasant from Bilokrynytsia, Pidhaytsi poviata; Tadeusz Brzoza, dir. of the Com. Kasa Osched. from Buchach; Matviy Brodiak (Rus.), a miller from Terebovlia, and Dmytro Hawrylyshyn (Ukr.), a peasant from Zubrytsia, Buchach poviata." (Kandydaci na posłów, 1938: 4).

went to secondary school in Buchach. Mykhaylo took Bohdan to school, and, in spite of the headmaster's protesting to his young age, he was enrolled for studies. The studies were rather easy for him, but he had bad grades in behavior.<sup>14</sup> The building of the primary school in the village of Zhyznomyr was built in 1905. It contained two large classes and a two-room apartment for the teacher.<sup>15</sup>

After three years of studies in Zhyznomyr (1931-1934), he was sent to the town of Buchach by his father where he had to go to the third grade of primary school once again, due to his age. After that, he went to the gymnasium in Buchach. Bohdan had the highest grades, but 'unsatisfactory' – for behavior. Due to that, he was even facing a dropout from the gymnasium.<sup>16</sup>

During Bohdan Hawrylyshyn's childhood years, Plast also played an important role.<sup>17</sup> The milestone events of his childhood, according to Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, included two Plast camps in the Carpathians in the 'Ostodir' camp located in the Pidliute natural landmark, some 2 km of walk from the village of Osmoloda (that belongs to the Perehin territorial community, Kalush district, Ivano-Frankivsk region), on the square near the summer residence of Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church Andrey Sheptytsky who was also the patron of Plast.<sup>18</sup> The Head of the Church donated some of his estates in the Carpathians to Plast camps: the Mount of Sokil – for the youth camp, and the area close to his summer residence in Pidliute – for the camp for beginners "Ostodir" named in honor of him.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, the camp gate contained the inscription "Children's place named after Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky on Ostodir". It started functioning already after Plast was banned by the Polish authorities in 1930. Officially, the camps were organized by the Commission of Educational Residences and Youth Trips (1932-1939).<sup>20</sup> The Metropolitan liked staying with Plast members, talking to them, and listening to their problems. Thus, due to his paralyzed legs, Plast members even designed some special stretchers to take him on their shoulders to their company. Besides direct support of Plast members after Plast was banned, the Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church also initiated the establishment of the Catholic Association of

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<sup>14</sup> Havrylyshyn & Dziuba, 1995: 6.

<sup>15</sup> Shipilyavy, 1972: 516.

<sup>16</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 15-6: "The only salvation there for me was the teacher of mathematics who knew how to motivate schoolchildren, at least the smartest. He wrote the task on the board and said that whoever knew the solution could run to the board and write it. In most cases that was the competition between me and my Jewish classmate who was even smaller and more fragile than I was".

<sup>17</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 16: He wrote in his memoirs: "My lifetime Plast membership began thanks to my brother Mykhaylo. Though my father had great ambitions concerning me, he rarely talked to me, and just once he said: "God has given you some talent, and your duty is to use it". He made the conclusion that I would study well at school, and he never checked and was never interested in what and how I learned and how I was developing. That is why my brother became my second father. In the summer of 1937, Mykhaylo registered me for my first Plast camp".

<sup>18</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 16.

<sup>19</sup> Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi, 2012: 21.

<sup>20</sup> Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi, 2012: 266.

Ukrainian Youth ‘Orly’ (the Eagles) that kept working with youth using the methods similar to Plast methods and held summer camps in the village of Krylos near the town of Halych, on Sokil, in the village of Stradch near the town of Yaniv and in the village of Mykhaylivtsi near the town of Rohatyn.<sup>21</sup>

In his first camp the boy learnt to be disciplined, work in a team, and experienced some real adventures like staying in a hut for the night on wet hay and having just a cup of hot water for supper.<sup>22</sup> Bohdan Hawrylyshyn said the following about the influence of that organization on his development.<sup>23</sup> It is of interest that in his interview for the *UNESCO Courier* in 1996 he noted:

“It should, however, be mentioned that the sense of moral duty for one’s parental Motherhood, the duty of keeping the memories of it in one’s mind is generally subsiding among emigres today. But I have always felt the duty to preserve everything that is ours and to take care of it”.<sup>24</sup>

