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**SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF THE PARTY-SOVIET NOMENCLATURE
REPRESENTATIVES IN THE WESTERN REGIONS OF UKRAINE
AT THE END OF THE 40s OF THE XXth CENTURY
(BASED ON ARCHIVE CRIMINAL CASE MATERIALS)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to reconstruct the social portrait of the party-Soviet nomenclature representatives of the western regions of Ukraine at the end of the 40s of the 20th century according to the materials of the archival criminal case. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, authorial objectivity, the use of source studies methods, in particular, the method of internal criticism of sources. The Scientific Novelty.* In the article there have been elucidated the social markers of the party-soviet nomenclature representatives in the western regions of Ukraine, based on the materials of the archival and criminal case, and there has been proven

the need to involve a diverse source base to highlight the issue. **The Conclusions.** The socium of the western regions of Ukraine during the first post-war years, when the Stalinist totalitarian regime was restored/established in the region, was much more colorful and diverse than the Soviet class structure, to which they tried to reduce it. An important social group, which was recorded under this name in official documents, was the party-Soviet nomenclature. A diverse historical toolkit, in particular, documents of the Soviet repressive and punitive bodies, help to recreate its complete portrait. The materials of archival and criminal cases, despite their specificity, contain factual data that make it possible to show what social attributes the representatives of the party-Soviet nomenclature were supposed to possess, to find out the specifics of its formation and activity. In addition, they shed light on the ideological beliefs, communication environment, survival strategies and other factors that determined the social status of this stratum of party functionaries. The criminal case illustrates the methods used by the Soviet special services, makes it clear how arrests and punishments quickly changed the status of the nomenclature – from “missionaries of the Red Power” to “enemies of the people”.

Key words: Western Ukrainian lands, criminal case, party-soviet nomenclature, soviet system, social groups, repressive and punitive apparatus.

СОЦІАЛЬНИЙ ПОРТРЕТ ПРЕДСТАВНИКІВ ПАРТІЙНО-РАДЯНСЬКОЇ НОМЕНКЛАТУРИ ЗАХІДНИХ ОБЛАСТЕЙ УКРАЇНИ У КІНЦІ 40-х рр. ХХ ст. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ АРХІВНО-КРИМІНАЛЬНОЇ СПРАВИ)

Анотація: *Мета статті* – реконструювати соціальний портрет представників партійно-радянської номенклатури західних областей України наприкінці 40-х рр. ХХ ст. за матеріалами архівно-кримінальної справи. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, науковості, авторської об’єктивності, застосування джерелознавчих методів, зокрема, методу внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна.** У статті на основі матеріалів архівно-кримінальної справи показано соціальні маркери представників партійно-радянської номенклатури західних областей України, доведено необхідність залучення різноманітної джерельної бази для висвітлення проблеми. **Висновки.** Соціум західних областей України у перші повоєнні роки, коли у краї відновлювався / утверджувався сталінський тоталітарний режим, був набагато строкатішим, ніж радянська класова структура, до якої його намагалися звести. Важливою соціальною групою, яка фіксувалася під такою назвою в офіційних документах, була партійно-радянська номенклатура. Відтворити її цілісний портрет допомагає різноплановий історичний інструментарій, зокрема, і документи радянських репресивно-каральних органів. Матеріали архівно-кримінальних справ, попри їхню специфіку, містять фактологічні дані, які дають можливість показати, якими соціальними атрибутами мали володіти представники партійно-радянської номенклатури, з’ясувати специфіку її формування та діяльності. Крім того, вони проливають світло на ідеологічні переконання, комунікативне середовище, стратегії виживання та інші чинники, які визначали соціальний статус цієї частки партійних функціонерів. Кримінальна справа ілюструє, якими методами діяли радянські спецслужби, дає зрозуміти, як арешти та покарання швидко змінювали статус номенклатури – з “місіонерів червоної влади” на “ворогів народу”.

Ключові слова: західноукраїнські землі, кримінальна справа, партійно-радянська номенклатура, радянська система, соціальні групи, репресивно-каральний апарат.

The Problem Statement. To justify the large-scale aggression against Ukraine, modern Russia uses the same narratives that were used by the Stalinist regime, establishing itself in the western regions of Ukraine during the first years after World War II. Under the slogans of “liberation” and the fight against “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”, all nationally conscious Ukrainians were exterminated, the Ukrainian liberation forces of the OUN and the UPA, which desperately resisted the Stalinist totalitarian system, were killed.

