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**CHURCH JUDICIAL PROCESS IN THE UKRAINIAN HETMAN STATE
(VIISKO ZAPORIZKE): ANALYSIS OF JUDICIARY PRACTICE**

Summary. The aim of the research. The article focuses on the analysis of the judiciary practice against the church and faith during the period of Ukrainian Hetman state (Viisko Zaporizke). The judiciary practice is preserved in the court books, the Lithuanian metrics and the archival materials, in order to find out the features of the time trial, in particular, and the church law in general. **The research methodology.** Having applied the necessary methodological means, namely: dialectical, axiological, historical and philosophical, systemic, functional methods; formal-legal, systemic-structural, genetic, historical functional, comparative legal and historical legal methods, there has been investigated and generalized the experience of reviewing the cases on the crimes against the church and the faith under the conditions of the formation of the Ukrainian national state, founded by Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi. **The scientific novelty** consists in elucidating the peculiarities of considering the cases against the faith and the church in Ukrainian Hetman state, establishing mitigating circumstances that contributed to

the reduction of punishment or the release. **Conclusions.** In the article it has been confirmed that after the end of the National Liberation War of the Ukrainian people in the second half of the XVIIIth century the competence of the church courts was not defined at the legislative level. In fact, the church courts considered only their own internal church affairs, and the crimes against the faith and the church belonged to the general jurisdiction of secular Cossack or magistrate courts. It has been traced the reception of the legal traditions that existed during the Rus era and remained their validity under the conditions of Ukrainian Hetman state existence. Because in the second half of the XVIIIth century in Ukraine there continued to be used water testing as the form of evidence, genetically inherited from the legal system of the Rus state. Consequently, the continuity of Ukrainian law has been proved. It has been confirmed that the legal responsibility that followed the crimes committed against the church and faith had its peculiarity in connection with the need to reconcile the final court sentence with the requirements of the injured party. There have been revealed the cases of mitigation and abolition of the sanctions in case of the absence of the categorical claims and demands of the victim and the correspondent petitions from the representatives of the clergy and the community. It has been revealed that the crime cases against religion, family and morals could be considered by any court, regardless of their hierarchy in the vertical of this branch of government, despite a number of the judicial institutions that functioned in Ukraine.

Key words: Ukrainian Hetman state, court, crime, church, faith.

ЦЕРКОВНО-СУДОВИЙ ПРОЦЕС В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ГЕТЬМАНСЬКІЙ ДЕРЖАВІ (ВІЙСЬКУ ЗАПОРОЗЬКОМУ): ОГЛЯД СУДОВОЇ ПРАКТИКИ

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано практику здійснення розгляду справ проти віри та церкви за доби Української гетьманської держави (Війська Запорозького), що збереглася в актових, судових книгах, Литовській метриці та архівних матеріалах, з метою з'ясування особливостей тогочасного судового процесу зокрема і церковного права загалом. Застосовувавши необхідний **методологічний інструментарій**, а саме методи діалектичний, аксіологічний, історико-філософський, системно-функціональний, формально-юридичний, системно-структурний, генетичний, історико-функціональний, порівняльно-правовий та історико-правовий, досліджено і узагальнено досвід розгляду справ про злочини проти церкви та віри в умовах формування української національної держави, започаткованої гетьманом Б. Хмельницьким. **Наукова новизна** полягає у з'ясуванні особливостей розгляду справ проти віри та церкви в Українській гетьманській державі, встановленні пом'якшуючих обставин, що сприяли зменшенню покарання чи звільненню від нього. **Висновки.** У роботі стверджується, що після завершення Національно-визвольної війни українського народу у другій половині XVII ст. компетенція церковних судів не була визначена на законодавчому рівні. Фактично вони розглядали лише власні внутрішньо-церковні справи, а злочини проти віри і церкви належали до загальної юрисдикції світських козацьких або магістратських судів. Простежено за рецепцією правових традицій, які існували в епоху Русі і зберегли свою чинність в умовах існування Української гетьманської держави, адже у другій половині XVII ст. в Україні продовжував застосовуватися як вид доказу випробовування водою, що генетично успадкований з правової системи Руської держави. Відтак доведено неперервність українського права. Стверджується, що юридична відповідальність, яка наставала за вчинені злочини проти церкви та віри, мала свою особливість, пов'язану із необхідністю узгодження остаточного судового вироку з вимогами потерпілої сторони. Виявлено випадки пом'якшення та скасування санкцій у разі відсутності категоричних претензій і вимог до засудженого з боку потерпілого та відповідних клопотань від представників духовенства, громади. Виявлено, що, незважаючи на велику кількість судових інституцій, які діяли в Україні, справи про злочини проти релігії, сім'ї та моралі могли бути розглянуті судом будь-якої інстанції, незалежно від їхньої ієрархії у вертикалі цієї гілки влади.

Ключові слова: Українська гетьманська держава, суд, злочин, церква, віра.

The problem statement. The intensification of the study on the problems of the history of church law in Ukraine, the formation and the development of its separate institutions, of course, is connected with the acquisition of independence by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church

and the inclusion of it in such rights into a single Orthodox religious space, which happened literally in our eyes. We witnessed this process. It is remarkably important for Ukraine to demonstrate its history of Orthodoxy, which for a long time developed in a close connection not with the church of the occupying country, but with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. The most eloquent features of the development of Ukrainian church law revealed themselves under the conditions of the short periods of a national statehood, as it happened in the second half of the XVIIth century, in Ukrainian Hetman state (Zaporizke Viisko), the foundations of which Bohdan Khmelnytskyi laid. In this article we intend to draw our attention on the peculiarities of bringing to justice and analyzing the court practice in the church cases.

The analysis of recent researches and publications. A significant number of the scientific works, including the researches of the modern historians of law: O. Boyko, S. Kovalyova, O. Lastovskyi, M. Miroschnyenko, N. Syzoyi, I. Terlyuk, O. Shevchenko and the others are devoted to the problem of the functioning of the judicial branch of power in Ukrainian Hetman state. However, the peculiarities of the church judicial process remained aside of a scientific interest. It is true that in recent years there have been published the works of I. Matselyukh, which highlight the analyzed problem.

