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**PAYMENT FOR THE LOSS OF THE STATEHOOD:
A LOOK THROUGH ARCHIVAL-CRIMINAL CASES AGAINST UKRAINIAN
OFFICIALS IN 1917 – 1921**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to cover the tragic fate of the repressed ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 on the basis of little-known documents of the archival-criminal cases (hereinafter – ACC). The methodological basis of the work is the socio-psychological approach, which emphasizes the importance of attempts to reconstruct, according to the ACC materials, the outlook of the accused and their accusers. The general scientific, specifically historical and purely original methods of the research have been used in the article; the conclusions are drawn based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and a value approach to the phenomena of the past. Research novelty: a generalized scientific publication on the history of repression concerning the leading participants of the Ukrainian state-building has been prepared for the first time. The Conclusions.* *The loss in the fight against Bolshevik Russia's national statehood was fatal, first and foremost, in the fortunes of the well-known Ukrainian politicians and public figures, who risked linking their lives to the occupied homeland. Some of them fell into the grip of red terror during 1919 – 1920. The overwhelming majority of already subdued political opponents were picked up by several waves of repression in 1929 – 1932 and brought directly to the Great Terror mill in 1937 – 1938. There were also those who, after the defeat of the liberation contest, emigrated abroad and stayed out of the reach of the Bolshevik*

«justice» for a long time, but in the mid-1940s they still fell into the hands of the Soviet punitive bodies in the USSR controlled countries of Eastern Europe and were responsible for the «old sins» being in old age. The tragic destinies of the repressed ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 should warn against the fatigue, indifference and betrayal of the current state high-ranking officials, and the previous defeats in the liberation struggle should make our compatriots stronger and more resolute in defending our statehood.

Key words: UNR, Ukrainian State, Hetmanate, Directory, government, minister, repressions, ACC, SVU, UNC.

РОЗПЛАТА ЗА ВТРАЧЕНУ ДЕРЖАВНІСТЬ: ПОГЛЯД КРИЗЬ АРХІВНО-КРИМІНАЛЬНІ СПРАВИ СТОСОВНО УКРАЇНСЬКИХ УРЯДОВЦІВ 1917 – 1921 РР.

Анотація. Мета роботи полягає у висвітленні на основі маловідомих документів архівно-кримінальних справ (далі – АКС) трагічності долі репресованих міністрів Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить соціально-психологічний підхід, який акцентує важливість спроб реконструкції за матеріалами АКС світогляду обвинувачуваних та їхніх обвинувачів. У роботі застосовано загальнонаукові, спеціально-історичні і суто джерелознавчі методи дослідження; зроблено висновки на основі принципів історизму, об'єктивності та ціннісного підходу до явищ минулого. **Наукова новизна:** вперше підготовлено узагальнювальну наукову публікацію з історії репресій стосовно провідних учасників українського державотворення. **Висновки.** Втрата у боротьбі з більшовицькою Росією національної державності фатально позначилася насамперед на долях відомих українських політичних і громадських діячів, які ризикнули пов'язати життя з окупованою ворогом Батьківщиною. Частина з них потрапили до лежат червоного терору ще впродовж 1919 – 1920 рр. Переважна більшість уже упокорених політичних опонентів була підхоплена кількома хвилями репресій 1929 – 1932 рр. і занесена прямісінько в жорна Великого терору 1937 – 1938 рр. Були й такі, що після поразки визвольних змагань емігрували за кордон і тривалий час перебували поза зоною досяжності більшовицького «правосуддя», але в середині 1940-х рр. все таки потрапили до рук радянських каральних органів на території підконтрольних СРСР країн Східної Європи та відповіли за «старі гріхи» вже в літньому віці. Трагічні долі репресованих міністрів епохи Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. повинні застерігати нинішніх державних високопосадовців від перетому, байдужості і зради, а попередні поразки у визвольній боротьбі – робити співвітчизників міцнішими й рішучішими у відстоюванні нашої державності.

Ключові слова: УНР, Українська Держава, Гетьманат, Директорія, уряд, міністр, репресії, АКС, СВУ, УНЦ.

The Problem Statement. At an extremely responsible time, the newest trials of the research into the events of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 and the repression of the Bolshevik regime against its leading participants is especially relevant. Today, like 100 years ago, the inherited internal troubles and immaturity of the national elite are on the path to revolutionary change in the Ukrainian society, and even hidden and open Russian intervention. We need to mobilize all state and public resources in order to finally escape from the «brotherly» embrace of a neighboring country and preserve the Ukrainian state for posterity, its territorial integrity and European future. A clear awareness of the Ukrainians of their own historical weight, while understanding the tragedy of the mistakes made, will be a reliable guarantee of non-return to the times of a stateless existence of the Ukrainian people.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. It is now easier than ever to find information about the fate of the repressed prominent Ukrainians, including the participants in the national government. This is facilitated by the fundamental work of historians and source scholars, a free access to the archives of the communist regime's secret services, and

the World Wide Web. It was far more difficult for the pioneers at the dawn of independence, which, without a computer and the Internet, in a context of community involvement and limited access to crumbly archives, revived our history and returned the forgotten names. We recall the first resonant publications of such journalists as I. Iliencko (Iliencko, 1992) and M. Chaban (Chaban, 1992), books by the writer A. Bolabolchenko (Bolabolchenko, 1993; Bolabolchenko, 1994) and the writings of the historian S. Bilokin (Bilokin, 1992; Bilokin, 1994), Yu. Shapoval (Shapoval, 1993) and Ya. Tynchenko (Tynchenko 1995a; Tynchenko 1995b).

