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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VIEWS OF HRYHORII KHOLODNYI

Abstract. *The purpose of the current research is to analyse the evolution of social and political views of H. Kholodnyi, the director of the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language (1926 – 1929), in the context of his public activities. The methodical basis of the article rests on principles of hystorism and objectivity and includes a retrospective method and a biographic method. The academic novelty of the current research is the first attempt to reveal and analyse social and political beliefs of H. Kholodnyi. The Conclusions.* In the result of thorough investigation it has become possible to distinguish three periods in the evolution and establishment of H. Kholodnyi's civic position. Thus, the 1912 – 1917s were mainly devoted to the participation in the Ukrainophile hromada (1912 – 1917) and the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi (1916 – 1917). H. Kholodnyi had supported the concept of Ukraine's autonomy as part of the Russian state before the revolution broke out in 1917. The second period lasted from 1917 to 1924. It was the time when H. Kholodnyi worked as a school principle and

carried out managerial work at Chernihiv Scientific Society, Prosvita, and Chernihiv Church Council to promote the Ukrainian education and science and unite people. After the adoption of the Fourth Universal of the Central Ukrainian Council, he supported the idea of independent Ukraine and upheld this view throughout his life. The third period from 1924 to 1929 was characterized by the rejection of any form of political activity and transition to purely educational and scientific projects, in particular in the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language. He managed to express his patriotic position through didactic work with schoolchildren and through the development of the Ukrainian humanitarian studies and scientific terminology.

Key words: Kholodnyi Hryhorii, the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi, Chernihiv Scientific Society, Prosvita, the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПОГЛЯДИ ГРИГОРІЯ ХОЛОДНОГО

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати суспільні та політичні переконання Г. Холодного, директора Інституту української наукової мови (1926 – 1929), в контексті його громадянської діяльності. **Методологічна основа** статті базується на принципах історизму та об'єктивності, включає ретроспективний і біографічний методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що це перша спроба розкрити й проаналізувати суспільно-політичні погляди Г. Холодного. **Висновки.** Результати дослідження дали підставу виділити три періоди у становленні та еволюції громадянської позиції Г. Холодного: 1912 – 1917-ті роки були присвячені переважно науковій та навчальній роботі, а також участі в українофільській громаді (1912 – 1917) та Товаристві українських поступовців (1916 – 1917). До початку революції в 1917 р. Г. Холодний підтримував концепцію автономії України як частини Російської держави. Другий період тривав з 1917 до 1924 рр. Це був час, коли він працював директором школи і перебував на керівних посадах у Чернігівському науковому товаристві, «Просвіті» та Чернігівській церковній раді. Після прийняття IV-го Універсалу Української Центральної Ради підтримував ідею незалежної України і дотримувався цього погляду впродовж усього життя. Третій період з 1924 до 1929 рр. характеризувався відмовою від будь-якої форми політичної діяльності та переходом до суто освітніх і наукових проєктів, зокрема в Інституті української наукової мови. Г. Холодному вдалося реалізувати свою патріотичну позицію через виховну роботу зі школярами, розвиток українських гуманітарних студій, розробку наукової термінології.

Ключові слова: Холодний Григорій, Товариство українських поступовців, Чернігівське наукове товариство, Просвіта, Інститут української наукової мови, Союз визволення України.

The Problem Statement. In the recent decades the Ukrainian historical science has undergone significant changes. The important pages of the Ukrainian history that used to be prohibited and censored in the Soviet times have finally become available for a comprehensive and objective research. Modern-day scientists have managed to create a monumental picture of the history of national movement and investigate the biographies of public figures who greatly contributed to the Ukrainian history and culture.

However, the lives of people, who devotedly worked yet played a secondary or even a tertiary role in the Ukrainian public life in the first third of the twentieth century have received a little coverage in scientific literature so far. Nevertheless, their contribution to the development of the national movement deserves a thorough investigation since their life paths and civic positions reflect the essential social and political tendencies of that time. One of those noteworthy personalities is Hryhorii Kholodnyi. In a contemporary scientific discourse the lack of scientific investigations, devoted to H. Kholodnyi's social and political perceptions, accounts for the topicality of the current research.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The only published work that sheds light on the life of H. Kholodnyi is «Encyclopedia of Ukraine». Moreover, some information about his public activities and views can be found in the connection with the