The purpose of the research is to identify the peculiarities of consideration of the crime cases against the church and faith under the conditions of the formation of the Ukrainian national state, which was initiated by Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi in the middle of the XVIIth century.

Statement of the basic material. In 1596 Beresteiska Union did not lead to the unification of Rome with all the Orthodoxes of Rzecz Pospolita, which was expected by its initiators. With the spread of Greek Catholicism (the author – the name was introduced by Maria Theresa for her subjects at the end of the XVIIIth century), the position of the Orthodox Church deteriorated considerably, it was on the brink of survival. Orthodoxy was deprived of the state support, and its traditional institutions, including the church court, became hostages of the new political realities in which their decisions lost the status of a universal necessity for their faithful. The latter, in connection with this, could not apply to the church court for marriage and family disputes, prosecution of persons for crimes against the church, family and belief, and other offenses, since it was deprived of the jurisdictional powers to resolve this category of cases.

As a result of signing of the Union, Kyiv Orthodox Metropolis narrowed its geography significantly, remaining only with two eparchies – Lviv and Przemyśl (Macelyux, 2015, p. 182). The Unity with Constantinople was supported by only separate monasteries and Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. At the beginning of the XVIIth century the Orthodox hierarchy ceased to exist officially in Rzecz Pospolita. This situation was conditioned by the impossibility of the consecration of the new clergy in connection with the physical absence of the Metropolitan and the bishops, who departed from the Orthodoxy and enlarged the ranks of the Greek Catholic priests (Onishhenko, 1991, p. 12).

For several decades, the situation with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was unchanged until the Ukrainian Cossacks intervened. In 1620 the Ukrainian Cossacks, together with their head, Hetman P. Sahaidachnyi, contributed to the restoration of the highest church hierarchy in Ukraine.

These events took place at the time when Jerusalem Patriarch Theophanes, returning from Moscow, ordained the Metropolitan of Kyiv and the six bishops (Isichenko, 2003, p. 164). The

status of the Metropolitan was obtained by the abbot of the Mykhailivskoho Zolotoverkho Monastery, Iov Boretskyi, the rector of Kyiv Brotherhood School.

The action was not approved by Rzecz Pospolita. The Polish government did not recognize the ordained hierarchs. It considered the procedure to be not canonical. The Polish government declared all traitors and was about to bring them to justice. But a public protection by Hetman P. Sahaidachnyi did not allow to realize the conceived. Therefore, the activity of the church hierarchs was limited only to the internal church sphere. They were not allowed to perform the church justice at the level of the judicial institutions of Rzecz Pospolita. Only in a few years later the situation changed. Under the reign of King Vladyslav IV, in the Seim, which began its work on June 22, 1632, the monarch declared «the official recognition of the the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its supreme clergy by the Polish» (Xarishyn, p. 115).

The statement was supported by the Seim law, called: «The Articles adopted at the elected Seim to calm the Orthodox religion in the Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Lithuania» (Arxiv Yugo-zapadnoj Rossii, 1861, p. 208). The provisions of the adopted legislative Act recognized the presence of three Christian denominations in Rzecz Pospolita – Catholic, Greek Catholic and Orthodox. The key was the norm, which established the principle of a religious tolerance. Each subject of the Polish king was endowed with «the right to freedom of obedience», a religious persecution, and the incitement of an interfaith hostility was not permitted (Arxiv Yugo-zapadnoj Rossii, 1861, p. 208). In 1632 «The Articles adopted at the elected Seim» distributed the dioceses and monasteries between the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox, and confirmed the latter «all the ancient rights and privileges granted in favour of the Greek religion» (Isichenko, 2003, p. 164). In addition, the requirements of the document legalized the activities of the church court. In case of the appropriate disputes, the believers of the Orthodox Church could apply for their solution.

Despite the legitimacy of the activity of the church court, the practice illustrates the otherwise. The materials study of the Lithuanian metric and the documents from the funds of the central and separate regional archives do not give any grounds to assert the rapid implementation of this legal norm in the activities of the Orthodox Church in the territory of modern Ukraine. During 36 years (the author – from the moment of the proclamation of Beresteiska Union in 1596 to the legal recognition of the Orthodox faith in 1632), we did not record the actual facts of the functioning of the church courts, their sentences, the court decisions or decisions regarding their competence. The church court was not able to restore its previous status fully. In this case, we can only talk about our guesses. Possibly, under the conditions of Rzecz Pospolita, its activities consisted of the consideration of the internal church affairs, which were not kept in the documents of the time, or, according to a researcher D. Miller, the church court did not function at all, because there was no public need in its functioning (Lazarevskyj, 1898, p. 29).

In the middle of the XVIIth century the formation of the national Ukrainian Hetman state (Zaporizke Viisko) opened the new prospects for the establishment of the Orthodox Church and its judicial institutions. Under the conditions of the National Liberation War religion became an important unifying and ideological factor for the consolidation of the Ukrainians. «From the first days of «Khmelnychyn», the religious slogans put forward by the war have brought Orthodoxy to an unprecedented level», – a modern scholar N. Yakovenko says rightly, – «and the Hetman took over the function of the supreme patronage over 286 church institutions» (Yakovenko, 2006, p. 285–286). Despite the fact that the interpersonal relations between Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi and the Metropolitan of Kyiv Sylvester Kosovyi were far

from friendly, the policy of the formation of the state-church relations between the national leader and the church hierarch was based on a mutual understanding and a mutual support in all necessary spheres. Thus, in order to restore and streamline the church justice, preserved in the national memory as a phenomenon of an ancient antiquity, in certain universals we come across the security ordinances aimed at securing the non-interference of a secular authority in the church affairs. An example of this can be the Hetman Universal of March 5, 1649, issued to the colonels of Myrhorod and Pryluky, which was intended to punish the Cossacks for violating the rules of a peaceful coexistence of the church and the state, as well as for showing a disrespectful attitude to the priests (Smolij, 1998, p. 88–89). At the same time, none of the documents, revealed by us, determined the category of cases that would have belonged to the church jurisdiction. Therefore, in order to find out the scope of the authority of the church court and to determine the process of a legal responsibility for the crimes against faith, church, family and morality, we consider it expedient to analyze the materials of the court cases contained in the book of Acts and in the funds of the state archives.