The aforementioned historians have become one of the first regular visitors to the reading room of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (hereinafter – HDA SBU), created on 1 April 1994. The study of political repression against the Ukrainian elite continued to be a significant part of Yu. Shapoval's broad scholarly interest (Shapoval, 2001; Shapoval, 2005). The part of his work on a specific subject was co-authored with the Deputy Chairman of the SBU V. Prystaiko and the Head of the HDA SBU O. Pshennikov (Prystaiko & Pshennikov & Shapoval, 1997; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1995; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1999). Ya. Tynchenko delved further into the biographies study of the national armed forces officers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 (Tynchenko, 2007; Tynchenko, 2011). Over time S. Bilokin became, apparently, the most respected researcher of mass terror in the USSR. The fundamental work *Mass Terror as a Means of Public Administration in the USSR (1917 – 1941): Source Study* was prepared in 1999, and the following year, it made its author a Doctor of Historical Sciences, and in 2002 – laureate of the Taras Shevchenko National Prize of Ukraine (Bilokin, 1999). The most recent revised version of this book was published in 2017 (Bilokin, 2017).

Modern domestic historiography is full of articles, theses, monographs, directories and published collections of documents on the history of repression of the Bolshevik regime against the leading participants of the Ukrainian state-making. Recently, as part of the organization of state events to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, the scientific and documentary edition *Woe to the Vanquished. Repressed Ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution* appeared. It was joined by the HDA SBU, the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, the Central State Archives of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (hereinafter – TsDAVO), the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine (hereinafter – TsDAGO) and the Center for Research into the Liberation Movement (hereinafter referred to as TsDVR).

The eloquent title indicates that the book was prepared primarily on the basis of ACC materials, the vast majority of which are now stored in the HDA SBU. The figures involved in these cases were the 23 repressed members of the national governments of the day of the Ukrainian Central Rada (hereinafter referred to as the UCR), the Hetmanate and the UNR Directory.

The preface and biographical references to the publication have been prepared in a light, popular science style, with no references to the sources, in the hope that an attentive reader will take from a published collection of unique documents and interactive references to the TsDVR's electronic archive. Therefore, a purely scientific publication on the materials of the announced ACC seems appropriate.

The publication's purpose: to present a scientifically documented author's vision of the repressed ministers' tragic fate of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The chronology of documented repression against the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist «counterrevolution» is opened by the arrest of Volodymyr Pavlovych Naumenko, a prominent Ukrainian teacher, a philologist and public figure, on 7 July 1919 in Kyiv. The very next day the VUNK (All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission) board decided to shoot him for «counter-revolutionary activity». V. Naumenko's political career appeared to be rapid, short-lived and fatal. On 4 March 1917, he was elected Deputy Chairman of the UCR and until M. Hrushevskyy's return from exile he fulfilled his duties, but having surrendered his powers, he refused to join the UCR because he did not see himself in politics. The main «fault» of V. Naumenko was his support for the Hetmanate. After being persuaded by the environment, the repressed for about a month held the post of Minister for Public Education of the Ukrainian State, participated in the creation of the National Academy of Sciences and the formation of its leadership (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 68428).

Bolshevik Russia and the Ukrainian State were not in an open military confrontation, but had every reason to recognize the hetman and his entourage as the worst enemies. Burdened with the humiliating Brest peace, the Bolsheviks were forced to stop the spread of the «world revolution» to the West for a long time. They were powerlessly watching the «counter-revolutionary» changes that had taken place in the recently-controlled territory, rich in nutrition and raw materials, of a new state formation. Therefore, after the overthrow of the Hetmanate and P. Skoropadskyy's departure to Germany under the merciless repression of the Bolshevik «justice», all his influential «servants» would have been the first to go if the vast majority also did not emigrate to the West or joined other anti-Bolshevik camps: the UNR or the pro-Russian white. There were also victims. One of them was V. Naumenko, because he tried to go unnoticed on the sidelines of the political struggle.

Vasylenko Mykola Prokopovych, another prominent Ukrainian scientist, public and political figure, had even more reasons to get under immediate repression. From May 1917 he held the post of Deputy Minister for Education of the Provisional Government, and from May to October of the following year – Minister for Public Education of the Ukrainian State, that is, in his last position he was the predecessor of V. Naumenko. M. Vasylenko's participation in the development of the Ukrainian State was much more important, considering that since 8 July 1918, he had headed the State Senate, for some time fulfilled the duties of foreign and religious ministers, and from time to time – also ataman's duties of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian State. Somewhat miraculously, with the advent of Soviet power, a recent influential Hetman minister bypassed the grip of red terror and attempted to join the Bolshevik-led development of socialism in the field of science: he was elected an academician of his previously conceived All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and during 1921 – 1922 he was its 2nd president. But on 24 September 1923, he was arrested on charges of being a member of the Kyiv Regional Action Center. On 8 April 1924, Kyiv Provincial Court sentenced Vasylenko to 10 years in prison with severe isolation. Shortly after, on 16 May, the Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (hereinafter referred to as the VUTsVK) decreed the term of imprisonment by half. There is no information on the fate of the repressed in the case (BSA SSU, f. 5, d. 1, c. 55435, vv. 4, 13, 32). It is known from published sources that at the end of the same year, M. Vasylenko was released, but was eliminated from further participation in scientific and public life. The scientist had the good fortune not to survive until the Great Terror: he died on 3 October 1935 in Kyiv, buried in the Lukyanovsky Cemetery (Rozhniatovska, 2015).