Later Bohdan Hawrylyshyn was among those who established a Plast station in Toronto (1948), and already in senior age he became a member of the extremely prestigious global Baden-Powell Scouts’ Association (2003), headed the legislative body of Plast – Country Council of Plast (2006-2008), founded Plast Development Fund (2008), promoted admission of Plast to the World Organization of the Scout Movement, and became one of the most famous Plast members over all its history.<sup>25</sup>

### **The life of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn under the Communist rule (1939-1941)**

In Ternopil province, where Bohdan Hawrylyshyn lived before World War II, more than half of the population were Ukrainians. The Ukrainians were mainly a peasant population for whom the lack of land was important, and the Ukrainian elite was composed of the intelligentsia coming from among the peasantry. The voivodeship had a strategic location in the event of an aggression by the USSR and a smaller location due to the distance from the anticipated area of military operations in the event of an aggression by Germany.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi, 2012: 21.

<sup>22</sup> Hawrylyshyn, 2011: 16.

<sup>23</sup> Hawrylyshyn, 2011: 16-7: “The most important thing I realized in the camp was the very essence of Plast: the oath, correct behavior of Plast members, for example, doing a good thing every day; I understood what it means to be an obedient boy, but in some situations – to be the leader. In the evenings we were sitting at the fire, admiring the flames and listening with admiration to small stories our teachers shared with us - about the history of Ukraine, about its glorious days and the periods of humiliation, about the condition and the needs of our society, centuries-long expectations to gain independence and about the need to serve our society when we grow up”.

<sup>24</sup> Vasyliuk, 1996: 5.

<sup>25</sup> Subtelnyi, 2019: 286, 385-6, 389, 415.

<sup>26</sup> Włodarkiewicz, 2013: 136.

In the interwar period, the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), declaring loyalty to the Polish state, had the greatest influence on the development of relations between the Polish government and the Ukrainian minority. In 1929 created the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), whose activities were aimed at penetrating legal cultural, educational and economic organizations in order to propagate the idea of Ukrainian nationalism. The OUN also tried to keep the Ukrainian population ready for the fights for independence. Ukrainian nationalists used terror in their fight against the Polish state, and the security authorities fought all forms of activity of the OUN and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine that threatened the internal security of the Polish state.<sup>27</sup>

In the autumn of 1939, after the Soviet aggression against Poland and the capture of the eastern Polish territories, the Soviets began incorporating Eastern Lesser Poland into the USSR. The Soviet authorities sought greater opportunities for the development of Ukrainian culture by combating Polish culture. The propaganda was accompanied by a deepening supply crisis and repressions against former officials. Ukrainian liberal parties operating in the Second Polish Republic were dissolved or their activists left the territories occupied by the Soviets.<sup>28</sup>

After rigged elections, the Soviets incorporated Eastern Lesser Poland into the USSR. The Soviets then repressed Ukrainian national activists. The main role in the administration was played by activists who came from the USSR. The construction of collective farms (kolhosps) began. On the eve of the German invasion of the USSR, kolhosps accounted for 13% of peasant farms. The deportations began. Many people were sentenced to death by the Soviets. The shadow of Stalinist repressions and arrests hung over the entire region.<sup>29</sup>

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, the districts of Stanisławów, Tarnopol, Drohobych and Lviv were annexed by Germany to the General Government with its capital in Kraków. Ukrainian nationalists hoped to receive an independent state from Germany. The Germans only wanted to subjugate the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia. The lands of Ukraine were to act only as a granary.<sup>30</sup>

A part of the Ukrainian youth in the first period of the German occupation, deceived by German propaganda, went to work in the Reich voluntarily. They hoped for an improvement in the living conditions and the possibility of financial support for the families remaining in Lesser Poland. The Ukrainians from the Galicia District were treated better in the Reich than their compatriots from the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. From the end of 1941, there were difficulties with the recruitment of new employees. News about the difficult working conditions in the Third Reich reached the inhabitants of Eastern Lesser Poland. In January 1942, living conditions deteriorated.

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<sup>27</sup> Włodarkiewicz, 2013: 136.

<sup>28</sup> Serczyk, 1990: 427.

<sup>29</sup> Serczyk, 1990: 428, 430, 431.

<sup>30</sup> Serczyk, 1990: 437.