In the sphere of our consideration there was the case, the plot of which was recorded in the Act book of Poltava regimental court and highlighted by O. Levytskyi on the pages of the newspaper «Kyivska Starovyna» (Leviczkyj, 1901, pp. 3–20). It runs about the case against Ivan Petrenko and Petro Vinnyk, who were suspected of assassinating the monks and committing the theft from the building of Samara Nicholas Monastery.

In the last decade of the XVIIth century the monastery suffered from a large-scale epidemic that spread into the neighboring areas. Due to the death of animals, drought and crop failure, a large number of people died there. The monastery also got empty. After learning about this fact, the novices of Nehvoroshchanskyi Monastery, Poltava Regiment, Ivan Petrenko and Petro Vinnyk decided to take advantage of the situation and to rob the abandoned monastery. The novices, who already had a criminal past, secretly made their way to the territory of Samara Nicholas Monastery. Here they met unexpectedly two monks, the inhabitants of the monastery, the elder Avxentia and the novice, who previously served in Viisko Zaporizke, Theodore. The thieves expressed their desire to stay in the monastery and serve in it as the monks.

During four days, Ivan Petrenko and Petro Vinnyk lived in the monastery with their potential victims. On the fifth day they inflicted heavy injuries on both monks, robbed the monastery, taking the money and the precious church property, and ran away from the place of the crime. After returning to the monastery, in which they lived, the robbers were exposed by the local servicemen, because the servicemen noticed the stolen things. The administration was informed of this fact immediately. The local centurion arrested the suspects and brought them under the escort to Poltava, a regimental city.

On October 18, 1690, the first public meeting of the regimental court took place in the city hall building. During the interrogation the suspects confessed to the crime. The voluntary confession was recorded, and to determine the additional circumstances of the case, the court ordered a torture interrogation with the use of hot iron and used other kinds of tortures, in particular, the rack. For the suspects, a precautionary measure was chosen – a pre-trial detention until the victim's representative – the prosecutor appeared.

In early November 1690, Poltava regimental court turned to a priest Viniamin – the monk of Samara Monastery and Vasyl, the Sich Cossack – the patron of the monastery, who arrived from Sich as a representative of Viisko Zaporizke. At the second session of the court, the priest Viniamin appeared as the plaintiff, the victim and the prosecutor. It was he who found

the bodies of the dead monks and learned from the locals that there were two more novices, who had disappeared after robbing the monastery.

Further, the court listened to the evidences of the accused, who confessed to the crime and repelled frankly of committing the crime. In spite of everything, the court classified the offenses in accordance with article 18, section 11 of the Lithuanian Statute and sentenced the death penalty by cutting the bodies of the accused into quarters. The time and place of the death penalty were not mentioned in the record of the court session, but it was stated: «Those criminals and murderers passed away». Before the execution the convicted persons usually had to pass the central market area in the presence of a large number of people to warn the others against committing criminal acts (Leviczkyj, 1901, pp. 3–20).

As we see, the crimes committed against the church clergy and the property had a high level of a social danger, but during the era of the Ukrainian Hetman state (ViiskoZaporizke) they were not considered by the church courts, as previously, but by the secular courts. However, the punishment was still very cruel for committing the crimes.

It should be noted that after the end of the National Liberation War under the leadership of B. Khmelnytskyi in the middle of the XVIIth century, in Ukraine the secular courts also considered cases of committing the crimes against the faith, in particular, its kind – a witchcraft.

In accordance with the norms of Magdeburg Law, and more precisely to the fourth part of Magistrate Statute, there was a criminal charge for an apostasy and a witchcraft. «During the interrogation of the blackbook jacker and the sorcerer, one should interrogate all the circumstances of the crime that he used the means, in what manner and at what time he proclaimed the words or the actions, then it would be necessary to interrogate who taught him the magic or in what way he learned the techniques, how many times he used the magic and what was in trouble, and who suffered from such actions» – so the Statute determined the procedure for detecting the crimes and the proof of their committing (Antonovych, 1877, pp. 6–7).

The process can be shown in this example. At the end of the XVIIth century in Ovruchskyi Magistrate received the complaint from the nobles of the Domashevskyi family to the nobles of the Khodakivskyi family. The complaint ran: «being insulted, the Khodakivsky, having thought it over before, prepared the potions to do harm to our health and to kill us» (Arxiv Yugo-zapadnoj Rossii, 1867, p. 232). To this end, they learned to use the medicine and expected a convenient moment for their use. On February 1, 1686, the moment came. When the head of the Domashevskyi family returned to his home, the daughter of the Khodakivskyi family Olena, having cooked the decoction in a special way, poured out on the road near the gate where the victim was supposed to pass. She intended to kill Mr. Domashevskyi, but the dog was the first one who appeared in the above-mentioned place. The dog was poisoned. Consequently, the criminal intention was not brought to an end due to the circumstances beyond the the attacker's control.

The accused could have avoided responsibility if she made an oath, in which she assured of the lack of a malicious intent or convicted the court of using the potion or the poison for a good cause, or to treat a sick person. The suspect could have been acquitted on the basis of her testimony without tortures.