The vast majority of the ACC on former UCR officials and its successor Directory are concentrated in the HDA SBU. The researchers have long attracted the greatest attention of many-volume group cases with the eloquent names «Case of the UNR Government», «Union for the Freedom of Ukraine» (hereinafter – SVU) and the «Ukrainian National Center» (hereinafter – UNC). Here is an alternate list of the major works of contemporary domestic historians in these well-known cases (Bilokin, 1992; Bolabolchenko, 1993; Bolabolchenko, 1994; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1995; Bilokin, 1999; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1999; Shapoval, 2005; Ostashko & Kokin, 2013; Bilokin, 2017).

Let us begin with an overview of the persecution and repression of the UNR high-ranking officials of earlier and lesser-known cases. Thus, on 5 April 1918, at the Council of People's Ministers of the UCR, on the proposal of V. Holubovych, the Minister of Finance of his cabinet was appointed an experienced financier and manager P. Klymovych. He conscientiously fulfilled his duties within 2 weeks until the change of state power in Ukraine, sanctioned by German and Austro-Hungarian allies, and henceforth he did not participate in Ukrainian state-making. At the time of the arrest, which took place on 30 May 1920, the recent UNR minister lived in his native Odessa, headed the Odessa Union of Consumer Societies, and was in the city branch of the Prosvita Society. On 14 June 1920, Odesa Provincial Extraordinary Commission ordered P. Klymovych to be shot on charges of the «counter-revolution» and his property to be confiscated (TSASSUOR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 27008).

The part of the ACC in the early years of the proceedings does not contain a pronounced repressive component, but the investigated documents reveal additional specific information about the persecution of the persons involved. On 20 December 1919, for the first time, but not for the last time, Red Pinhos (Pinhas) Abramovych, the acting Minister for the Jewish Affairs of the UNR Directory (held the post during 1919 – 1921), was arrested in Berdychiv. By order of the special department of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 12th Army, dated 11 January 1920, he was released from custody for lack of grounds for bringing to justice. In his interrogations, P. Krasnyi testified, in particular, about the consistent defense of the Bolshevik-minded citizens of the Jewish nationality and the protection of them from the pogroms (TSASSUZhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 4920). As it is known, under the initiative of P. Krasnyi, an extraordinary state commission was set up to investigate the pogroms and to prosecute the perpetrators (Lazarovych, 2016).

The recent head of the government of the UNR Directory, Ostapenko Serhii Stepanovych, was arrested on 13 May 1921 on suspicion of involvement in the activities of the Central Ukrainian Insurgent Committee and relations with the insurgents, in particular, the UNR Ataman Orlyk. The evocative letter of the ataman to the government official removed during the search was the real evidence of this. Soon investigative materials on S. Ostapenko were removed from the insurgency case (BSA SSU, f. 5, d. 1, c. 11845, vv. 1–2) and joined in another group case proceedings of 1920–1921 in 42 volumes on the members of the Central Committee (hereinafter referred to as the CC) of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party (hereinafter referred to as the UPSR), better known as the «UNR Government Case» (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, vv. 1–42). According to the indictment signed by the head of the secret-operative part of the State Political Administration of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (hereinafter referred to as the DPU USSR) S. Dukelskyi of 20 January 1921, 75 persons involved in the case were shot, and some of them who had not yet been arrested (majority), – outlawing. In an open-ended demonstration process, the Bolshevik «justice» sought to prove the leading «criminal» role of the Ukrainian SRs, who constituted

the majority in the «counter-revolutionary» governments of the UCR and the UNR Directory, were the ideological instigators of the anti-Bolshevik insurgency (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, vv. 2–3).

On the whole, most prominent Ukrainian political figures of the UCR and the Directory of the UNR go through the case in absentia, ranging from M. Hrushevskiy, V. Vynnychenko, and S. Petliura. Those who had recently also been in the vanguard of the Ukrainian state-making, but who had already come to terms with the loss of national statehood and recognized the invading Bolshevik power, had to be held responsible for the incriminated «crimes». Holubovych Vsevolod Oleksandrovych, Chekhivskiy Volodymyr Musiiiovych and the aforementioned Ostapenko Serhii Stepanovych during 1918 – 1919 had alternately headed the UNR cabinets of ministers; Lyzanivskiy Ivan Mykolaiovych was in charge of the press and information department and was acting Secretary of State in B. Martos's cabinet of ministers; Syrotenko Hryhorii Tymofiiiovych held the posts of Minister of Justice in the cabinet of V. Chekhivskiy and Minister of Military Affairs in the cabinet of B. Martos. From the second half of 1920, all of them lived legally in Ukraine occupied by the Bolsheviks and were arrested not by chance together with other legalized one-party members.