The party-Soviet nomenclature was the leader and embodiment of all the instructions of the union and republican Bolshevik authorities, their support in the region “infected by the

Ukrainian nationalism”. In order to oppose modern enemies of Ukraine, to have a national patriotic state elite, we need to study the historical realities of the past years thoroughly, based on source materials that are diverse in origin and content, to do the research on the factors that contributed to the repressive transformation of all spheres of life of the population in the western regions of Ukraine during the first post-war years. This will make it possible to finally and forever eradicate the signs of the Soviet nomenclature rule in our country, to complete decommunization.

The Review of Recent Researches. Many domestic scholars focused on the issues related to the formation and clarification specifics of the party-Soviet nomenclature essential characteristics in the Ukrainian SSR during the first post-war years: Oleksiy Shteinle (Shteinle, 2009, 2010), Petro Kyrydon (Kyrydon, 2012), Victor Krupyna (Krupyna, 2009; Krupyna, 2010). They analysed the nomenclature place in the system of Bolshevik power, an educational and cultural level, a professional competence, everyday practices.

The Party-Soviet nomenclature as a component of the personnel policy of the Soviet system in the western regions of Ukraine during the first post-war years is elucidated by Oleksandr Rublov, Yuriy Cherchenko (Rublov & Cherchenko, 1994), T. Pershyna (Pershyna, 2009), Vasyl Hulai (Hulai, 2002), Andriy Zhyviuk (Zhyviuk, 2009), Vasyl Ilnytskyi (Ilnytskyi, 2015; Ilnytskyi, 2016), Ruslana Popp (Popp, 2014). The scholars elucidate the activities of nomenclature employees in a regional section during this period. A detailed analysis of power representatives in the western regions of Ukraine in 1944 – at the beginning of 1946 was carried out by Halyna Starodubets in her articles and monographs (Starodubets, 2016). The scholar elucidated not only socio-professional characteristics, but also the features of a general style of behaviour of the party leaders, calling them “missionaries of the red government”. The everyday life and survival practices of this professional group in the western region in the mid-1940s and at the beginning of the 1950s are highlighted by H. Starodubets in a separate section of the collective monograph (Starodubets, 2021).

The publications of Vasyl Ilnytskyi and Mykola Haliv are of a methodological significance to our research (Haliv & Ilnytskyi, 2021, Ilnytskyi & Haliv, 2022).

The social history issues of the postwar era in the USSR under totalitarianism became the subject of research by foreign scholars. Discussions in American historiography of the 1980s – 2000s regarding the peculiarities of the Soviet society development were analysed by Natalia Laas (Laas, 2010). They revolve around the problems of a social structure and stratification, a social mobility, the impact of ideological pressure, terror and repression on the Soviet society in general, as well as on its separate social groups and the private sphere of relations between the authorities and Soviet citizens.

However, the source science aspect of the issue has not yet been sufficiently covered.

The purpose of the research is to reconstruct the social portrait of the party-Soviet nomenclature representatives of the western regions of Ukraine at the end of the 40s of the 20th century according to the materials of the archival criminal case.

The Research Results. The post-war society of the Western Ukrainian region, when the Soviet system was being restored/established in the region, was characterized by a sufficiently large diversity in terms of ethnic, religious, social and territorial origin, education, property status, attitude to the Bolshevik government and other criteria. Its new group became the party-Soviet cadres – “nomenclature”. An important source, although rather rare (the majority of those repressed during the first post-war years were representatives of the local population), which allows to reproduce its social features, are the documents of the Soviet punitive and

repressive bodies. Information from this type of sources, despite their specificity, allows to supplement the information of official documents, to compare them to reports from other sources, to reproduce the repressive activity of the Stalinist penal system, in particular, in terms of different social groups and an individual.