People also resorted to witchcraft to attract the feelings of a beloved man or beloved woman. Such cases rarely came to court, but sometimes such case were registered in the court records. So, in Kamyanskyi magistrate the dispute between Khrzhanovskyi and

Bakhchynska was considered, who were looking for a worthy bridegroom for their daughters. Both Khrzhanovskyi and Bakhchynska wanted their daughters to be married to Bernatskyi. In the end, he married the daughter of Bakhchynska, while the daughter of Khrzhanovskyi got ill suddenly. The relatives linked her illness with the practice of magic from the side of the Bakhchynskyi family. In response, the Khrzhanovskyi family decided to take revenge on their opponents, intending to do harm to the groom's health. In one of the conversations the Khrzhanovski boasted to their friends of the fact that they that could practice a witchcraft and spoil the young couple, for them not to live together for three weeks. In order to carry out the criminal intent, they sent Mr. Bernatskyi the cake (the Khrzhanovski used the witchcraft), which, for the unknown reasons not determined by the court, never reached the addressee (Antonovych, 1877, p. 22).

In general, a patriarchal Ukrainian society often could not explain the phenomena of a natural origin and associated them with the evil will of individuals, whose allegedly spells or witchcraft irreparably did harm to the interests of the others, both from their own environment and from the other one. Sometimes the local witches were accused of the poor harvest bad years or drought. Thus, in the Kamenetskyi magistrate book, which dates back to 1689, there is the record of how, on the advice of the Druzhkovskyi nobles, the owners of the village Pidfilipya accused the peasants of the drought, who, being under suspicion, were obliged to undergo a peculiar cleaning procedure. To clean themselves, the villagers were ordered to carry water from the Zbruch river and pour it on the roadside cross. Only after the fulfillment of the requirements of the landlords, the suspicion of the peasants of making witchcraft was abolished.

The landowners did not stop at it, the search for «witches» continued. The next stage was the suspicion of the landowner Yavorska of making the witchcraft. The rumors were spread in advance about her ability to practice witchcraft. To prove her guilt it was decided to hold the Court of God, – the procedure in the form of water test. All residents of the village were reassembled on the bank of the Zbruch river and the landowner Yavorska was invited. With her appearance, on the orders of the Druzhkovskyi representatives, the peasants «stripped her, bound her in a special cross-like method (the author – the thumb of the right hand was tied to the thumb of the left foot, and the thumb of the left hand – to the thumb of the right foot). Between the bound hands and feet there was a rope on which Yavorska was suspended and her body was lowered to the water. As the woman, accused of witchcraft, began to drown, she was taken out of the water and she was found innocent» (Гродська Кам'янець-Подільська книга № 4021, №4022) (Antonovych, 1877, p. 27).

In Ukraine it was traditionally believed that not only humans, but animals could be the object of a witchcraft. So, at the end of the XVIIth century Lutsk magistrate court received the complaint from the Porvanetskykh noblemen to the nobles Berezhnytskykh. The complaint contained the accusation of the witchcraft. The Porvanetski believed that the Berezhnytski tried to send death to their herd of sheep, having tied the horses' bones to the animals' neck. In addition, the Berezhnytski asked the wizard Hvedonykha to practice the witchcraft to damage the Porvanetski's farm. She sprayed the ways to their estates with a specially cooked dish, the ingredients were known to her only. She made the witchcraft to do harm to the bees. And since that time, as the Porvanetski claimed, their horses, cows, and other animals got ill, the apiary ceased to generate income, they remaining without honey (Antonovych, 1877, p. 28).

The injured party had a great influence on the nature of the court decision (civil court rulings, the sentence – on criminal cases). When victims insisted on a just and severe

punishment, the court sentenced the corresponding sentence, when the victims did not insist on the use of the death penalty, the court chose a softer punishment, or even completely dismissed the offenders from it. This right of the victims contributed to the development of the institution of probation (conditional sentences) in Ukraine.

In accordance with the institute of conditional sentences in Ukrainian Hetman state (Viisko Zaporizke), the court could punish severely the executor or a person, who ordered the crime, and the accomplices – could be released from the punishment on condition of changing their behaviour and an exemplary behavior. Any court decision of the party, who lost the case, could be appealed to a higher court: the decision of the rural (public) court could be appealed to the hundred court, the decision of the hundred court – to the regiment court, the decision of the regiment court – to the general one, and then to Hetman himself. Ukrainian law did not prohibit a direct appeal to the General Court, omitting lower courts (Bezklubyj, Grucenko, Shevchenko, 2010, p. 194).

Conclusions. Consequently, having examined the practice of the legal proceedings in the cases against the church and faith during the epoch of Ukrainian Hetman state (Viisko Zaporizke), which was preserved in the relevant court books, the Lithuanian metric, the archival materials, we came to the following conclusions:

firstly, after the end of the National Liberation War of the Ukrainian people in the second half of the XVIIth century the jurisdiction of the church courts was practically cancelled. The cases, which previously belonged to the church court competence, were considered by the Cossack courts of different levels. If the crime was committed in the city of the Magdeburg law in the sphere of the church relations regulation, the court case was subordinated to the relevant territorially magistrate court;

secondly, in view of the fact that in the analyzed period Ukrainian customary law remained the key source of a national law, in the second half of the XVIIth century in Ukraine it continued to be used as a form of evidence of water testing, genetically inherited from the legal system of the Rus state. The continuity of Ukrainian law, therefore, is a proven fact;

thirdly, the legal responsibility that followed the crimes, committed against the church and the faith, had its own peculiarity. It consisted in the following: the final judgment was consistent with the requirements of the injured party. In the absence of the categorical claims and demands to the convicted on the part of the victim, the sanctions could be mitigated, and for the accomplices – completely abolished;

fourthly, despite a large number of the judicial institutions, which functioned in Ukraine, the crime cases against religion, family and morals could be considered by a court of any level, regardless of their hierarchy in the vertical of this branch of government.