Despite the announcement of «grave» accusations on 29 May 1921, the Supreme Extraordinary Revolutionary Tribunal of the Central Executive Committee (hereinafter referred to as the TsVK) of the USSR found «humanity» against conquered recent political opponents. In particular, V. Holubovych and I. Lyzanivskiy were sentenced to 10 years in prison, and S. Ostapenko and H. Syrotenko to 5 years in prison. Due to the simultaneous application of the amnesty announced by the Vth All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, the punishment of V. Holubovych and I. Lyzanivskiy was reduced to 5 years, and H. Syrotenko was released from serving his sentence. S. Ostapenko's 5-year prison sentence was replaced by forced labor without imprisonment for the same term (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, v. 3, p. 429). For his loyalty to the Soviet authorities, V. Chekhivskiy was taken on the bail of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, passed as a witness in court and received a personal amnesty in early June (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 52735, p. 29). In early October, detainees V. Holubovych and I. Lyzanivskiy were also released on bail (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, v. 12, pp. 35–37). They were soon amnestied as well.

Under conditions of the civil war and a high social tension in the society, the Soviet-party authorities approved not more than a dozen general or special amnesties between the waves of a red terror. The first ones proclaimed the commemoration of the next anniversary of the October Revolution, May Day holidays and the formation of the USSR; the latter applied separately: to a military personnel of the hostile armies, members of the anti-Bolshevik insurgency, the Red Army soldiers, peasants, or women. The regular announcement of amnesty with their application to the general public emphasized the humanity and generosity of the «workers and peasants» power (Vasylenko, 2011).

The insidious Bolshevik generosity was the first to be believed, by those who, after several difficult years of political and armed confrontation, managed to get tired and disappointed. Liubynskiy Mykola Mykhailovych, one of the compilers of the Brest Peace from Ukraine and subsequently Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government of V. Holubovych, had lived in the Soviet territory since March 1919. Being dissatisfied with the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact, difficult for the UNR, Cherkaskiy Teofan Vasylovych – Minister of National Economy in the cabinet of B. Martos and Minister of Press and Propaganda in the cabinet of I. Mazepa, returned to the homeland occupied by the Bolsheviks in the early 1920-ies. Since the autumn

of 1920, both had been living illegally because of the arrests of one-party member, while remaining completely loyal to the authorities. At the beginning of 1923, they still waited for amnesty and legalization, after which they were forced to break with the past and, in December 1923, together with other leaders of the USSR, withdraw from its membership publicly (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 64675, pp. 52–54; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69473).

In April 1921, at the request of the Academy of Sciences, a personal amnesty from the Soviet government was granted to the former Deputy Head of the UCR and the first Secretary General of International Affairs, Academician Yefremov Serhii Oleksandrovych. And in the autumn of the same year, a member of the Austrian Communist Party Mazurenko Vasyl Petrovych, a recent UNR finance minister in the cabinet of V. Chekhivskiyi, returned to Ukraine from Vienna. In January 1922, a repatriate joined the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine and even became a party to negotiations with the leadership of the USSR on a possible return to the homeland of a group of the Ukrainian socialist-revolutionaries led by M. Hrushevskiyi.

Following the repulsion of the UNR Army's Second Winter Campaign, the Bolsheviks aimed not only to secure the southern and western borders of the USSR from attempting to organize a new invasion of the UNR's internment troops, but also to complete the cause of the final weakening and split of the Ukrainian political and military emigration. According to the decision of the VUTsVK of 12 April 1922, a full personal amnesty was granted to all citizens of Ukraine, who fought against the Soviet power in the enemy armies and as a result ended up abroad. They were given the opportunity to return home as soon as possible on a common ground with prisoners of the war. At the same time, all former generals, army commanders, members of the Ukrainian «self-styled governments» and members of the Central Committee of all «anti-Soviet» parties and organizations were granted entry to the territory of the USSR at their personal request and only on condition that they «truly show genuine repentance» (Romashkyn, 1959, pp. 149–151).

On these grounds and on their own misfortune, along with many other representatives of the Ukrainian political and military emigration, after receiving personal amnesties, some recent the UNR officials returned to the homeland: in the autumn of 1922 – Shtefan Ivan Demianovych, Minister for Post and Telegraph in the cabinets of V. Chekhivskiyi and B. Martos (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 9, p. 8 v); in March 1923 – Khrystiuk Pavlo Onykiiovych, Minister of the Interior in the cabinets of V. Holubovych and I. Mazepa; in October 1924 – Nikovskiyi Andrii Vasylovych, Minister of Foreign Affairs in V. Prokopovych's cabinet; 1925 – already mentioned P. Krasnyi (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, cc. 59881 & 67098; TSASSUKhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 036019).