The archive-criminal case P-1794 (D) analysed by us consists of three volumes and is kept in the archives of the Office of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv region (AOSSULR). Three people were accused in it. At the time of his arrest (December 30, 1948), Baza Mykola Mykytovych worked as the head of the agitation and propaganda department of Drohobych district committee of the CP(b)U, Fedir Andriyovych Fursa (arrested on January 19, 1949) was the head of the party cabinet of Drohobych district committee of the CP(b)U, Yusukhno Mykola Dmytrovych (arrested on January 19, 1949) – the head of the agitation and propaganda department of Drohobych city party committee (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 1, 285, 297; vol. 2, p. 7). The personal composition of the nomenclature was approved by party committees of various levels – from the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) to city and district party committees. It had a branched and clearly hierarchical structure, was differentiated by spheres of activity, level of power and functional responsibilities (Shteinle, 2010, p. 267). All the above mentioned people were representatives of the party-Soviet nomenclature, which was responsible for a very important part of the work – ideological and propaganda. The ideological influence of Stalin's totalitarian regime had to change the social consciousness of the population of the western regions of Ukraine completely. A widespread promotion of communist postulates, advantages of the Soviet power and the Soviet way of life, and discrediting of the Ukrainian liberation movement gave the regime the opportunity, along with coercion and repression, to enslave and dominate the region. That is why, the relayers of Bolshevik propaganda had to be politically reliable and unquestionably loyal to the Soviet government, to believe in all the preached narratives firmly, to convince others persistently. And in fact, it was distorting reality successfully. And it was from this angle that the party-Soviet apparatus formation in the region took place during the first post-war years.

The case materials make it possible to reproduce in a sufficient detail a set of mandatory markers (social, political, moral) necessary for appointment to these positions. First of all, it is a social origin. At the time of their arrest, all the three accused were “correct” according to the class structure of the Soviet society – from “peasants-collective farmers” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 4). Subsequently, during the investigation, it was found out that the questionnaire data of M. Baza were not true. In 1933, his father was sentenced to 10 years in prison for “sabotaging the spring sowing company, and his farm was sold off”, therefore, later in the investigative documents, his social position is noted as one of the “kurkuls”, and the degree of mistrust also increased (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 332).

The territorial origin of party functionaries was also important. Due to political mistrust of the local population, even under the conditions of understaffing of the party-Soviet apparatus in the region during the first post-war years, important party positions, as well as the majority positions in general, were occupied by “sent” personnel. This tendency established a new social differentiation in the region, which became established during the post-war years: between “own” and “foreign”, the latter automatically falling, as a rule, from the western regions of Ukraine (Стародубець, 2021, с. 53). All the three people involved in the criminal case were from the eastern regions of Ukraine (local residents called them among themselves “easterners”) from Chernihiv region, i.e. in the informal sense of the system, “our people”. Mykola Baza was born in the urban-type village of Ponomysia in 1914, Fedir Fursa – in 1919,

in the village of Velyka Doroha, Mykola Yusukhno – in 1915, in the village of Horodyshche (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 4, 276, 278). They were Ukrainians by nationality, but it is difficult to determine to what extent nationality corresponded to the national identity based on the source materials. Testimony protocols are in Russian, appeals to the country's top party officials, letters to the press are also in Russian (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 4, 278, 281).

Other parameters were also necessary for appointment and approval for a party position in the western regions of Ukraine during the first post-war years, which would distinguish their representatives, especially among the local population. The accused corresponded to the parameters, namely: they served in the Red Army, fought as part of it against the German troops and their allies, participated in the partisan movement, for which they were awarded orders and medals, i.e. they proved their loyalty to the motherland (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 8, 47–48, vol. 2, p. 18). None of them “was” in captivity and encirclement, which was also an important proof of a political trust in them (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 49, 138v.). M. Baza's conviction for a non-political offense in January of 1941 (Article 161 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR) did not become an obstacle to his appointment to a party position (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 332).

The accused belonged to a small percentage of the nomenclature workers of Drohobych region who obtained a higher and incomplete higher education diploma (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 6; vol. 2, p. 183; vol. 3, pp. 135, 196). As of January 1, 1948, in Drohobych region 20.3% of people worked with a higher education diploma, and 8.5% – with incomplete higher education, with a special secondary education – 5.5%, with a completed general education – 22.5%, with a primary education – 12.5% of nomenclature employees (Popp, 2014, p. 353).

