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**EVERYDAY LIFE OF INTELLIGENTSIA OF THE WESTERN REGION
OF UKRAINE IN 1944 – 1953**

Abstract. *The aim of the study is to highlight the daily life of the intelligentsia of the western region of Ukraine (material and household aspect) during the first postwar years, to elucidate the socio-political factors that determined it. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods. The scientific novelty is to elucidate on the basis of various source material the daily post-war survival strategies of the intelligentsia, when the Soviet system was restored / established in the region, to find out what material resources were enough for and how social activity and political convictions were reflected in the domestic mode of life. The Conclusions. The post-war life of the intelligentsia was associated with basic survival, the search for opportunities to ensure their existence. Remuneration, income for work in many cases did not meet the responsibilities of the intelligentsia, did not*

provide normal living and working conditions. In the best position were those who with all their activities proved their devotion to the party guidelines, held high positions, received significant fees and awards for “ideologically correct” works and publications. The best part of the nationally conscious intelligentsia, who was considered by the authorities as a potential or obvious enemy, was subjected to repressive measures, deprived of livelihoods, opportunities to realize their abilities and creative potential. But the progressive development of the intelligentsia and its desire to benefit under the difficult and contradictory conditions of their daily lives, the Soviet system could not overcome.

Key words: the Soviet system, intelligentsia, financial situation, wages, everyday life.

ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ ІНТЕЛІГЕНЦІЇ ЗАХІДНОГО РЕГІОНУ УКРАЇНИ У 1944 – 1953 рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – висвітлити повсякдення інтелігенції західного регіону України (матеріально-побутовий аспект) у перші повоєнні роки, розкрити суспільно-політичні чинники, що його визначали. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об’єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, щоб на основі різноманітного джерельного матеріалу розкрити повсякденні повоєнні стратегії виживання інтелігенції, коли у краї відновлювалася / утверджувалася радянська система, з’ясувати на що вистачало її матеріальних коштів і як відображалися на її побутовому становищі суспільна активність та політичні переконання.

Висновки. Повоєнне повсякдення інтелігенції було пов’язане з елементарним виживанням, пошуками можливостей забезпечення існування. Винагорода за роботу в багатьох випадках не відповідала покладеним на інтелігенцію обов’язкам, не забезпечувала нормальних умов життя та праці. У кращому становищі були ті, що своєю діяльністю доводили відданість партійним настановам, обіймали високі посади, отримували значні гонорари та премії за “ідеологічно правильні” твори. Краща частина національно-свідомої інтелігенції, яка розцінювалася владою як потенційний, чи явний ворог, піддавалася репресивним заходам, позбавлялася засобів до існування, можливостей реалізації здібностей та творчого потенціалу. Але поступальний розвиток інтелігенції її бажання приносити користь у складних і суперечливих умовах свого повсякдення, радянська система здолати не змогла.

Ключові слова: радянська система, інтелігенція, матеріальне становище, заробітна плата, повсякдення.

The Problem Statement. Nowadays, the issues are extremely topical, which are related to the everyday life of the population of Ukraine. This problem is studied in sections of different historical periods; there are singled out regional features, social groups. This approach complements, deepens the understanding of historical processes significantly, shows them through the prism of individuals’ lives.

Coverage of the everyday realities of the intelligentsia of Western Ukraine in the context of the social situation in the region during the first postwar years, provides an opportunity to focus on modern living standards and practices of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The conditions of an everyday life of the Ukrainian society after the war are elucidated in the publications of O. Koliastruk (Koliastruk, 2012), O. Isaikina (Isaikina, 2010), O. Yankovska (Yankovska, 2014), N. Yakobchuk (Yakobchuk, 2019). Everyday life of the scientific and educational intelligentsia of Soviet Ukraine during this period is studied by O. Prokhorenko (Prokhorenko, 2010), O. Bulhakova (Bulhakova, 2015).

The influence of the policy of the Soviet system on the position of the intelligentsia of the western lands of Ukraine is analyzed in the publications of O. Rublov and Yu. Cherchenko (Rublov & Cherchenko, 1994), O. Lutskyi (Lutskyi, 2009), T. Marusyk (Marusyk, 2002). Some

aspects of the life of the Western Ukrainian intelligentsia in the socio-political realities of the postwar years are highlighted by R. Shliakhtych (Shliakhtych, 2011), R. Popp (Popp, 2012).