The grand general amnesty for commemorating the «10th anniversary of the October Revolution» was the crowning example of Bolshevik generosity. The commission of the Presidium of the TsVK of the USSR to soften the punishment of all convicts, with the exception of active figures of the anti-Soviet political parties, vicious spenders and bribe-takers, was previously proclaimed by Art. 10 of «Manifesto to all workers, working peasants, the Red Army soldiers of the USSR, to the proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world», adopted by the decree of the TsVK of the USSR of 15 October 1927. The announced resolution on the festive amnesty was approved by the Presidium of the TsVK of the USSR on 2 November. Amnesty extended to all sections of the population and to all but the convicted categories, except for the manifest. Its provisions stipulated the replacement of the death sentence by 10 years of imprisonment with severe isolation, the immediate and

foreseeable term of imprisonment, return from exile, cancellation of fines, conviction, etc. (Romashkyn, 1959, pp. 61–63; Vasylenko, 2011, pp. 121–122).

In the late 1920s, contrary to the declared all-forgiveness, a strong Bolshevik totalitarian regime unleashed a new, unjustifiable flywheel of repression, aimed primarily at former political opponents. Being in relative security abroad, they were mostly part-time defendants in the above-mentioned Case of the UNR Government (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, vv. 1–2), and returning to the occupied homeland to build socialism, soon became the real defendants of fabricated investigative cases.

Most of the repressed UNR officials go through the SVU cases in 286 volumes of proceedings of 1929 – 1930, and of the UNC in 122 volumes of proceedings of 1931 – 1932 (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, cc. 59881 & 67098). Thus, on 9 March 1930, a hearing of the Supreme Court of the USSR was opened in the case of the prosecution of 45 members contrived by investigative bodies of DPU USSR of the contra-revolutionary nationalist organization «SVU», and on 19 April, a verdict was announced to the defendants in this case. In particular, the head of the Presidium of the Union S. Yefremov, his deputy V. Chekhivskyi, and one of the members of the presidium A. Nikovskyi were sentenced to death, replaced by imprisonment for 10 years, with severe isolation and subsequent defeat for 5 years (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 2).

To believe the forced confession of the repressed in all the «counter-revolutionary» crimes committed by them is a futile affair. Only their confessions in participating in the Ukrainian state-making of 1917 – 1920 and the first objectionable testimony of other charges are true. In particular, on 25 July 1929, during the interrogation of the provocative question «Does he feel guilty about the involvement of people close to him to the counter-revolutionary organization to the Soviet authorities», the academician S. Yefremov answered unequivocally: «I do not feel, because I did not know about the existence of a counter-revolutionary organization and I have never heard about it». At the same time, the scientist also expressed his own attitude to the use of political repression by the authorities: «I recognize the right of the Soviet authorities to punish for offenses against its laws. But also I think that so-called political crimes are dependent solely on depriving the citizens of the political liberties that entails political crimes; I consider political liberties to be not a crime but a public duty, so I do not regard political work against the Soviet authorities as worthy of punishment» (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 11, p. 27 v, 38 v).

On 7 February 1932, the ODPU Board pronounced a sentence against 50 repressed members of another «counter-revolutionary nationalist organization of the UNC», fictionalized by investigation, among which there were seven former UNR officials. In particular, V. Holubovych, I. Lyzanivskyi and V. Mazurenko were sentenced to 6 years, P. Khrystiuk – to 5 years, and T. Cherkaskyi – to 3 years in prison in Correctional Labor Camps (hereinafter – VTT); D. Koliukh – up to 3 years of exile to Kazakhstan (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 2, pp. 310–312). Only the last of them, in real or in absentia, was not targeted in the investigation of the UNR Government Case in 1921.

As we can see, none of the listed «counter-revolutionaries-nationalists» was punished for the deaths of the SVU and the UNC cases immediately. However, almost all of them were not limited to the sentence and, as a result, were shot during 1937 – 1938 for «forgiven» old and contrived new «sins», or died in prison during additional sentences. Thus, on 9 October 1937, the troika of the Office of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (hereinafter referred to as the UNKVD) in Leningrad Region (Russia), decided to shoot a defective nationalist

and a «counter-revolutionary» V. Chekhivskiy (sentence enforced on 3 November) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 47a, p. 20, envelope). On 21 November 1937, the UNKVD troika in the Alma-Ata Region (Kazakhstan) applied the highest punishment to «a member of the counter-revolutionary fascist organization» V. Mazurenko, and on 13 February 1938 – to «an active participant in the nationalist insurgent group» in exile D. Koliukh (no sentencing dates have been set) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 119, p. 203; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 120, pp. 20–23). On 22 December 1937, the UNKVD troika in the Ivanovo Region (Russia) decided to shoot I. Luzanivskiy for «counter-revolutionary activity» (no date of the sentence execution) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 10a, pp. 8–8 reverse). On 22 September of the same year, a visiting session of the military collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced T. Cherkaskiy to the execution, «one of the leaders of the anti-Soviet nationalist terrorist organization of SRs» (the sentence was executed the same day) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69473, pp. 206–207). Incurable «counter-revolutionaries» V. Holubovych and P. Khrystiuk died, respectively, on 16 April 1939 in Yaroslavl prison and 29 September 1941 in one of the Khabarovsk Krai concentration camps (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 122, pp. 59–59 v, 80–80 v).