work of the Institute of the Ukrainian Language, in particular in his reports and articles on the preparation and compilation of terminological dictionaries (Kalynovych, 1930, pp. 1–28; Visnyk instytutu, 1928, 1930). The analysis of H. Kholodnyi's perceptions and relevant social and political events of his time has been carried out using the memoirs of N. Polonska-Vasylenko (Polonska-Vasylenko, 2011), K. Turkalo (Turkalo, 1963), O. Hrebenetskyi (Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 63) and others. Taking into account possible subjectivity or inaccuracy of his opinions, which he expressed under pressure during the pre-trial investigation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, the authors used published materials concerning representatives of his environment, in particular S. Yefremov (Yefremov, 1997), V. Hantsov (Mohylnyi, 2018a), and V. Cherniakhivskyi (Mohylnyi, 2018b). In the meanwhile, the main materials about the social and political perceptions of H. Kholodnyi can be found in the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, namely in the volumes 101–103 of the case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, 102, 103).

The Publication Purpose. The purpose of the article is to consider the social and political views of H. Kholodnyi and analyse the evolution of his convictions in the context of the events in the first third of the twentieth century on the basis of critical analysis of sources and scientific publications.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Kholodnyi Hryhorii was born on March 3, 1886, in Tambov (Russia) in the family of the gymnasium's headmaster (Prystaiko, 1995, p. 244). In 1912, he graduated from the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of the St. Petersburg University. In 1912 – 1917, he worked as a teacher in Moscow. At that time the conscious Ukrainians collected linguistic materials to develop the scientific Ukrainian terminology and advance the Ukrainian language that was seen as a mere dialect by the Russian power. H. Kholodnyi gradually became interested in the activities of the Ukrainophiles and decided to join the Ukrainian *hromada* in Moscow. It was the beginning of the first stage of the formation of his social and political beliefs. In order to analyse them, the authors used mainly the materials in Volume 101 of the case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, 102, 103).

H. Kholodnyi, like many nationally-minded enthusiasts of that time, naively hoped that in the near future the Ukrainians would receive autonomy as part of the Russian state and the right to use their mother tongue at schools and higher educational institutions as well as develop the Ukrainian-language literature and science. These expectations predetermined the main direction of his social, political and scientific perceptions.

As H. Kholodnyi recalled, in 1914 the Moscow Ukrainophiles convinced him to join the Agronomic Circle. He «was there a low-level figure» since his participation was limited to attending «the meetings at the Petrovskyi-Razumovkyi Academy (Moscow Agricultural Institute)» where the work on the collection of terminological material was organized (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 20). Besides, H. Kholodnyi attended monthly meetings of the Society of Slavic Culture, which existed and worked due solely to its neutral name, but in fact it had only a Ukrainian section (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 20).

H. Kholodnyi evaluated the work of Ukrainian groups as slow and weak one, and radical changes took place only after the arrival of M. Hrushevskyi to Moscow at the end of 1916. He was allowed to move here from Kazan' in order to continue his scientific work. H. Kholodnyi recalled that «the first reason for the revival of work and accumulation of forces» around the magazine «Ukrainian Life» was the celebration of the 50th anniversary of M. Hrushevskyi

(SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 20). Apart from scientific work, H. Kholodnyi participated in the meetings of the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi. The Society pursued purely cultural and national tasks. H. Kholodnyi became a member of the club headed by M. Hrushevskyi at the beginning of 1917 (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 23).

In December 1916, the Moscow *hromada* supported the declaration called «Our Position» that advocated the introduction of «democratic autonomy of Ukraine, guaranteed by the same federation of peoples with equal rights» (Boiko, 2013, p. 113). In January 1917, the members of the Society welcomed the peaceful proposals of the USA President W. Wilson, who positively perceived the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination (Boiko, 2013, p. 113). Later the February Revolution broke out and the Romanov abdicated a throne. These historical events led to significant changes, in particular to the liberalization of the Russian power. Nationally-minded intellectuals including H. Kholodnyi received an opportunity to put to life numerous patriotic projects and ideas that they had been developing before. These changes marked the end of the first stage of the formation of H. Kholodnyi's social and political views. At that stage he was into cultural and scientific work and took his first steps in a political sphere. He felt sympathy for the educational and scientific needs of the Ukrainian people and chose the collection of linguistic materials for terminological dictionaries as his main pro-Ukrainian activity.

The second stage lasted from 1917 to 1921. In the current research, it has been analysed on the basis of the recollections of H. Kholodnyi and his colleagues, in particular N. Polonska-Vasylenko and O. Hrebenetskyi. It has been revealed that the life in Kyiv and Chernihiv gave H. Kholodnyi an opportunity to step out of the shadow, build up a successful career and fully reveal his leadership skills in decision-making positions at scientific and educational institutions.