A mandatory condition for holding a leadership position was party affiliation. All three nomenclature representatives were communists who had joined the ranks of the CP(b)U relatively recently, namely during the German-Soviet war. F. Fursa became a member of the CP(b)U in 1942, M. Baza – in 1943, and M. Yusukhno – in 1944 (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 332–333). In addition, everyone made previous career steps. After demobilization from the ranks of the Red Army, M. Baza was directed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to Drohobych Region, where he initially worked as the Deputy Chairman of Drohobych District Executive Committee (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, p. 183). M. Yusukhno was also assigned to party work in the region after demobilization in 1946 (he completed his service as the commander of the headquarters of the aviation squadron). At first, he worked as the head of the party cabinet in one of the districts of Drohobych region, later as an instructor of Drohobych regional committee of the party, then he was appointed the head of the propaganda and agitation department of Drohobych district committee of the CP(b)U. From July of 1948, he occupied the post of the head of the propaganda and agitation department of Drohobych city party committee (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, p. 196). The majority of the representatives of the party-Soviet nomenclature took this path “to the top”. Under conditions where the selection of personnel was not carried out taking into account business qualities, knowledge, education, and cultural level, it was important at the distance of career growth to have, first of all, the skills to prove one's political reliability, devotion to the Communist Party in various ways at work and everyday practices order, readiness to obey without appeal and not to doubt the orders of authority.

A clear system of party-political education functioned in the post-war years to raise the political level of party-soviet cadres of the republic at various levels. V. Krupyna notes that “it

was at party schools that preventive ideological reloading of the nomenclature consciousness took place” (Крупина, 2009, с. 272). The availability of party and political education was an important achievement in a career growth. In 1946 – 1947 M. Baza studied at the Republican party school under the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and had prospects after returning to work in Drohobych to be recommended for the post of the first secretary of one of the district committees of the party, and according to him, there had already been discussions with him in Drohobych regional committee of the party (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, p. 182).

Investigative materials make it possible to determine the range of duties of party functionaries at that time. Employees of the propaganda and agitation departments at the district and city levels conducted lectures and made reports on political topics to various professional groups, led groups on “studying the works of Lenin and Stalin”, organized and were responsible for all ideological and propaganda companies and measures of the Soviet system in the region, which were primarily directed against the activities of the OUN and the UPA, organization of grain procurement, collection of contingents and loan funds, establishment of collective farms (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 23, 27, 412). It was dangerous for them to go to the villages of the region, where the Ukrainian insurgents resisted Sovietization fiercely, and to fulfill the tasks set before the party-Soviet nomenclature, so the party members were given weapons. F. Fursa was given a 1944 PPSH submachine gun by the Drohobych RV MVS, and M. Baza was given a “TT” pistol (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 13; vol. 2, p. 15). As evidenced by the archival and criminal case materials, M. Baza received the party reprimand by the Drohobych Regional Committee of the CP(b) for “voluntarily leaving the village”, where he was assigned by Drohobych Regional Committee of the CP(b). He was not allowed to explain the situation, and it was an ordinary matter in the then directive style of management (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 297). Taking a party post, nomenclature representatives sincerely believed that they would be able to correct certain deficiencies in the system’s operation. However, in practice, all these intentions turned out to be illusory and dangerous for the one who manifested them. M. Baza was convinced that the reason for his persecution and arrest was that what he had reported to the party authorities “about improper actions during the collectivization of the secretary of the party committee of UMVS of Drohobych region and other employees of his department” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, p. 2). It is about the organization of a collective farm in the village of Bronytsia. Violent methods of collectivization in the western regions of Ukraine during the post-war years are confirmed by the reporting documentation of the Ukrainian nationalist underground. In the OUN reports it was stated that peasants who did not want to go to the collective farm were beaten, mutilated, blackmailed, and staged various provocations. Methods of physical influence on Western Ukrainian peasants became permanent “arguments” for demonstrating the advantages of collective farming (Попп, 2023, с. 188–189, Медвідь, 2023, с. 584). M. Yusukhno also linked the suspicions about him with a critical article in the republican newspaper “Soviet Ukraine” about the activities of Zhydachiv district committee of the party, in which he noted that its leadership had turned into “dealers and thieves” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 401–402, 410).

Having the social role of ensuring the existence of the Soviet system, the nomenclature was not only constructed, but also a controlled stratum, which was under a close observation of the Soviet special services. During the first post-war years, there were constant checks of the party and Soviet authorities personnel in the western regions of Ukraine. Loyalty and devotion to the regime of its “missionaries” was confirmed not only by their official

position and specific cases, but also by intelligence data collected about them. The whistleblower became a fairly effective tool that helped the Soviet system determine and navigate the moods of not only ordinary citizens, but also representatives of the authorities, who could express their true thoughts and feelings in an informal situation. And not whistle-blowing “against the enemies of the people” was equated to a crime in the realities of a totalitarian society (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 72). Double standards and adaptation were certain survival strategies in the soviet society. The arrest of M. Baza took place precisely on the denunciations of several agents (excerpts from them are cited in the case), who testified about his alleged “anti-soviet sentiments” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, pp. 311–312). The materials of the archival and criminal case also show that under conditions where there was no honest competition for positions and cronyism flourished, denunciations could be used as a tool to eliminate rivals or ill-wishers (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, p. 105). In addition, cooperation with the “organs” was also a source of income. Agents received a monetary reward (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, p. 45). It also contributed to their career promotion. In the analysed source, it is noted that the exclusion of one of the informers from the agent network of the MDB of Drohobych region is connected with the fact that he began to occupy a “responsible party position” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, p. 45).