S. Yefremov did not need any additional repression: he died on 31 March 1939, in the Vladimir State Prison of the Main Department of State Security, without having received a fixed 10-year prison sentence (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 11b, p. 8). Obviously, A. Nikovskiy is an exception, but he should not be envied. In the HDA SBU there is no information about his fate after the conviction in the SVU case. From published sources we learn: A. Nikovskiy served his sentence in Solovky, was released in April 1940, died in 1942 in the siege of Leningrad (now – St. Petersburg, Russia), buried in the mass grave at Piskaryovsky Cemetery (Ostashko, 2010).

We should follow the fates of the participants of the Ukrainian state-making, repressed on the materials of other ACC. On 20 September 1930, in Kharkiv, on a wave of mass reprisals against former leaders of the «nationalist counterrevolution» under the little-known investigative case of Poltava Operational Sector of the DPU USRR, Stasiuk Mykola Mykhailovych was arrested as a member of the «Branch Counterrevolutionary Harm Organization in Ukrkooptakh». He was accused of contrived harm in the Ukrainian cooperative poultry system (TSASSUPR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 16535, v. 2, pp. 215–219).

According to investigative materials, between June and July 1917, M. Stasiuk held the position of Secretary General of the Food Affairs of V. Vynnychenko's government. At the time of Hetmanate M. Stasiuk did not participate in the state life of Ukraine, and in the autumn of 1919 in Kamiianka headed the commission for the supply of the UNR Army for about a month. As a sign of disagreement with the signing of the Ukrainian-Polish treaty, he went not to Poland, but to Kyiv controlled by the Denikinets, and for about 2 weeks he was hiding; with the advent of the Bolsheviks, he legalized and worked in the Soviet cooperative (TSASSUPR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 16535, v. 2, pp. 220–230).

On 3 March 1931, a judicial troika at the collegium of the DPU USRR determined the defendant's death sentence, while replacing it with 10 years in a concentration camp. On 10 August 1936, the troika at the NKVD of the USSR decided to release M. Stasiuk from pre-trial detention, but already on 25 October, on the basis of receiving a «compromising materials» prisoner, the previous decision on his early release was canceled and the sentence of 3 March 1931 was remained in force. The last documented reference to M. Stasiuk in the case is the information of the state security authorities of 30 April 1938, with information

about his arrest for involvement in the «Ukrainian national counterrevolution in the White Sea-Baltic camp». There is no information about further fate, but the new arrest suggests that the death sentence may have been improperly imposed on the «counter-revolutionary» (TSASSUPR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 16535, v. 8, pp. 110–119).

However, the published reference states that shortly before the German-Soviet War, M. Stasiuk still served a definite sentence and was released; settled in Mariupol; worked as a guard in the city park, and under the German occupation he worked as an editor of Mariupol Newspaper; he was one of the leaders of the local Enlightenment and the sub-regional leadership of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (hereinafter – OUN); died in the summer of 1943 in the Gestapo torture houses (Chaban, 2002). If this information is true, then one of the first secretaries-general of the UCR was, perhaps, the only Ukrainian official who, having survived the repression, found the strength to return to the struggle for the national revival.

On 14 October 1930, the already mentioned M. Liubynskyi was arrested on charges of being a member of the «counter-revolutionary» organization. Initially, he was under the investigation of Kyiv operational sector of the DPU USRR, and on 26 July 1931 he was transferred to Kharkiv at the disposal of the secret political department of the DPU USRR, where the investigative materials on the case of the «UNC» were concentrated. On 21 March 1932, the judicial troika at the collegium of the DPU USRR decided to imprison M. Liubynskyi in a concentration camp for 3 years. On 29 March, he was sent with a special convoy to the White Sea-Baltic labor camps to execute this decision. On 10 February 1933, a special meeting at the collegium of the DPU USRR reviewed the case of the repressed and decided to send him to the Northern Territory after serving his previous sentence. On 31 January 1936, the case of the prisoner M. Liubynskyi was revised by a special meeting of the NKVD of the USSR and it was decided to allow him to reside in Uralsk (Russia) for 3 years. But already on 27 October, the same punitive body, following the result of another review of the case, made its own preliminary decision to cancel and send M. Liubynskyi for the same 3 years for the construction of the long-known White Sea-Baltic Canal. There is no information on the further fate of the repressed in his ACC materials (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 64675; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 64675). According to information from other sources, M. Liubynskyi was shot dead on 8 January 1938 in the Sandarmokh tract of the Karelian ASSR (now the Republic of Karelia, Russia) (Ostashko & Shevchenko, 2009).

In May 1934, the infernal Soviet passport was received provocatively by Krushelnytskyi Antin Volodyslavovych, former Minister for Education in B. Martos's cabinet. The political views of the journalist and writer A. Krushelnytsky at the time were so left radical that he seemed unreliable in the legislative field of liberal Poland, and even remained in prison for 3 months in 1932. While preparing documents for his departure to the USSR, the left-wing radical was not concerned that almost all of his fellow UNR ministers (citizens of this country) had been serving sentences for several years on remanded charges of a counter-revolutionary, nationalist or harmful activity. It was not difficult to come up with a «decent» accusation for a newcomer. On 6 November of that year, A. Krushelnytskyi was arrested by the NKVD bodies of the USSR in Kharkiv as an «emissary of the OUN foreign center» and «one of the leaders of the newly established OUN center in Ukraine, which aimed at overthrowing the Soviet power in the Ukrainian SSR and preparing terrorist acts against the representatives of the Ukrainian SSR government». On 28 March 1935, a visiting session of the military collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced A. Krushelnytskyi to 10 years' imprisonment

with confiscation of property. He served his sentence in Solovetsky prison. On 9 October 1937, the troika at the UNKVD in Leningrad region ordered A. Krushelnytskyi to be shot. The death sentence was executed on 3 November (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 44987; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 75160, v. 1, pp. 312–324).