Food stamps were not covered by supplies, and peasants did not bring food to the city for sale, fearing requisitions. Round-ups for labor for the Reich were organized on the streets, in cinemas, railway stations, and even in factories and in front of churches.<sup>31</sup> German actions led to a significant weakening of the biological potential of the inhabitants of Eastern Lesser Poland. Extermination, terror, and exploitation of the labor force throughout the occupation served the achievement of prospective demographic goals resulting from the racist policy of Germany as well as the short-term goals of the war economy of the Third Reich. Anyone who evaded or opposed these goals was doomed to annihilation.<sup>32</sup>

After the end of the war, people who were deported to forced labor in Germany were often unable to return home because of the danger of being repressed by the Soviet authorities. They received the status of Displaced Person. Ukrainians often went to Canada, and Poles – to Great Britain.

When the Soviets came to Galicia and Volyn in September 1939, repressions were launched. Buchach Polish-language gymnasium was transformed in 1939 into a Ukrainian-language secondary school. For the new authorities, Dmytro Hawrylyshyn was a ‘kurkul’, that is why he risked falling subject to repressions. ‘The enemies of the people’ were sentenced to being exiled to Siberia. That is why the family was in constant fear, waiting for its turn. At school, he had to sing, with simulated enthusiasm, in the glory of ‘Father Stalin’. In spite of the traumatic nature of the situation, Bohdan found some positive experience for himself in that since later he understood many Ukrainians staying in Ukraine who could be Party members but were absolutely different people in the privacy of their thoughts.<sup>33</sup> The most important task for the Soviet regime was to gain control over the society that was potentially hostile to it. This goal was primarily attained through repressions. Former state officials, officers, estate owners, military leaders, most known public and political leaders as well as members of the nationalist underground movement mainly fell subject to Soviet repressions in 1939-1941.<sup>34</sup>

The family became even more concerned when the son Myroslav Hawrylyshyn who was three years older than Bohdan and studied in the academic gymnasium

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<sup>31</sup> Bonusiak W.1990: 44-6.

<sup>32</sup> Bonusiak W. 1990: 55.

<sup>33</sup> Hawrylyshyn & Dziuba, 1995: 18. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn recalled: “In the nighttime, NKVD (People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs) guys came to the villages, recruited some peasants with horses for night work, knocked on the door, and you had to pack your belongings within an hour, and at 1-2 am you were taken to the carriages, and the train started before dawn. I spent a lot of nights out of home, in the field, or, in the winter time, in the shed of our neighbors, my good friend Mykhayliv. They experienced a great tragedy since those neighbors thought they could not be deported, though their son-in-law belonged to the underground movement but they thought that nobody knew that. One night, when I was sleeping in their shed, I woke up because I heard some crying, and some noise, and I understood that they were being taken to Siberia, and I had to keep silent sitting in the shed. The next morning, I cried a bit, but I had to wash my eyes and go to school to sing: *For our dear Stalin...*”.

<sup>34</sup> Baran & Tokarskyi, 2009: 137-58.

in Lviv was arrested.<sup>35</sup> That was secret information, and just some rumors reached the family that there was some trial where about 50 persons were convicted. The 17-year-old boy was arrested on September 23, 1940.<sup>36</sup> He became the participant of the closed trial proceedings conducted by the Soviet punitive and repressive bodies in Lviv on January 15-18, 1941 against the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) – well-known in the history of Ukraine as ‘The process of 59’. There were 59 persons accused in those trial proceedings – 22 women and 37 men, and the average age of the defendants did not exceed 20-25, with the youngest participant M. Charkovskyi being just under 16.<sup>37</sup>

Those were mainly students of Lviv University, school leavers, and high school students. They were accused of belonging to OUN and anti-state activities. 17 persons, including Myroslav Hawrylyshyn, were sentenced to 10 years of strict-security camps, 5 further years of exile, and additional 5 years of deprivation of their civic rights.<sup>38</sup> Myroslav died in Kolyma in 1944, and Bohdan Hawrylyshyn learned that fact only in 1993 thanks to the First Head of the Security Service of Ukraine, Yevhen Marchuk.<sup>39</sup>

### **The life of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn after June 22, 1941**

In June 1941 Bohdan went to Lviv for several days to stay with the family of his brother Mykhaylo who already had a one-year-old son. Mykhaylo was suddenly mobilized to the Red Army. Two days later Bohdan saw the movement of the German Army across the city. The Soviet Army was hastily retreating to the east, quite often leaving military equipment and even newly mobilized servicemen behind. Brother Mykhaylo was among the lucky guys, which is why he got back to his family already a week later.<sup>40</sup>

The German occupation authorities allowed to open only ten gymnasia in the whole territory of Galicia and a part of Volyn. One of them was opened in the town of Chortkiv, and thus the pre-war private Chortkiv gymnasium named after Markiyan

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<sup>35</sup> Baran & Tokarskyi, 2009: 17. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn recalls: “One day he came home and said that he would like to flee abroad. The father did not take it seriously, he said that Myroslav was pretending to be an extraordinary politician. Myroslav went back to Lviv where he lived together with the elder brother, already married, and probably tried to flee abroad. But he failed since he had not got any money from the father, and he was arrested”

<sup>36</sup> Komar, 1997: 99.