It is difficult to recognize how truthful and objective the testimony is recorded in the investigation protocols during interrogations of the accused, witnesses, and eyewitnesses. We can question their authenticity, given the fear experienced by the interrogators, the desire to protect themselves and save themselves at any cost. The methods of activity of the soviet special services were intimidation, psychological and physical pressure. After Stalin’s death, in his letters to the top leadership of the USSR and law enforcement agencies, the convicted M. Baza claimed that he and the witnesses were subjected to physical influence, that his persecution was due to his conflict with the secretary of the party bureau of the UMDB in Drohobych region and the envy of his colleagues due to his prospect of assuming a higher position (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, pp. 109, 177). F. Fursa and M. Yusukhno also noted in their appeals that there were and are loyal to the party, and the investigation was “fabricated”, it was conducted incorrectly, “the investigation materials are false from the beginning to end, due to force”, “blackmail” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 336; vol. 3, pp. 195–197). M. Yusukhno claimed that “he did not sleep, did not eat or drink for seven days, endured tragic torment, as a result of which he signed any protocols” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 454).

Despite the subjectivity and possible unreliability of such source materials, we can still single out the issues that were then discussed in the circle of the local party-soviet leadership. They expressed their attitude towards the ideologists and leaders of the communist party and the country, personnel reshuffles in the republic, evaluated individual events in the history of Ukraine and russia, asserted the low effectiveness of Bolshevik agitation and propaganda among the local population, mentioned the attributions and submission of false information in numerous party reports, analysed the economic profit and the repressive policy of the authorities towards the Ukrainian peasantry, doubted the correctness of collectivization methods in the region, determined the reasons for the population’s dissatisfaction with the authorities, condemned the moral image and behaviour of some of their colleagues (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 21, 23, 25, 50–51, 159, 160, 164, 165–168, 177, 182–183, 210–219, 232, 235–240). In the conversations it was also compared what was seen abroad during the war to the then soviet reality (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 172).

They even shared the experience of meeting with the OUN and the UPA and exchanged the content of propaganda materials of the Ukrainian underground, banned literature, heard in banned broadcasts of radio stations in Western countries (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 23, 24, 26, 50, 130, 178, 221).

An impoverished life of the Ukrainian population, difficult living conditions of former military personnel, and famine in the eastern regions of Ukraine were mentioned in the conversations many times (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 23, 24, 26, 51, 231, 234). The descriptions of the confiscated items of the detainees testify to the financial situation of the local nomenclature representatives. Concerning F. Fursa, it was a jacket from a woolen suit, breeches, an overcoat, a bed with a mattress and a chest of drawers (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 10). A coat, a suit, an old one, a chest of drawers, a wooden bed, and a sewing machine were also confiscated from M. Yusukhno (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 2, p. 145). After the statements of their wives, the arrest of some property was cancelled (beds, wardrobes, sewing machine were returned). M. Yusukhno also noted that “he, as a party worker, “gave all his energy to work, and he himself went half-naked””. His salary was 1,000 rubles, and he wasted them to buy literature, collected a library that was confiscated (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 405).

The frank conversations of the nomenclature representatives with their colleagues, acquaintances about their attitude to the events in the country, about what they experienced or witnessed, even by virtue of their official duties, became grounds for officially accusing them of “a hostile attitude towards the Central Committee of the CP(b)U”, “the creation of the anti-soviet group”, “arrangement of gatherings where conversations on anti-soviet topics took place from the right-wing Trotsky positions, the measures of the party and the soviet leadership were discussed”, “praising the OUN”, “preserving anti-soviet literature”, “spreading slander and obscenity towards the leaders of the Communist Party of Ukraine(b) and the soviet state”, “in every possible way defamed organization of collective farms in the USSR, at the same time praising peasant farms in capitalist countries” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 69, 284, 296–302, 333; vol. 3, pp. 172). And to condemn M. Baza, F. Yusukhno, and M. Fursa to 10 years of correctional labour camps by the resolution of the Special Meeting of the MDB of the USSR under Articles 54-10 part 2, 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation, counter-revolutionary organizational activity), with property confiscation and restriction of rights for five years (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 2, p. 39; vol. 3, pp. 2, 66, 82). When M. Fursa wanted to deny the accusations against him several times, we learn from his words that the investigator answered him that “they cannot let him go, because if he is not an enemy now, he can become one” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 2, p. 5). Repressions against party cadres were a warning to other functionaries, a constant reminder of what doubts or critical remarks about the actions of the Bolshevik government and its leaders, the activities of power structures, and “higher-ranking” colleagues can lead to.