Still free S. Ostapenko and P. Krasnyi were remembered in the years of the Great Terror. However, the first of them managed to spend about 5 months under investigation in 1930 on the case of «UNC», but then he was released. He was arrested for the third time on 16 December 1937 on charges of belonging to the «counter-revolutionary nationalist fascist and espionage the Ukrainian Military Organization». S. Ostapenko did not admit to the criminal offense. However, on 30 December a special troika at the UNKVD in Kharkiv region «sentenced» him to death. The death sentence was executed on 21 January 1938 (SAKhR, f. 6452, d. 3, c. 650).

P. Krasnyi, on his own testimony, continued to reside in Kharkiv and remained engaged in literary activity after his return to his homeland until the day of his arrest (TSASSUKhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 036019, v. 1, p. 112). In particular, in 1928 the book called *The tragedy of Ukrainian Jewry (to the Schwartzbard process)* was published, in which P. Krasnyi accused the UNR Directory and personally S. Petliura of organizing the Jewish pogroms (Matsko, 2018). Former Petliura's Minister underscored loyalty to the Soviet regime probably delayed his arrest but did not keep him away. P. Krasnyi was arrested on 28 February 1938 by Kharkiv Regional Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR as a «member of the underground anti-Soviet Zionist terrorist organization». As a result of a lengthy investigation, on 11 May 1939, the military tribunal of Kyiv Special Military District sentenced the defendant to 10 years' imprisonment with confiscation of property and subsequent defeat of rights for 5 years. At the recession of the Great Terror, on 29 May, a military collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR issued to cancel a preliminary sentence against P.A. Krasnyi, and to re-examine the case. However, the case was not re-examined due to the fact that its respondent had been undergoing treatment at Kyiv Psychiatric Hospital named after Academician Pavlov since 8 October of the same year and on 6 March 1941 (TSASSUKhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 036019, vv. 1–2). There is no information about P. Krasnyi's further fate, but he was probably executed by the Nazis in September 1941 in the Babyn Yar tract along with other patients of the hospital, about eight hundred of them.

The victorious offensive of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army on the fronts of World War II significantly broadened the horizons and spheres of activity of the Soviet punitive bodies. Along with traitors, collaborators, and the Nazi criminals, they actively searched in the controlled territory of Eastern Europe for long-standing unreachable enemies: «the White Russian emigres» and the Ukrainian «bourgeois nationalists». Thus, on 14 March 1945, in the town of Katowice (Poland) military counterintelligence SMERSH arrested Feshchenko-Chopivskyi Ivan Andrianovych, Minister of Trade and Industry in the cabinet of V. Holubovych and Minister of National Economy in the cabinet of S. Ostapenko (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 70713, p. 2).

Shortly after the surrender of the Nazi Germany, three former Ukrainian officials fell into the hands of Soviet counterintelligence officers in Czechoslovakia. Sadovskyi Valentyn Vasylovych – 1st Secretary General and 1st Minister for Judicial Affairs of the UCR, and Slavynskyi (Slavinskyi) Maksym Antonovych – Minister for Labor of the Government of the Ukrainian State and long-time head of the UNR diplomatic mission in Czechoslovakia, detained respectively on 12 May and 27 May 1945 in Prague (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71179,

p. 2; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71178, p. 5). And on 17 June, a professor of the local Ukrainian State Technical Institute (German teacher) Bezpalko Yosyp Ivanovych – former Minister for Labor of the UNR Directory of B. Martos's and I. Mazepa's governments – was arrested in Podebrady (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62447, pp. 2–7).

On 20 September 1948, in Vienna SMERSH officers detained «for the purpose of identifying a person», and in fact kidnapped Hrekov Oleksandr Petrovych – by that time, already an Austrian citizen, and in the past the UNR Minister of Military Affairs in the cabinet of V. Chekhivskyi and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army. Following the registration of the arrest procedure on 28 September 1948, Petliura general and government official was transferred to Kyiv for investigation (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62149, pp. 4–6).

To administer the fate of the majority of those arrested fell to the Military Tribunal of the NKVD Troops of Kyiv region. I. Feshchenko-Chopivskyi was sentenced on 2 October 1945 to 10 years in prison, and on 2 September 1952, he died in prison (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 70713, pp. 127–128, 137–137 v). Later, on 30 March 1946, V. Sadovskyi was also punished. But his life was cut short earlier: on 24 November 1947, he died in the notorious Lukyanivska prison, probably by the hands of criminal offenders (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71179, pp. 120–120 v; 151–151 v; Ostashko, 2012). 77-year-old M. Slavynskyi died earlier: on 23 November 1945 in the same prison, just after the conclusion of the investigation, without waiting, probably, for a similar sentence. The same criminal proceedings against him in connection with his death were discontinued on 4 December of the same year (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71178, pp. 137–140 v, 146–146 v).