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**POLISH «GREAT EMIGRATION» OF 1831 – 1870:
TRANSFORMATION OF IDEOLOGICAL AND OUTLOOK FOUNDATIONS
OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is the attempt to study the influence of the «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 on the transformation processes of the main ideological and outlook foundations and the organizational forms of the Polish national liberation movement, as well as to outline the key social and socio-political circumstances of the Polish emigrant environment life in Western Europe. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification,*

an authoritative objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, an anthropological approach, as well as special historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in the Ukrainian historical science the transformation process of the main ideological and philosophical foundations of the liberation movement of the «great Polish emigration» period of 1831 – 1870 has been substantiated. **Conclusions.** For almost four decades, Polish «great emigration» had undergone an internal transformation; its social and political programmes have evolved; its main problem was the struggle for the national liberation and democratic social change. The analysis of the historical and political aspects of the Polish «great emigration» emergence in 1831 – 1870 and the peculiarities of its justification for the Poles' desire to struggle for a national freedom, a public liberation, the aspiration for independence, lead to the conclusion that the Polish «great emigration» contributed to the spread of a national liberation-democratic ideas.

Key words: Polish «great emigration», emigrant groups, national freedom, social liberation, aspiration for independence.

ПОЛЬСЬКА «ВЕЛИКА ЕМІГРАЦІЯ» 1831 – 1870 рр.: ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ ІДЕЙНО-СВІТОГЛЯДНИХ ЗАСАД ВИЗВОЛЬНОГО РУХУ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає насамперед у спробі дослідити вплив «великої еміграції» 1831 – 1870 рр. на процеси трансформації головних ідейно-світоглядних засад та організаційних форм польського національно-визвольного руху, а також окреслити ключові соціальні та суспільно-політичні обставини життя польського емігрантського середовища у Західній Європі. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, антропологічний підхід, а також спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історичній науці обґрунтовано процес трансформації головних ідейно-світоглядних засад визвольного руху періоду «великої польської еміграції» 1831 – 1870 рр., акцентовано на прагненні до боротьби за національну свободу, суспільне визволення, незалежність. **Висновки.** Упродовж майже чотирьох десятиліть польська «велика еміграція» зазнавала внутрішньої трансформації, еволюціонували її суспільні та політичні програми, її основною проблемою була боротьба за національне визволення і демократичні суспільні зміни. Дослідження історико-політичних аспектів виникнення польської «великої еміграції» 1831 – 1870 рр. та особливостей обґрунтування нею прагнення поляків до боротьби за національну свободу, суспільне визволення, прагнення до незалежності, дає підстави зробити висновок, що польська «велика еміграція» сприяла поширенню демократичних ідей про національне визволення.

Ключові слова: польська «велика еміграція», угруповання емігрантів, національна свобода, суспільне визволення, прагнення до незалежності.

The problem statement. Under conditions of a constant interest of Ukrainian scientists in the problem of Ukrainian emigration, the necessity to expand the research scope is becoming urgent nowadays, in particular, by comparing it with the political emigration of other nations. In this context, the phenomenon of the Polish «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 is of a particular research interest. The importance of this topic is due to both the originality of the Polish political emigration itself and to the significant (and not yet well-researched) influence of this environment on the Ukrainian national movement. Despite the steadily increasing dynamics of Ukrainian Polonics studies, this topic has received little attention from Ukrainian scholars nowadays. The largest Polish political emigration wave, which numbers about eleven thousand people, is called the Polish «great emigration». This «great emigration» was caused by the end of the November uprising of 1830 – 1831. During that period, a large number of the intellectual, cultural, educational, political and military elite,

engaged in the national-liberation movement, were in the category of emigrants (Brzoza, Sowa, 2009). The emigration environment led to the significant ideological transformations and political regrouping of the Polish liberation movement.

The analysis of recent researches. If the subject of Polish «great emigration» remains unstudied in Ukrainian historical science, it has long attracted attention in the foreign historiography. It's clear that the above-mentioned problem was the research subject of Polish historians. In the context of this topic study, the scientific researches are of a particular interest, which highlight the fundamental aspects of the «great emigration», in particular, the researches of Ye. Boreichi, L. Hadon, A. Hiller, Yu. Dvernitskyi, V. Knappkovska, S. Kalemki, A. Levak, B. Limanovsky, Z. Milkovsky, A. Pilkh, K. Rakovsky, Ye. Skovronko. In addition, the well-known Polish historian Marian Kukil highlighted the problem of the history of the Polish uprisings, which became the basis of the emigration wave (Kwartalnik Historyczny, 1937, p. 375–376). Among the works of the Polish researchers it is worth mentioning a series of the historical researches and explorations by T. Belinsky, L. Kurdybakha, S. Voloshyn, Yu. Freilikhowna, A. Karbovyak, R. Wrochynsky, Ya. Sikorsky, A. Knot, T. Kozhon, V. Tokazha, L. Wyschelsky, E. Rostworowsky, S. Herbst, B. Gembazhewsky, Z. Kraewsky, M. Kukel, as well as Arthur L. Benoit, Pierre Boye, Cliff H. Chach, Samuel P. Huntington, Harry B. Nash, Graham R. Hodges, James S. Pooley and the others. It should be noted that a considerable interest is made by the Ukrainian scientists researches, in particular L. Zashkilnyak «Polish uprising of 1830 – 1831», S. Kozak «Polish-Ukrainian revolutionary ties of 1830 – 1863», Y. Zemsky «Ideological inspiration of Polish November Uprising», V. Konstantynov «Polish Uprising 1830 – 1831». In general, the outlined topic has already been the research subject attention of the foreign (mostly Polish) scholars, but it has not been fully included into the discussion field of Ukrainian Polonics.

The purpose of the article is, first of all, the attempt to study the influence of the «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 on the transformation processes of the main ideological and outlook foundations and the organizational forms of the Polish national liberation movement, as well as to outline the key social and socio-political circumstances of the Polish emigrant environment life in Western Europe.

Statement of the basic material. The Polish political emigration is characterized by the numerous characteristics, since during that period it numbered from ten to eleven thousand people, the vast majority of the intellectuals, the cultural-educational, political and military figures. In terms of a social composition, the emigration united three-fourths of the nobility, one-fourth of the peasantry, which in turn influenced the conclusion of the further socio-political programmes and the emigration camps formation (Zhaivoronok, 1984, p. 108).