Falling into disfavour meant the loss of one’s social status, which for the nomenclature entailed a certain set of benefits and preferences, in particular, the priority of obtaining state housing. All those involved in the case lived with their families in Drohobych in separate apartments (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 1; vol. 2, p. 151). The status of each in the then nomenclature hierarchy can be determined by the apartments location. M. Yusukhno, as the head of the agitation and propaganda department of Drohobych city party, lived in the very centre of Drohobych, in Shevska Street (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 2, p. 151). After

the arrests, the situation changed radically, the stigma of “enemies of people” was transferred to the whole family. In his statement in December of 1955, M. Yusukhno complained to the State Security Committee of the Ukrainian SSR that his wife “has been humiliated for seven years, lost her apartment and job, she is treated with contempt everywhere, some call her a “banderivka”, the others – a “fascist”, the others – “the wife of the enemy of people... children are also – “children of the enemy of people” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 40). The wife of M. Baza also speaks about the consequences of repression to her family, “sharply negative” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 339).

Extreme living conditions, arrests, investigations, exile had a negative impact on a moral and physical condition of people. Baza’s wife, in another appeal to the Military Prosecutor of the Armed Forces of the USSR in January of 1956, with a request for her husband’s release, stated that he was wounded twice in the war, the previous detention in custody lasted for 13 months (the accused were first in Drohobych, then in Kyiv), it weakened him a lot, in exile he had a paralyzed part of his body (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 3, pp. 182, 183).

The criminal case contains photographs and verbal portraits of the detainees (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, p. 5; vol. 2, p. 10; vol. 3, p. 139). Such data help find out the presence of physiological, psychological and mental traits of a person, give an idea about his appearance, considering his belonging to a certain social group under certain historical conditions and life circumstances. Among the special signs of M. Bazibula were named: “penetrating bullet wounds of the hand and right forearm” (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 2, p. 10).

After several additional checks, the case of M. Baza, F. Fursa, and Yu. Yusukhno was reviewed, and due to the “unprovenness of the charge brought against them”, “in the absence of a crime” they were released from correctional labour camps on June 5, 1956, and sent to special settlements. They were rehabilitated by the Law of Ukraine “On Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression in Ukraine” of April 14, 1991. (AOSSULR, c. P-1794 (D), vol. 1, pp. 442, 454; Reabilitovani istoriieiu, 2019, pp. 73, 181, 190). That is, everything they thought, saw and uttered on the sidelines was a real Soviet reality. And this gives hope that, despite the bombardment with fictitious propaganda, which is constantly carried out by the Russian Federation, critical thinking and an objective reception of the situation will be awakened among the majority of those to whom it is directed.

The Conclusions. The socium of the western regions of Ukraine during the first post-war years, when the Stalinist totalitarian regime was restored/established in the region, was much more colorful and diverse than the Soviet class structure, to which they tried to reduce it. An important social group, which was recorded under this name in official documents, was the party-Soviet nomenclature. A diverse historical toolkit, in particular, documents of the Soviet repressive and punitive bodies, help to recreate its complete portrait. The materials of archival and criminal cases, despite their specificity, contain factual data that make it possible to show what social attributes the representatives of the party-Soviet nomenclature were supposed to possess, to find out the specifics of its formation and activity. In addition, they shed light on the ideological beliefs, communication environment, survival strategies and other factors that determined the social status of this stratum of party functionaries. The criminal case illustrates the methods used by the Soviet special services, makes it clear how arrests and punishments quickly changed the status of the nomenclature – from “missionaries of the Red Power” to “enemies of the people”.

A promising direction of the research is the characterization of nomenclature based on the materials of the reporting documentation of the Ukrainian nationalist underground (OUN).

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