In March 1917, M. Hrushevskyi was informed about his election as the head of the Ukrainian Central Council and returned to Kyiv. A lot of his colleagues followed him including V. Vynnychenko, S. Petliura, O. Salikovskiy, I. Lebedynskiy, Z. Morgulis, Y. Sheremetynskiy and others. H. Kholodnyi also decided to move to Ukraine. His family settled down in Chernihiv while he headed for Kyiv (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 21).

His participation in the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi and communication with M. Hrushevskyi as well as other Ukrainophiles encouraged him to take an active part in educational and scientific projects. Although he shared the views of his colleagues on the statehood of Ukraine, he took little interest in political activity.

As he recalled, the Society intensified its activities after the February Revolution since it became possible to legally engage in political activity. In April 1917, the organization's leadership sent a lot of its representatives to participate in the All-Ukrainian National Congress which was due to take place on April 6–8, 1917.

H. Kholodnyi participated in the meetings of the Ukrainian Central Council and helped organize the All-Ukrainian National Congress. In his subjective opinion, although the Congress was called All-Ukrainian, «in fact, it represented mainly those organizations that were connected with M. Hrushevskyi» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 21) H. Kholodnyi estimated approximately 800 participants were present at the Congress. At the meetings he represented the interests of the Society of Slavic Culture. He firmly believed that active educational and scientific work could be a reasonable alternative to a political activity, which he did not fully understand. In 1917 – 1921, unlike it had used to be in the imperial period, the ban on the Ukrainian education and science was lifted so that nationally-minded

intellectuals thought these spheres could be developing without censorship and prohibition from the authorities. H. Kholodnyi was eager to seize this opportunity.

During the period from September to October 1917, H. Kholodnyi worked together with K. Shcherbyna, M. Kravchuk, F. Kalynovych, N. Shulgina-Ischuk and V. Sharko in a committee which was in charge of developing mathematical terminology at the Society of School Education (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 92). H. Kholodnyi saw compilation of terminological dictionaries as an integral part of the development of Ukrainian science and state-building processes.

In August 1917, the scientist received an invitation from General Secretary of Education I. Steshenko to work at the Kyiv Second Ukrainian Gymnasium named after Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood. He began teaching mathematics, physics and cosmography in senior classes (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 21, 93). As O. Hrebenetskyi recalled, he also arranged a mathematical club for pupils (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 63, p. 8).

At that time the young Ukrainian state faced an important task to organize patriotic education in schools and provide lessons in the native language of pupils. H. Kholodnyi dived into educational work and «did not participate in any political activity» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 21), as well as «neither had contacts nor knew about any political organizations, which operated in Kyiv» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 98) since he was busy with his new duties. As there is no information about H. Kholodnyi's political activities in the archive materials and memoirs of his friends and colleagues (e.g. S. Yefremov, V. Hantsov, H. Holoskevych, etc.), we can assume that his words are truthful.

School life mirrored the changes that were taking place in Ukraine. The scientist considered this period to be «the time when people were fascinated by national romance and a vague idea of a separate Ukrainian state». School had welcomed the return of the Ukrainian Central Council in March 1918, the Directory's coming to power in 1918, and the return of the Ukrainian People's Republic before Kyiv was seized by Denikin's troops (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 21–22). As he emotionally recalled, «we were the same. We did not stop our pupils when dozens of people went to work on the Hetman's front, cut wires, stole automobiles and did other harm. I adored what they did and supported such eager people. I entirely shared and encouraged feelings of the students of preliminary courses and all of them with the University took the side of Directory» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 72). At the same time, he critically assessed indifferent attitude of society towards the self-sacrifice of young patriots near the railway station of Kruty: «I together with others bear responsibility for tragic events near Kruty in January 1918, because we knew about the intentions of our youth but did nothing to stop their ... emotional outburst» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 72). At the same time, in spite of failures of the Ukrainian troops and constant searches of potential associates, the Ukrainian intelligentsia fostered «optimistic perspectives for the Ukrainian People's Republic» and any failures led to sufferings and «deep internal struggle» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 72). H. Kholodnyi and many of his friends and colleagues were «certain that the power of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine was temporary and the final stage of their struggle was independent Ukraine» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73). This opinion was quite widespread and popular with the Ukrainian intellectuals.