Among the studies concerning certain professional groups of the intelligentsia of the region during the Stalinist totalitarian regime, we would like to single out the publications by M. Ilnytskyi (Ilnytskyi, 1999), V. Svorak (Svorak, 1998), V. Badiak (Badiak, 2003).

The purpose of the article is to highlight an everyday life of the intelligentsia of the western region of Ukraine (a material and household aspect) during the first postwar years, to elucidate the socio-political factors that determined it.

The Main Material Statement. After the expulsion of the German troops from the western region of Ukraine, life began to recover under the conditions of “the new Soviet reality”. The intellectual environment of the region during the first postwar years was extremely heterogeneous, but in general it is possible to single out the local intelligentsia (natives of the western regions of Ukraine) and those intellectuals, who were sent here to work after the war. For its assertion, the implementation of the Sovietization of the western regions of Ukraine, the Soviet system needed a significant number of dedicated personnel. After the war, the majority of the intelligentsia lived in cities. The rural intelligentsia was dominated by educators and medical workers.

The war and post-war devastation affected the situation of the entire population of Ukraine. It was possible to buy the most necessary food and industrial goods on the cards, but even in the minimum consumption norms, there was difference between manual and mental workers. The ration of bread on the cards of the second category and special cards for employees, children and dependents, which were usually provided by the intelligentsia, was 600 g and 300 – 450 g, respectively, and the workers’ norm was 800 g. Flour, bakery products, cereals, noodles, sugar and confectionery, lard, meat and fish products were also included. The list of essential industrial goods included: clothing, footwear, underwear, matches, soap (Koliastruk, 2012, p. 132). According to the food card, a teacher of Drohobych Teachers’ Training Institute could count on 180 grams of meat, 400 grams of lard and sugar, 1 kg. 200 grams of cereals and noodles (State Archives of Lviv Region (SALR), f. P-2018, d. 1. c. 10, p. 26). Members of the Art Unions were given the right to receive dry rations, loans and assistance from the Art Fund of the USSR (Badiak, 2003, p. 65).

There was a catastrophic shortage of bread, not to mention other food items, and little help often reached the recipient. Larysa Krushelnytska, who then worked in the Department of Archeology of the Institute of Social Sciences of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, recalls in her memoirs: “I do not want to complain about the hard times, the years of hunger, when we stood in queues till midnight” (Krushelnytska, 2001, p. 203). Queues took up a lot of time of the intelligentsia and their physical forces, there were often verbal fights, pushing, they were a kind of reflection of the relationship in the society of that period, and became an attribute of the Soviet everyday life.

The local party-Soviet leadership was aware of this situation, and in the official documents of that time there were many reports of problems with providing the intelligentsia with the most necessary items. One of the complaints of Lviv artists in 1946 stated: “There are cases when the cards are not sold at all. Bread is supplied irregularly, and if it is, then for one day. Shortage products – meat, sugar are brought to the store in very small quantities, which provides 10 – 15 people, and the rest must stand in queue until a small amount of products is delivered again. All this is very complicated, and sometimes does not allow artists to work, because instead of creative work, they are forced to stand in queue” (SALR, f. P-1694, d. 1, c. 36, p. 62).

The same analysis of the financial situation of the intelligentsia is given in the OUN reports. The underground studied and collected information about the situation of the population, in particular, the intelligentsia. For the Ukrainian liberation forces, which fought against the totalitarian regime, it was important to support the movement by all segments of the population of the region. The difficult conditions under which the intelligentsia lived and worked were clear arguments against the Soviet system, proving the falsity of its slogans of a happy and prosperous life. In the reports it was written that teachers, who were usually newcomers, survived with the help of the local population, “lived by the promises of the Soviet government” (Popp, 2020, p. 181).