In terms of its size, and above all the fact that after the November uprising the emigration concentrated in its midst a whole mass of the individuals from the world of Polish politics, culture, science and the army. It was recognized as the only «great emigration» in the history of Poland. At the initial stage, when the after November repressions deprived the country of almost all active political figures, the emigration played the role of practically the only representative of the Poles as a political nation. By its activities and existence on the European continent, it largely contributed to the affirmation in the minds of Western societies that the problem of Poland is an urgent one, but the problem of preserving the tradition of a holistic statehood and awakening of the Polish national consciousness remains unresolved. The history of the «great emigration» covers a long period from 1831 to 1870. For this very

reason, the political programmes changed many times during the emigration wave and as well as the role, played by emigration in relation to the occupied country.

The part of Polish emigrants fled to southern England, where they were concentrated in the Portsmouth area (Kieniewicz, Zahorski, Zajewski, 1994). There, in Portsmouth, the local community surrounded the Poles with care and support. The local Quakers were particularly favourable to them, among them – Anna Cruikshank (1800 – 1884), who repeatedly supported the charitable initiatives in favour of the Poles (Temkinowa, 1957, p. 182). In its turn, the radical emigrant revolutionary-democratic figures, who were in the British Isles at the time: Stanisław Wortzel, Tadeusz Krempowski, Severin Vezhbitsky, defended the ideas of a social liberation and international unity. In May 1834, with the consent and support of Hampshire authorities, they founded the «school» in Portsmouth, which taught the illiterate to read and to write. At the lessons the pupils were informed of the current socio-political events in Europe, and the annexed by the invaders lands of the Republic. At the lessons the pupils learned the history of a native land and England. The English language courses were conducted as well as the military training and the stay justification of the Poles in England as a temporary one in accordance with the hospitality principle («Гості з Польщі»; «Guests from Poland») (Yelovitsky, 1933, pp. 309–310).

At the same time, in 1835, Stanisław Wortzel and Tadeusz Krempowski founded the «Grudziądz» organization and compiled the manifesto for the organization, which contained a new transformed socio-political programme that declared the interests of the common Polish people to a greater extent, and in turn defined the class interests of the ordinary people and the interests of the Polish nobility, contrasting the homeland of the ordinary people – the nobility motherland.

The transformed socio-political ideas were declared by T. Krempowski on the second anniversary of the November Uprising in Paris, who delivered the speech, saturated with a sharp criticism of the Polish nobility and its crushing state policy. The speech ran: «the despotism of the kings and the nobles abuses the ordinary people ... Do not think, gentlemen, that this disgusting yoke has been imposed on the defeated by the winners; do not think that the nobility and ordinary people are different in origin...» (Gašiorowskiej, 1953, pp. 55–56).

Polish emigration, despite diplomatic support from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the English Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tarczyński, Skarbek, Kocój, Łepkowski, Zajewski, Bortnowski, 1980, p. 480), faced a number of serious obstacles from the side of the Holy See official factors, which did not give the expected results, despite the vigorous efforts to establish close contacts with the Roman Curia (Powstanie Listopadowe 1830 – 1831, 1980, p. 264). At that time the Vatican diplomatic negotiations were ineffective and had no concrete expression: «The clarification of the situation, but no steps in favour of Poland have been received. But this significantly eliminated the Curia's prejudice against the Poles and raised a strong distrust of Rome over Russia; the government's crossing out of the «Cum primum» encyclical has not been obtained, but it is believed that Rome regrets its publication» (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie, 1838, pp. 31–34).

It should be noted that, according to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, in the aspect of the political and ideological orientation that manifested itself in the Polish society of this period, assessing together the refugee process and the country, the Polish «great emigration» was liberal-patriotic in nature (Modelska, 1937, pp. 375–376).

At that time, the right emigrants grouping in their political activities was primarily aimed at: achieving independence; raising the moral status and the material level of the people; the changes in the distribution of the social forces.

The ultimate goal of this policy was a professionally prepared national uprising, fueled in a favourable political atmosphere. The military component of this political activity, Adam Jerzy Chartorysky left to the military specialists to study, relying on a foreign aid and drawing only a general plan (J. Bem, L. Bystrovskyi, V. Khzhanovskyi, A. Yelovitskyi) (Heltman, 1866, p. 155). It should be noted that the duke endorsed the idea of a popular uprising, «but aroused at the right time and well thought out» (Heltman, 1866, p. 105). This idea could not be quickly implemented since the preparation process took quite a long time, the unification of different Polish military formations (Legions) in foreign countries, the unification of institutions that teach new and old personnel, the diversified ideas (Wroński, 1993, pp. 100–112).

In the Polish emigration movement, the democratic environments, which were based on certain differences with the conservative forces, played an important role: ideology; the fundamentals of people's liberation struggle; the aspects of the national liberation uniting and a social struggle.

Despite the fact that in the opposition to their political opponents – divided and torn apart by the sharp internal disputes – they mainly formed the modern views in the minds of the Poles, which caused the struggle against the remnants of feudalism and all its manifestations in a public life. The democratic groups, emerging from the Conservative camp, learned from the past, proclaimed the slogans of equality in the public sphere. Seeing in the masses the main force of the nation, they demanded the abolition of serfdom and dependence of a peasant, while it was assumed that the democratization of a social life will lead to the wide public circle emergence (Heltman, 1866, p. 155). At that time, on the foundations of a broad people platform, the opportunities and success in the struggle for independence, which gave freedom to the peasants (of the twenty million of the Polish people, fifteen million were rural) were clearly observed. «Such a mass, once raised, could not be overcome by any external enemy» (Heltman, 1866, p. 95). On this basis, the leaders of the democratic group came to the simple conclusion that: «The rural people are today, in the opinion of the general public and in our belief, the most important, the most powerful force to fight the enemy, to restore Poland». (Kamieński, 1999, p. 420). In addition, the dominant view was the immense forces and opportunities that took root in the Polish people during the emigration period.