At the end of October 1919, H. Kholodnyi tried to move his family to Kyiv. However, the Bolsheviks came to power in the city so that the scientist and his family stayed in Chernihiv (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 98).

At the beginning of November 1919, H. Kholodnyi was invited to work at Chernihiv Ukrainian School (gymnasium) named after M. Kotsiubynskyi. He joined the methodological committee of the People's Commissariat of the People's Education in Chernihiv region. As H. Kholodnyi recalled, he formed a teaching staff and had to carry out «peacekeeping work» and reconcile «hostile» camps (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 99). According to the confessions of H. Kholodnyi during the interrogations in 1929, in 1921 – 1922 he managed to continue instilling a sense of patriotism in school children through organizing regional exhibitions and learning Ukrainian poems and songs (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73).

From February to August 1922, H. Kholodnyi tried to settle down in Kyiv again. However, hard working conditions during the regime of military communism, ration card system, and the lack of firewood forced him to leave the city and again «look for the peace of soul in Chernihiv quietness» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73) As N. Polonska-Vasylenko recalled, at that time a lot of scientists were gradually leaving Kyiv trying to survive (Polonska-Vasylenko, 2011, pp. 31–319).

Upon his return to Chernihiv in August 1920, H. Kholodnyi agreed to the request of the local People's Education to become a headmaster of the Ukrainian gymnasium, which was later transformed into a labour school named after M. Kotsiubynskyi (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 22, 23). H. Kholodnyi was its headmaster for four years (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 25). The scientist recalled that at school he saw his primary task in developing in his pupils the sense of patriotism to Ukraine. According to H. Kholodnyi, «it was a bizarre organism that combined incompatible things. My children sang International with delight but switched straight away on the Ukrainian hymn *Ukraine hasn't died yet*» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 74). It is hard to say whether this information was accurate since his colleagues did not mention such details about their lives and work. H. Kholodnyi had worked as a headmaster by August 1924.

Under the Soviet rule, H. Kholodnyi observed that «in our consciousness we filtered positive facts of our life and what remained was just flunkouts, chaff, and trash». Peasants told stories about «their dissatisfaction with the politics and gang violence, and anti-Semitism» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 106). Urban dwellers «fed on gossips and rumours, which came from Kyiv, Moscow and Leningrad, and new anecdotes on hot topics», also they «talked about war» (SSA SSU, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 106). «It was evident that people had a common anti-Soviet attitude and fostered common expectations of political changes» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 106).

In the meanwhile, H. Kholodnyi admitted that «I made a mistake when I thought that in Chernihiv I would work quietly shutting out myself from the world»; «I had gone with the flow by 1920, but now, on the contrary, a period of more or less independent work started when a lot of things depend on me, on my worldview» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73). Thus, H. Kholodnyi participated in educational and scientific projects, methodological commissions, and various conferences on behalf of the People's Education.

Apart from pedagogical affairs, at the end of 1920 – the beginning of 1921, H. Kholodnyi got involved in the creation of a local Ukrainian church and for a short time headed the Church Council Although he was unreligious (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 24, 125). H. Kholodnyi noted that «Kyiv autocephaly was a powerful political center where threads from all over Ukraine converged»; «There couldn't have been a better, more reliable and safer means of consolidation» of people than the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 133).

Additionally, H. Kholodnyi carried out managerial work in Prosvita and also decided to organize a «small scientific organization» in Chernihiv (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 128). In December 1920, he appealed to the Kyiv Scientific Society for the establishment of its branch. Unlike Prosvita, Chernihiv Scientific Society received broad support from the People's Education and the latter gave money and books to develop a local scientific life. As for ideological views, the Society's members did not adhere to Soviet principles. H. Kholodnyi believed that «the same people that sympathized with Prosvita and the autocephaly gathered in the Society» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 136). As H. Kholodnyi stated, «we in the Council and all those who joined the Society saw it as a legal opportunity to carry out our national work in a narrow scope that was detached from the Soviet reality, gathered nationally-minded people and supported an educational ideology ... because the time could come to rely on this mass» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 136–137). We assume these views of H. Kholodnyi could be explained by his attempts to justify himself to Soviet power during the interrogation through reducing the aims and tasks of the national movement.