The majority of the Soviet intelligentsia sent to the western region: scientists and technicians, teachers, scholars, doctors, artists, came to new places with almost nothing, not only because they lost their belongings during the war or during the relocation, but also because they had nothing actually. According to O. Koliastruk, various economic, political and ideological means of influence used by the Bolshevik government against the intelligentsia of Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and the 1930s “led to a decline in its standard of living, deformation of working conditions and social activities” (Koliastruk, 2016, p. 16). Lviv regional committee of the party submitted information to the Central Committee of the CP(b) U that: “The majority of those who came from the eastern regions of Ukraine are very poorly dressed and shod, so they look unattractive” (SALR, f. P-4, d. 1, c. 65, p. 57). Actors sent to Drohobych wore props outfit (Vurlovska, 2017, p. 338).

On the one hand, the Soviet system was unable to solve everyday difficulties, the command-and-control planned economy made every effort to rebuild heavy industry, ruthlessly used the enthusiasm of people, their faith in a better future, positive change. On the other hand, it was possible to solve the most urgent problems directly by seeking the help of the party and state bodies, which made the intelligentsia dependent on the authorities, even in basic everyday problems. In June of 1945, Lviv branch of the Union of Artists appealed to the Executive Committee of the Regional Council for help to its members, artists P. Kurylas, Z. Krzyzanowski, sculptors V. Forostetsky and Z. Kuchynsky, who desperately needed shoes, suits, outerwear, in the regional trade asked for a coupon for the shoes for its head R. Turyn, so that he had the shoes to go to Moscow to the Union of Artists of the USSR (SALR, f. P-1694, d. 1, c. 25, p. 21, 17).

Appeals of the intelligentsia to the authorities with collective and personal complaints, requests became the part of a daily repertoire, were a kind of strategy to get out of a difficult situation. But it was dangerous to express dissatisfaction with living and working conditions openly, especially in the western regions of Ukraine, where the label “the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist” was immediately attached. The statement by Professor I. Svetsitsky at a meeting of artists in Lviv on October 15, 1945, that “museum workers are not dressed well, hungry, they stand in queue and receive gray bread cut into several pieces. Almost nothing can be obtained on food cards. Researchers must have the conditions for their work, not begging”, was immediately interpreted as “politically harmful and provocative, which reflects the mood of the politically backward and reactionary part of the intelligentsia associated with the remnants of the Ukrainian-German nationalists” (Slyvka et al., 1995, pp. 292–293). A similar situation occurred in 1947 in the town of Yavoriv, at a teachers’ meeting of the district before the beginning of the school year, an educator from Dnipropetrovsk region was not afraid to tell the following words to the party leaders of the district: “work is demanded from teachers, but nobody asks how a teacher lives, nobody cares about teachers, they have nothing to live on, teachers are starving”.

The hall supported him with applause, and the party leadership immediately threatened and condemned him (Popp, 2020, p. 182). Even members of the intelligentsia close to the authorities, such as the writer Ya. Halan, fell into disgrace because they pointed out to the authorities their inaction and miscalculations in domestic matters (Lutskyi, 2009, p. 594).

Commercial shops and markets were not always an alternative to guaranteed state support, but few intellectuals could afford to buy goods at higher prices. The ration price of rye bread in 1945 in the UkrSSR was 65–75 kop., wheat bread 1 rb. 10 kop. – 1rb. 50 kop., wheat flour 1 rub. 60 kop. – 2 rub. 20 kop., buckwheat 3 rub. 80 kop. – 4 rub.05 kop. (Yankovska, 2014, pp. 36–37). In August of 1945, at the bazaar in Lviv, they asked for 7 krb. for black bread, 25 krb. for white bread, 40 krb. for wheat flour, 35 krb. for buckwheat, 60 krb. for veal, and 110 krb. for pork, lard – 160 krb., butter – 130 krb., milk (1 liter) – 10 krb., 1 egg – 3 krb., horilka – 150 krb., apples – 115 krb., potatoes – 4 krb.). The intelligentsia was poorly solvent. In 1945 the average salary in cultural institutions of Lviv and research institutions was 581 krb. The monthly salary of engineers and technicians at that time was 770 – 960 rubles (Popp, 2012, p. 387). All levies from employees in the form of loans, donations and taxes were at least 25 – 30%. Radon Stefania recalls that in 1948 her salary as a rural primary school teacher was 520 rubles, and a meter of crepe de chine cost 102 rubles. She remembered that everything was expensive, she could not buy dresses, but was young and did not experience difficulties so acutely (Private archive of Mariia Vurlovska). The OUN reports state that teachers receive about 450 rubles a month, but “after collecting taxes and loans, they will receive 150 rubles” (Popp, 2020, p. 281). The underground emphasizes that the government “does not care that a worker or an intellectual has nothing to buy bread for...”. The enemy imposed huge taxes on the people... , for those 200 or 500 rubles, it is impossible to survive himself and let alone family.... This money is extremely meager in comparison with the prices imposed by the state on consumer goods” (Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), f. 13, c. 37, vol. 78, p. 453).