Later arrested Y. Bezpalko and O. Hrekov were fortunate enough to survive and be released after their repression. On 2 July 1946, a special meeting with the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs decided to send Y. Bezpalko to Kazakhstan for 5 years «for fighting against the revolutionary movement». According to the UMDB of Jambul region of the Kazakh SSR, the repressed person was released from exile on 17 June 1950 due to the term of punishment. There is no information about his subsequent fate in the case (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62447, pp. 106–106 v; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 62447, CSB, pp. 19, 33–34). But the 25-year sentence in the VTT for «the active anti-Soviet activity», approved by a special meeting at the Ministry of State Security of the USSR on 6 July 1949, to 74-year-old O. Hrekov seemed to be the undoubted death sentence of delayed action (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 62149, CSB, pp. 55–55 v). However, the first died Y. Stalin. On 20 August 1956, in the wake of the mass re-examination of cases against political prisoners, the commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ordered O. Hrekov's «criminal» actions to be re-qualified and released from further punishment (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62149, p. 239). In December of the same year, at the urging of his daughter and the Austrian embassy, O. Hrekov received permission to return to Vienna, where he soon died at the age of 83.

The Conclusions. From the studied historical figures, the fate of the amnesty person involved in the «Cases of the UNR Government» H. Syrotenko remains completely unknown. In one version, he was died in Poltava under unknown circumstances (Vikipediia, 2018a).

Most of the repressed members of the Ukrainian government, in the Soviet terms, can be safely regarded as «counter-revolutionaries-recidivists». During a lifelong persecution (the subject to a final repression in remote places of imprisonment), Y. Bezpalko, D. Koliukh, A. Nikovskyi, M. Stasiuk, P. Khrystiuk, I. Feshchenko-Chopivskyi became the defendants of two ACC. V. Holubovych, P. Krasnyi, A. Krushelnytskyi, I. Lyzaniivskyi, V. Mazurenko, S. Ostapenko and T. Cherkaskyi were charged with three, and V. Chekhivskyi – with four such cases.

The second arrest of V. Chekhivskiy, not yet mentioned, occurred on 18 August 1922 for his active involvement in the construction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. In order to prevent the destructive anti-Soviet activity, Kyiv huberniya department of the DPU USRR decided to send the arrested immediately (by 1 September) «outside the RSFSR». In the future it would save his life. However, V. Chekhivskiy could not leave with his family abroad in due time, in the absence of the necessary documents and means of departure. He repeatedly appealed to the authorities of the DPU to delay his departure until 25 December when he was allowed to remain in his homeland, though under the close Chekist supervision (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 52735).

At different times, several government officials from the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, for whom ACC either do not exist in nature or are currently unavailable, suffered from the Bolshevik persecution and repression. On the evening of 31 July 1918, in native Poltava, Steshenko Ivan Matviiovych, the recent secretary general, and later the UNR education minister, was killed. S. Bilokin reasonably considers his killers to be members of the Bolshevik organization of Zinkivskiy district, referring to the memoirs of the contemporaries of the dead, including S. Yefremov, and other sources (Bilokin, 2017). From published sources, we also learn about the execution of the Bolsheviks without a trial and investigation on 29 June 1919 in Odesa, the Minister for Defense of the Ukrainian State Rohoza Oleksandr Frantsovych (Buravchenkov, 2012).

I. Shtefan was sentenced in 1931 to Art. 58–11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 3 years of imprisonment, and on 19 December 1937 – to be shot by the UNKVD troika in Leningrad region. The death sentence was executed on 8 January 1938 in Sandarmos. At the time of his re-arrest, the repressor was employed in Karelia by the Head of the General Supply Division of the White Sea Canal Department (Shevchenko, 2006). Apparently, at the time of his first arrest, he also resided in Russia, where his ongoing cases should be kept. Shadlun Mykola Yakymovych, Minister of Ways in B. Martos's cabinet and Minister of National Economy in I. Mazepa's cabinet, also settled there. Until 1923 M. Shadlun was in emigration, later worked in the State Plan of the USSR and headed the Department of Geology of the Mining Faculty of the Ural Polytechnic Institute. In 1930, he was arrested but was soon released. He died on 12 August 1932 in Moscow (Vikipediia, 2018b). The persons involved in the «UNC» case repeatedly mention I. Shtefan and M. Shadlun in their testimonies. On 15 April 1938, the troika at the UNKVD in Donetsk region determined the death sentence to Dmytro Symoniv, the State Controller of the UNR in the cabinets of ministers of V. Chekhivskiy and S. Ostapenko (SALR, c. 13443).

The above ACC materials are an indisputable documentary evidence of the criminal repressive policies of the Soviet totalitarian regime against the Ukrainian national elite. Let the bitter fate of the repressed ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 warn against overwork, indifference and betrayal, above all, of the current state high-ranking officials. Let previous defeats in the liberation struggle make our compatriots stronger and learn to value and strongly defend our statehood.

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