<sup>37</sup> Komar, 1997: 6.

<sup>38</sup> Komar, 1997: 51.

<sup>39</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 22: “I quickly looked through the results of the trial proceedings and read a concise message that Myroslav (Slavko) Dmytrovych Hawrylyshyn was sentenced to 10 years of hard labor and that he died in 1944. Later I read the whole document and saw that all members of the group were accused and sentenced for one and the same thing - establishment of the centers of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Probably, that wording was true for some of those arrested. But these were obviously false accusations for most of them”.

<sup>40</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 23.



Shashkevych closed in 1939 by the Communist authorities and transformed into the Soviet school started functioning again. In 1941 Bohdan Hawrylyshyn was lucky enough to be enrolled in this educational institution. The gymnasium collected good teachers and kept to the pre-war classical curriculum under which Latin, Old Greek, German languages, natural and social sciences were taught there. In 1941-1944 professor of mathematics and physics Teodor Polikha who had already worked in the gymnasia of Kolomyia, Yaroslav and Przemyśl was the headmaster of the gymnasium. For many years he had been a liaison officer of the Young Men Kurin (Subdivision) named after I. Bohun affiliated with the state gymnasium in Przemyśl and participated in World War I (1914-1918) and in the Polish-Ukrainian war (1918-1919). String brass orchestra, mixed and girls choir were relaunched, sports developed well during his administration.<sup>41</sup>

The most interesting person for young Bohdan among his teachers was the teacher of religion, a Basilian monk, father Dyrda who taught dogmatics and apologetics.<sup>42</sup> Father Dyrda also headed the local parish and was the conductor of the gymnasium choir that sang in the local church as well. As a member of the choir, Bohdan Hawrylyshyn went with father Dyrda on different concert tours to different places in Galicia, in particular, to St. George Cathedral in Lviv, sang for the Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church Andrey Sheptytsky in his residence.<sup>43</sup>

Due to the fact that the frontline started getting closer to Chortkiv in 1943 and striving to have at least seven classes finished, the would-be scientist transferred to the gymnasium in Drohobych – the place where his distant uncle lived.<sup>44</sup>

In the 1943/1944 academic year Bohdan Hawrylyshyn stayed in Drohobych gymnasium where he finished his seventh-grade studies.<sup>45</sup> In the summer of 1944, not far from Drohobych, in the town of Slavske, he had an opportunity to be helping UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) for a short time. Those remaining from the ‘Galicia’ division were taken by train from the town of Brody after a critical defeat for the sake of regrouping and replenishment.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Horiacha, 2011: 41, 48-9, 79-80.

<sup>42</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 26: “It was useful that instead of telling us about different dogmas for us to blindly accept them as the “final truth”, he encouraged us to ask questions in order to expand the boundaries of our understanding, and only after we really came to realize the rational grounds of any dogma, we had to accept it. He was the only teacher with whom we could communicate not just in class, but after classes when the most inquisitive of us accompanied him on his way to the monastery for more than one kilometer.”

<sup>43</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 26; Horiacha, 2011: 78.

<sup>44</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 28.

<sup>45</sup> TsDAGO, f. 334 op. 1, f. 1, p. 13; Havrylyshyn & Havrylyshyn, 2004: 208.

<sup>46</sup> Havrylyshyn, 2011: 31: “When the train stopped in Slavske, I and my friend Vlodko went through the carriages offering refreshing beverages and whispering: “If you are eager to join UPA, you can get off the train, go to the left, hide in the forest, and when the train leaves, we will take you to the nearest military unit of the rebels”. Our mission was really fascinating, but it ended up not quite well. We were caught by Germans and got something like an “invitation” to Germany which was hard to reject”.