Remuneration for the work of the average statistical intellectual during the first postwar years depended on the sectoral affiliation of the enterprise, institution and organization, the position he or she held. The salaries of scientists and teachers of higher educational institutions were relatively higher, especially those who had a doctorate and the academic title of professor. In 1948, for example, the salary of a senior researcher at the Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv was 2 500 rubles, and that of a junior researcher was 980 rubles (Halaichak & Lutskyi, 2000, p. 32). According to the underground, higher school principals received higher salaries of 1 000 – 1 300, even 1 800 rubles (Popp, 2020, p. 181). However, as it was noted in the reports of the underground “higher intelligentsia’s salary 700 – 1800 rubles made their living quite poor, because this money is not enough to live on during a month. The higher intelligentsia, the newcomers, also have an unenviable life” (SSA SSU, f. 13, cnp. 37, vol. 78, p. 453).

Due to the fact that the pension legislation in the Soviet Union did not take into account the pre-Soviet experience of scientific and pedagogical work of the intelligentsia, a significant part of the intelligentsia of respectable age was doomed to real survival. Professor O. Terletsky’s pension was 150 rubles, while a woman-cleaner received 220 rubles (Halaichak & Lutskyi, 2000, p. 32). Some local elderly artists did not receive any pensions at all, due to the fact that the Ministry of Finance classified them as freelancers. This list included the surnames of well-known artists in the region: O. Krotokhvylya-Vidymyska, A. Manastyrsky, L. Trush, M. Vozditska, S. Albinovska, O. Kurylas and the others (SALR, f. P-1694, on. 1, cnp. 86, p. 46).

In order to improve the situation of artists who did not receive pension, they were constantly given various monetary subsidies, but this was a small and inconsistent aid. Not indifferent citizens of Lviv wrote to Lviv Regional Department of Culture with a request to help the amateur artist Ivan Kopnin: “Ivan Kopnyn, a 73-year-old Lviv resident, former violinist and artist, lives in Lviv. Pension is not given to him because he does not have and, of course, due to the circumstances cannot have a certificate of social security for 20 years of job experience ... We must not allow the situation to happen when talented people in old age are left without a piece of bread ...” (SALR, f. P-221, d. 2, c. 156, pp. 7–8).

Lack of funds forced the intelligentsia to adapt to problems, to find their own ways out of trouble: they planted gardens, looked for part-time work, as it was possible, worked part-time. A historian Volodymyr Holobutsky, in addition to working at Chernivtsi State University, managed to combine as many as four jobs (Bulhakova, 2015, p. 571). Larysa Krushelnytska recalls that it seems to her that in 1949 she did not sleep at all. At night, she either drew endless tables (three rubles for each) for “the Soviet Archeology”, or sewed things from the grandmother’s old trunk ...” (Krushelnytska, 2001, p. 203). An engineer-teacher of Drohobych Mechanical Technical School Khmelnytsky, due to the fact that he cannot “survive on his salary, takes private work from institutions” (SSA SSU, f. 13, c. 37, vol. 78, p. 453). Teachers, musicians, artists gave private lessons, doctors secretly conducted private practice. Employees of Drohobych Drama Theater found the way out: the theater’s sewing and tailoring workshops accepted orders “from the outside” (Vurlovska, 2017, p. 338). Such activities of the intelligentsia were condemned by the authorities, considered “one of the greatest remnants of capitalism” (SALR, f. P-402, d. 3, c. 79, p. 178).