In 1924, the pedagogue was dismissed from his position of school headmaster and he moved to Kyiv. His second life stage therefore falls on the period over 1917 – 1924. At this time he practically deviated from political activities and directed his creative energy and sense of patriotism to managerial educational and scientific work. As for his political convictions, they finally evolved from the idea of autonomous Ukraine to the need of independent state. However, H. Kholodnyi always hid his attitudes due to his caution and prudence and was forced to confess them only in 1929 during the investigation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

The third stage in the development of H. Kholodnyi's social and political views fell on 1924 – 1929. The analysis of this period is based on his and S. Yefremov's recollections. On a large scale, it was a so called transitional period when the Soviet power gradually curtailed democratic rights and freedoms so that the country entered an era of totalitarianism. The talks about the external danger in the circles of the Ukrainian intelligentsia gave rise to the expectations that a hypothetical war between the Soviet Union and the West could help Ukraine restore its independence (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 28–29; Mohylnyi, 2018a, p. 53). Consequently, intellectuals including H. Kholodnyi continued developing Ukrainian culture, education, and science working for «a greater good».

In 1924, V. Durdukovskiy offered H. Kholodnyi to return to work at the First Ukrainian Labour School and he agreed to this proposal. Having assessed the atmosphere in the school, the scientist noted that «political education of pupils ... was quite normal, and in any case, the school did everything to dispel suspicions that periodically arose around the school work, kept a close eye on the children and political moments» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 26). Regarding his working relationships, H. Kholodnyi recalled that the school staff were extremely friendly, and several times a year they gathered at homes of M. Prokhorova or O. Hrebenetskyi to share their hopes and sorrows as well as discuss news and rumours. «When it came to the Soviet power, the talks always had a hostile nature» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 76–77). «In those talks one could always sense a hope for an unknown force that would come and set us free. I shared a lot of such beliefs although I never believed in the power of morally and physically separated Ukrainian diaspora and doubted it had a right to play any part in our life after 10 years of their detachment» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 77). These confessions show his moderate attitude to the future perspectives of Ukraine. The political situation in Ukraine was considered by H. Kholodnyi extremely

critically and he noted that «the Ukrainian intelligentsia often mentions their dissatisfaction but does not have an initiative. Everyone is sure that political changes can occur and awaits them but does not think who will make changes» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 187).

Additionally, H. Kholodnyi shared his opinion about the processes that were taking place in the procedure of the Ukrainization. «A national issue is being broadly framed. The school plays a key role in this case. The Ukrainization of the state apparatus is an inevitable outcome. The Ukrainization of external forms (a signboard, a street, a tram, etc.) comes as an accomplishment, not a beginning (as it was in 1918). Even at the current pace, in a few years, such abnormal phenomenon of Ukrainization as a formal attitude of officials towards the tasks of Ukrainization will disappear. They do not yet have an organic need for the Ukrainian language, and it is mostly an unpleasant duty for them» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 60–61). It is worth mentioning that the same opinion can be found in interrogation reports of his colleagues V. Hantsov and S. Yefremov (Mohylnyi, 2018a, p. 53; Yefremov, 1997, p. 431). In general, this perception of Ukrainization was quite common among the Ukrainian nationally-minded intellectuals.

As for social and economic policies, H. Kholodnyi did not leave enough information to restore a clear picture of his attitude to the New Economic Politics, industrialization or collectivization. In his opinion, «the village is sick because it gives a lot and receives little», «large collective households will guarantee the famine will never return», «the industrialization requires a lot of effort and the transfer of funds from other areas», «it is more rational to intensively industrialize the southern part of Ukraine where conditions are similar to the American ones» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 60). Even these laconic remarks show that H. Kholodnyi tried to be objective and find positive features of the Soviet economic activities unlike his friends and colleagues who had a critical attitude towards the Bolshevik politics.

On the proposal of O. Kurylo, H. Kholodnyi returned to terminological work at the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language. There a group of scientists was developing the main principles of the Ukrainian terminology and editing terminology dictionaries (Mohylnyi, 2018b, p. 23). In 1926, H. Kholodnyi quit his job at school and fully focused on scientific work. In March 1929, The State Political Department received information about a group of the «chauvinistic» Ukrainian intellectuals who worked in the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language. These people were suspected of «taking leading positions and carrying out a struggle for maximum independence from the Soviet power» (Danylenko, 2012, pp. 503–504). According to the State Political Department, the group called itself «INARAK» by analogy with the organization International Association of the Revolutionary Action described in the novel «Solar Machine» of V. Vynnychenko (Danylenko, 2012, p. 503).