The democrats always emphasized that in the masses the enormous power was dormant, that would decide the fate of Poland and its liberation (Heltman, 1866, p. 152). They understood that the peasants would not support the national idea and would not participate in the uprising until they were convinced that it could affect the improvement of their lives. Therefore, the future struggle for independence, programmes and activities of the democratic centers, and especially of the Polish Democratic Society, were aimed at preparing the struggle for independence, characterized by a new character other than the previous uprisings. «The belief in people is the belief of the Society» – noted in all important documents of the Polish Democratic Society (Manifest Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego, 1936).

That is why it should be noted that in the Polish emigration line there was a combination of the struggle for national freedom with social liberation, which was a significant postulate of the Polish emigration democratic thought and dominant in the direction of independence created by the Democratic Society. It should be noted that the Polish «great emigration» was not a single entity, it can be divided into three camps: democratic, radical and conservative, among which there was some controversy on the ways of the future actions (Davies, 1996; Kieniewicz, 1997; Łojek, 1986; Pilch, 1984).

As a result of the successive activities that took place from 1832 to 1836 in the environment of the democratic part of emigration, the idea of independence was growing slowly but steadily. This is reflected in the Democrats' editions, which believe that, with the restoration of sovereignty, one should not return to the ancient Republic – Poland with the excessive noble privileges and oppression of the rural population (Zashkilnyak & Krykun, 2002, p. 602).

The formation and manifestation of the political programme of Poland's independence and the ideology of popularizing the national cause, combined with the progressive social changes, saturated the documents and publications of this period. These include: «The Small Manifesto» (Foundation Act), published on March 17, 1832 by the authors of the Vice-Chairman of the Polish Democratic Society Tadeusz Klempowski; The «Great Manifesto», declared in 1836 in the Poitiers (Manifest Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego, 1936), called the Porter Act. The documents, drafted by the Democrats, are characterized by a new perspective on the issue of a popular-liberation struggle, which the former associated with the need for a social liberation of the bulk of the Polish people – the peasantry. His general support determined the success of the future impetus for independence. Already in the «Foundation Act», a strategy was formulated to make the «national Polish issue a people's issue», which provided the Democrats with recognition and popularity among the emigrants (Duch, 1914, p. 119).

In the centers where Polish emigration representatives gathered, the military training courses were organized almost from the very first days. The organizers assumed that militancy is an art, in which exercises can be perfected, «militancy as an acquired skill cannot be perfected without proper training courses and military schools (Zashkilnyak & Krykun, 2002, p. 303)». In its turn, the Polish Democratic Society, thanks to a favourable political situation, managed to place 24 of its young members in Mecca and the Paris Military (École Royale Militaire) (Lelewel, 1855, s. 23). In all organized courses, educational establishments, military schools the motto was: «Ils s'instruisent pour vaincre» («They are learning to win»); a high level of education prevailed (Zashkilnyak & Krykun, 2002, p. 348).

A special attention was paid to the military education of young people at the organized emigration secondary school, founded with a great difficulty. Existing since 1841, the National Education Society for Polish Exiles organized a Polish secondary school for immigrant children in Batignoles region of Paris (Brzoza, Sowa, 2009, p. 364).

The Polish Library (Polish Reading Room) was one of the central places, visited by Polish emigration on the Orleans Quay in Paris (Brzoza, Sowa, 2009, p. 368), where they could get acquainted with the latest Polish magazines articles, the book publications, published abroad and banned in the country by censorship.

The London Mutual Enlightenment Society had the significant achievements in the support of the Polish emigration preparation efforts for the national liberation struggle. The Society was organized in 1834 – 1835 (Dilongova, 2007, p. 190). This Society, thanks to the great spread of the classes in History of England, English Literature, and the English Language among the Polish emigration, gained the affection of some influential royal officials for organizing various types of courses that unofficially replaced the military training of trainees (Dilongova, 2007, p. 193). There was no political and ideological integrity among the Polish emigration, which resulted in the lack of a coherent concept in the field of education and training in the Polish emigrant military training centers. This state of affairs was mainly caused by the political disputes on the independence among the democratic,

radical and conservative camps, which, in their turn, promoted a single transformed national idea – the independence of the broader social groups, and the creation of the Polish people commonwealth (Heltman, 1866, p. 92).

Despite the mutual strife, the antipathy that illustrated the complexities of the Polish emigration public face, it was dominated by a full understanding of the necessity to train a patriotic, the professional personnel for the needs of the future national liberation struggle and a reborn state. In this aspect the intensive preparatory, educational and educational activities were carried out (Pilch, 1932, p. 646). Important were those elements that combined the struggle for the national liberation with the social emphasis. The points of view, expressed in the works of the publicists and the democratic figures, such as: Henry Kamensky, Karol Bohumil Stolzman, Wojciech Hrzhanowski, were very popular. Worthy of consideration are the reflections on the organization and tactics of the insurgent armed activities by Petr Wysotsky, Louis Miroslawsky, and Joseph Boehm (Pogodin, Kutsheba, Shumov, Andreev, 2002).

For almost four decades, Poland's «great emigration» had undergone not only the internal transformations, in the course of which its social and political programmes evolved, but the fundamental ideas and views transformed as well. That is why the transformation process of the basic ideological and philosophical foundations of the liberation movement is seen in the diverse liberation ideas generating, namely: the ideas of the social liberation and international unity, the idea of the struggle for the national freedom with the social liberation, the idea of independence of the wider social groups, the idea of a national liberation struggle and a reborn state – though the struggle for the national liberation and the democratic social change was always fundamental.

The influence of the «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 on the transformation processes of the main ideological and philosophical foundations of the liberation movement was also reinforced by the spirit of a general freedom of the Slavic peoples, in particular: «in fact, in a common voice of the peoples, who proclaimed that the Polish issue was the matter of a universal freedom for all the peoples of Europe ... With these universal slogans of freedom, the emigrants united and even identified the Slavic idea and were ready to die, because they had the greatest sympathy for the Slavic peoples, who were the most humiliated» (Kołodziejczyk, 1912, pp. 325–326).