All state measures that affected the daily life of the population, such as the abolition of the card system, raising or lowering prices, wages, systematic loans, in the Soviet reality immediately acquired a clear political connotation. The whole system of propaganda and ideological influence on the intelligentsia was aimed at their unequivocally positive reception, the belief that “the state interests should be paramount, even if personal interests are infringed upon” (SALR, f. P-4, d. 1, c. 60, pp. 42–43). The abolition of the card system in the absence of adequate inventories was ill-considered, and the monetary reform, which was carried out with the usual neglect of the interests of the majority of the population, dealt a severe blow. Even several price reductions did not improve the situation, as basic products were in short supply and speculative trade flourished. In 1951, the inspector-methodologist of the Ministry for Education of the UkrSSR Starobina after an inspection in Volyn region reported on the catastrophic situation with the provision of food to teachers, asked the Minister to allocate additional funds for teachers (Starzhets, 2019, pp. 59–60). In a letter addressed to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus L. Melnykov in the winter of 1952, it was reported that in Lviv shops “there are no eggs, sausages at an affordable price, meat, white bread, and black bread, they sell sugar intermittently, only horilka, cookies, cakes are available, and at the markets people have to stand in a queue for 2 – 3 hours in the cold and, sometimes, go with nothing bought” (Yankovska, 2014, p. 57).

Sample surveys of households of certain categories of intellectuals in the western regions of Ukraine in 1952 show that the main expenditures were on food. At that time the income of the medical family was 5 862 rubles, of which 1 711 rubles spent on food, clothing, linen, fabrics, shoes, haberdashery only – 425 rubles, payment for housing and utilities comprised 214 rubles. A similar situation is observed in teachers’ families. A total income id 2 989 rubles, of which 1061 rubles were spent on products, and 345 rubles were spent on industrial goods (SALR, f. P-283, d. 4, c. 2, pp. 24, 2–29).

At regular meetings, rallies, meetings, conferences, and queues, information was gathered about the reaction of the intelligentsia “to the wise and caring policies of the Soviet government”. Numerous party reports and information from the Soviet secret services first praised the working intelligentsia and then criticized it. One such report states that “after another rally in support of the loan, Lviv scholars and teachers criticized the outright brutality of subscription methods, complained about the stupidity of stereotypical agitation, expressed among themselves whether this loan would be the last, some were outraged and refused it” (Yankovska, 2014, p. 28). In another report, it is noted that the doctor of the clinic of the Medical Institute F. Poltz remarked: “We will never be allowed to breathe freely, we expect the best, and things get worse, they do not know what to take away from us” (SALR, f. P-3, d. 2, c. 458, p. 124).

Due to ideological factors, a large part of the intelligentsia, especially the local one, simply lost their livelihood. It was the intelligentsia that was often blamed for the failures of the Soviet government in the struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement. The rector of the University Biliakevych addressed the local history teachers during the ideological campaign against the historical school of M. Hrushevsky and his students: “either ideological rearmament or deprivation of work at the University” (Rublov & Cherchenko, 1994, p. 218). Intimidation and dismissal, expulsion from the Soviet Art Unions was a common repressive means of influencing the intelligentsia, because deprivation of the opportunity to work, publish their works, automatically doomed the intelligentsia and their family to gradual impoverishment. Finding a new job, not even in the specialty, was problematic, because the main reasons for dismissal were not so much the professional incompatibility of the intelligentsia, but mainly their political unreliability. In addition to education, the personal data of working intellectuals indicated: origin, family ties, location during the occupation, the pre-Soviet activities. In the description of the director of the Lysenko Lviv Conservatory and the secretary of the party organization on S. Krushelnytska, regarding her dismissal in April of 1948, it was stated that she had real estate in Italy, a former opera singer who toured in many countries, “during the war she stayed in Lviv and did not work anywhere, due to illness..., political views are not clear, she does not take any part in public life at the conservatory” (Slyvka et al., 1995, p. 553). L. Krushelnytska recalls that “many sorrows befell her husband. “There were special claims against him as a man from eastern regions, married a local woman, who was wandering around Europe... Continuous inspections of the NKGB, the KGB and obstacles to him. As for getting a good job, we had to dispel finally the romance of our relationship” (Krushelnytska, 2001, p. 202).