Thus, in August 1944 B. Hawrylyshyn was taken to the Third Reich for compulsory labor.<sup>47</sup> A copy of the certificate issued to him on October 17, 1944 in the town of Linz (Austria) confirming his identity as the local nitrogen-producing plant worker has been preserved.<sup>48</sup> He served his compulsory labor term up to May 1945. Since the summer of 1945 he stayed in the camp for displaced persons. After almost a year of working as an Ostarbeiter, he managed to find his close relatives, show himself well in Plast, treat his stomach disease, complete secondary education in the Karlsfeld camp gymnasium and even hold the position of supplies director in the camp in Elweingen. Finally, at the end of August 1947, he went to Canada to work as a woodcutter where a new Canadian period of his life started.<sup>49</sup>

## Conclusions

The childhood and young years of life produced a great impact on the development of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn as a personality. He was born to a family where Ukrainian nationally conscious atmosphere prevailed. His father who considered high-quality education to be the precondition for the future success of his children also made a great impact on him. The entrepreneurial talent, interest in life, and initiative character of father Dmytro contributed to the development of the same traits in the youngest son. The eldest brother Mykhaylo joined in the process of bringing Bohdan up as the father was busy, in particular, he took him to Plast, and this contributed to the growing national conscience of the young boy and to the development of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn's character. He studied in the primary school in Zhyznomyr, then – in Buchach gymnasium which was transformed into a secondary school after the Soviet authorities came to rule there. Mass repressions, arrest, and exile of brother Myroslav affected Bohdan's family since he developed an understanding of the repressive nature of the totalitarian Soviet Union. The response to the arrival of Germans who were mainly perceived by Ukrainians positively, after he saw the reality, was replaced with disappointment. His elder brother Myroslav was arrested and exiled. During the Nazi occupation, he studied in Chortkiv and Drohobych gymnasia. In August 1944 he was taken to the Third Reich for compulsory labor. In the summer of 1945, he got into the camp for displaced persons, and in 1947 he immigrated to Canada from it. There he managed to graduate from the university, and then even study in Switzerland where he stayed as a lecturer and later – the director of the International Management Institute in Geneva. After retiring, he actively supported Ukraine and established a number of institutions that keep functioning up till now.

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<sup>47</sup> Chubai, 2021: 35: "It was difficult to work there, with some miserable food, and the only thing I could think of was how to survive".

<sup>48</sup> TsDAGO, f. 334 op. 1, f. 1, p.14.

<sup>49</sup> TsDAGO, f. 334 op. 1, f. 1, p. 9; Havrylyshyn, 2011: 31-46.

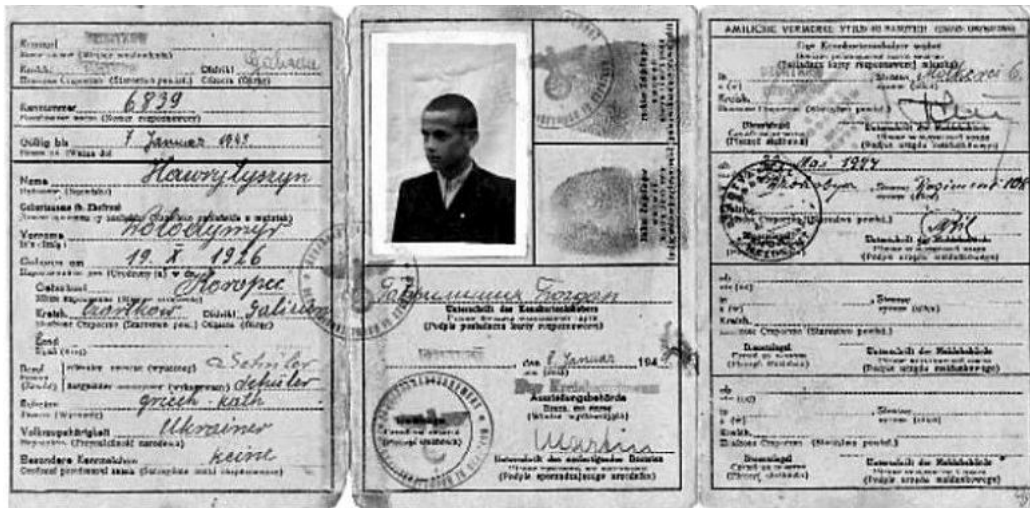


Fig. 1. The certificate Drohobych gymnasium, 1944. (TsDAGO, f. 334, op. 1, p. 13)

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