H. Kholodnyi recalled that the Institute's meetings (called «INARAK») had actually coordinated all activities of the Institute since the end of 1927 (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 157; Prystaiko, 1995, p. 390). Taking into account a political situation, the scientist believed that the activities of «INARAK» could have been more important than «the spread of illegal leaflets» in the street: «it is not a big deal now to come out in the street somewhere. There will be very few benefits... On the contrary, we will lose more conscious Ukrainians, and there are already so few of us» (Danylenko, 2012, p. 504).

The State Political Department assumed that «INARAK» was not a structured underground organization, but its members could «make extensive use of legal opportunities

to unite chauvinistic elements and carry out anti-Soviet work» (Danylenko, 2012, p. 504). In I. Ohiienko's opinion, the Institute provoked a great suspicion of Russian chauvinists because of its pro-Ukrainian methodology (Ohiienko, 2001, p. 379). As a result, during the trial over the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine «INARAK» was considered to be one of its centres (Prystaiko, 1995, p. 205). An important piece of evidence in this case was the testimony of M. Rylskiy who stated that «there was a group of teachers, probably a large one, in which some blindly adhered to nationalistic and populist convictions while others were engaged in politics. At the time, the second group comprised such people as Durdukovskiy, Hrebenetskiy, Kholodnyi» (Prystaiko, 1995, p. 313). This testimony in 1929 – 1930 could be explained by a fear for one's life, widespread whistleblowing, and unjustified critics of one's convictions under the pressure of investigators.

Having analysed the above-mentioned materials, we assume that the third stage in the development of H. Kholodnyi's perceptions was characterized by his critical attitude to the authorities, the pro-Ukrainian work in the Institute of the Scientific Ukrainian Language and participation in informal meetings of «INARAK».

The spring of 1929 saw police summonses of the staff of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, school teachers and students to the State Political Department. All of them were asked about the activities of S. Yefremov and other people who appeared in the process of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. In this way the State Political Department step by step fabricated the case of the Union on the basis of confessions (Polonska-Vasylenko, 2011, p. 435). K. Turkalov assumed that the Bolshevik authorities were interested in «the elimination of the first Ukrainian intelligentsia as the most active and most distinctive» social layer (Turkalov, 1963, p. 26). However, at the beginning of the 1930s their aim was mainly to discredit the most active enthusiasts and exclude them from social and political life of that time. Physical elimination came later.

On the 17th August 1929, H. Kholodnyi was arrested according to the order №4348 of the Ukrainian Socialistic Soviet Republic. During the trial over the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, namely on the 22th August 1929, he was accused of nationalistic sabotage (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 31). His name was erased from scientific and reference sources.

During the investigation that lasted in 1929 – 1930 H. Kholodnyi was questioned 12 times. Under the interrogations, H. Kholodnyi initially stated that he had never heard of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. However, on the 9th September 1929, H. Kholodnyi changed his testimony and assumed that some scientific groups in the Institute of the Scientific Ukrainian Language and the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences could have been symbolic centers of the Union (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 77–79). Later, on the 20th September, he admitted he belonged to the counter-revolutionary organization of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 187).

On the 19th April 1930, H. Kholodnyi was sentenced to 8 years in prison and 3 years of the deprivation of rights for «nationalistic sabotage» (Kubiiovych, 2000, p. 3621; *The Last Address*, p. 942, Prystaiko, 1995, pp. 15, 86, 332, 360). He served his sentence in Solovky, a detention camp and a special-purpose prison. On the 4th February 1938, he was sentenced to death (*The Last Address*, p. 903). The sentence was executed on the 17th February of the same year at the Solovetskiy Archipelago. He was rehabilitated by the Supreme Court of the USSR on the 11th August 1989 (*The Last Address*, p. 942).

The Conclusions. In the process of the evolution and establishment of H. Kholodnyi's public position it is possible to differentiate 3 periods: 1) 1912 – 1917, when his participation

in the Ukrainian *hromada* and the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi developed his understanding and sympathy for the urgent cultural, scientific and educational needs of the Ukrainian people; 2) 1917 – 1924 was a period of crystallization of political convictions when H. Kholodnyi moved from the concept of autonomous Ukraine to the support of its independence; the third period from 1924 to 1929 was characterized by the rejection of any form of political activity, the critical attitude to the Soviet state-building processes as well as the naïve expectations together with his compatriots for a potential war between the Soviet Union and the West as the key to the independence of Ukraine. The promising direction in the investigation of H. Kholodnyi's life path is his work in the Moscow Ukrainophile *hromada*, his publishing activity, participation in Prosvita, Chernihiv Scientific Society and the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language.

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