Arrests and deportations usually followed public harassment and dismissals. Repressions replaced intellectuals and members of their families from their usual environment for many years, doomed them to hard work and intolerable living conditions, and deprived them of their civil rights and all their possessions. Thus, the writer O. Duchymynska was sentenced to 25 years in prison camps with confiscation of property and deprivation of rights for 5 years (Archive of Department of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv region (ADSSU LR), c. P-26776, pp. 239–240).

The stigma of the repressed closed many doors and deprived them of opportunities for professional realization in the future. In his memoirs, Mykola Kravets recalls how Ivan Petrovych Krypiakevych, already being the director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, hired H. Nudha, a junior researcher at the Department of Ukrainian Literature, who had been repressed in the past. This fact was not neglected by the regional party committee. The head of the department of science and universities O. K. Savchuk came to check the personal files of the employees of the institute. When he read the surname of H. Nudha, he exclaimed: “A pig, how has he crawled here” (Isaievych

& Steblii, pp. 584–585). He was not allowed to rise above rank of a junior researcher, despite the rehabilitation in 1967. R. Bratun, said of the scientist: “He worked for the whole institute, and received less than a janitor” (Stekh, 2012).

Material dependence on the state put the intelligentsia in a hopeless situation, forcing them to accept the rules of the game imposed by the system. At the beginning of the 50s of the XXth century M. Rudnytsky and P. Karmansky after a loud expulsion, were renewed in the members of the Union of Soviet Writers, when they, according to party functionaries, began to “rebuild”, joined the commissioned works on the Soviet themes (Rublov & Cherchenko, 1994, p. 330). Those who began to carry out the party’s decisions, unconditionally acknowledged the advantages of the method of socialist realism in literature and art, felt quite good in the realities of the time, achieved a financial position that stood out against the general mediocre background. Fees for artists for thematic works on creative contracts at the end of the 40s of the XXth century reached even eighteen thousand rubles (SALR, f. P-1694, d. 1, c. 90, pp. 8–9). A special recognition of devotion to the Soviet ideals of the intelligentsia was the annual award of the Stalin Prize, even posthumously, which replenished family budgets significantly.

The post-war epoch of ideological pressure, persecution, and gossip gave birth to careerists, adapters, and intruders, but it cannot be crossed out that in spite of all the troubles, a large part of the intelligentsia faithfully performed the work assigned to them, did not lose their professional level. Even repressive measures failed at destroying the intelligentsia radically, i. e., the moral and psychological qualities of the intelligentsia. The words of L. Krushelnytska are vital: “I do not want to complain about. I was saved by interesting work, colleagues, not devoid of humor, our “internal emigration” and the ability to laugh, even in the most critical situations. And most important mine – Daughter ...” (Krushelnytska, 2001, p. 204).

The Conclusions. The post-war daily life of the intelligentsia of the western region of Ukraine was determined not only by the difficulties caused by the war and post-war troubles, the ability to live, work, basic well-being, depended on the proximity and attitude of the authorities, politically “correct position”. The political and ideological factor was dominant in the reception of the Soviet system of the intelligentsia as a social group (according to the class structure of the “stratum”) and their individual representatives. The strategies of the post-war everyday life of the intelligentsia were connected with elementary survival, the search for opportunities to ensure their existence. Remuneration for work in many cases did not meet the responsibilities of the intelligentsia, did not provide normal living and working conditions. Technical specialists, ordinary employees of research institutes, pedagogical and medical institutions were the lowest paid and socially vulnerable. In the best position were those who with all their activities proved their devotion to party guidelines, held high positions, received significant fees and bonuses for commissioned works. The part of the nationally conscious intelligentsia, who was seen by the authorities as a potential or obvious enemy, was subjected to repressive measures, deprived of livelihoods, opportunities to realize their abilities and creative potential. But the progressive development of the intelligentsia and their desire to benefit under the extremely difficult and contradictory conditions of their daily lives, the Soviet system could not overcome.

The problem of the daily life of the intelligentsia has many aspects. Promising is the study of housing, leisure, family relations of the intelligentsia.

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