Conclusions. For almost four decades, Polish «great emigration» has been a prominent socio-political phenomenon on a European scale. First of all, it played a fundamentally important role in the genesis of the outlook, ideological, political, organizational and cultural foundations of the Polish national liberation movement. Its influence was also significant on the socio-political processes of Central and Eastern Europe, including the Ukrainian national movement. In addition, the emigration affected the diplomacy and political life of Western European countries from 1831 to 1870. The emigration life circumstances caused the fundamental ideological shifts and the ideological modernization of the Polish liberation movement. In addition to the key issue of Polish statehood restoring, one of the emigrants' paramount tasks was the introduction of the democratic foundations into the life of Polish society and overcoming of the feudal remnants in it. At this time, the idea of «the life truth of the Polish people» became ideologically grounded and widely used in practice. The center transfer of the Polish National Liberation Movement to the emigration also caused regrouping of the internal structure of the Movement. Under conditions of the numerous discussions and political struggles, the several currents and trends of the

Polish movement functioned in the emigration, among which the democratic, radical and conservative ones remained the leading ones. The continued and controversial political struggle among them did not preclude the practice of a fruitful cooperation and political understanding. The multifaceted activities of the Polish «great emigration» played the role of a continuer of the centuries-old Polish political-state tradition. Due to the political activity of this environment, the Polish issue continued to be one of the most relevant in European political life, and the Poles continued to be perceived as a political nation by Western European elite.

The perspective directions of this topic are the organizational and ideological influence of the Polish «great emigration» on the national movement and socio-political processes in the Ukrainian lands. In addition, a further development requires the question of the reception of Polish political emigration by Ukrainian intellectuals and socio-political figures of the analyzed period.

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**BEER PRODUCTION IN GALICIA
(middle XIXth – the first third of XXth century)**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is a comprehensive research of beer production in Galicia. Historical approaches to statistical interpretation of events and phenomena, mathematical methods of modeling were used to achieve the goal. The research methodology is an organic set of basic principles of historical research: historicism, objectivity, comprehensiveness, continuity and appropriate methods of scientific research. Various methods of cognition are used in the article: historiographical analysis and synthesis, historical, problem-chronological, statistical, comparative. The scientific novelty lies in the complex analysis of beer production in certain administrative-territorial entities of Austria. Conclusions.* *In the middle of the XIX century there were over 300 primitive breweries. Until 1856, their number decreased by a third at a stable output. From 1857 to 1865, the number of breweries increased from 263 to 313, and the output increased by 2.8 times. After 10 years, the number of breweries decreased, there has been a tendency towards consolidation of enterprises. From 1876 to 1907, the number of breweries decreased by 2.5 times. In 1885 – 1900, beer production has doubled (to 1155 thousand hcl). The growth of taxes was proportional to the output. The beginning of the XX century was marked by the inhibition of the growth of brewery production. In 1901 – 1907, beer*

production increased by 20%, taxes – by 38%. In the 1920's on 41 Galician's brewery were produced more than 100 million liters of beer. Since the mid-1930s, the number of breweries has decreased to 34, a third of which was concentrated in the Lviv voivodship. During the 1930's, breweries produced 500 – 600 thousand hcl of various beers annually. Thus, from the middle of the XIX century until the beginning of the Second World War, the number of brewery decreased by 7 times. At the same time, the output of finished products has grown fourfold, the amount of taxes paid - by ten times. The breweries of Galicia had a 10% of Austria's business enterprises but produced only 5% of the country's brewing industry. More than 40% of all Austrian breweries were in the Czech Republic, which produced more than 42% of products. The share of Galicia in the total amount of Austrian brewery was 4.1-4.3%, and the total amount of beer produced was 4-5.25%. The opposite trend was observed in providing beer per capita. In Galicia, this rate was 0.2 buckets (2.5 liters) per person. For example, in Salzburg, three buckets of beer per one inhabitant, 2-2.5 in the Upper and Lower Austria, 1.6 in the Czech Republic. At the turn of the century, more than 20 million hectares of beer were produced in Austria, of which only 5.75% in Galicia. This rate was the fourth after the Czech Republic (46.1%), Lower Austria (18.7%) and Moravia (10.22%). The same place Galicia also occupied by the number of breweries. Gross output did not reflect the real state of brewing in the region. The average productivity of the brewery in Galicia was 9.8 thousand hcl, which was one of the lowest indicators in the state. One brewery in Lower Austria produced 59.4, the Austrian Littoral – more than 30.5 thousand hcl of beer. For the production of beer per capita (15 liters) Galicia occupied one of the last places, ahead of only Kraina and the Austrian Littoral. Beer production in Salzburg, the Czech Republic and Lower Austria was highest per capita (1.21 hcl).

Key words: brewery, beer, malt, bucket, hectoliter.

ВИРОБНИЦТВО ПИВА У ГАЛИЧИНІ (середина XIX – перша третина XX ст.)

Анотація. Метою роботи є комплексне дослідження виробництва пива у Галичині. Для її досягнення використано загальноісторичні підходи, статистичної інтерпретації подій і явищ, математичні методи моделювання. **Методологія дослідження** становить органічну сукупність базових принципів здійснення історичного дослідження: історизму, об'єктивності, всебічності, наступності й відповідних методів наукового пошуку. У статті застосовано різноманітні методи пізнання: історіографічного аналізу та синтезу, історичний, проблемно-хронологічний, статистичний, компаративний. **Наукова новизна** полягає у комплексному аналізі виробництва пива в окремих адміністративно-територіальних утвореннях Австрії. **Висновки.** У середині XIX ст. діяло понад 300 примітивних броварень. До 1856 р. їх кількість зменшилася на третину при стабільному випуску продукції. З 1857 до 1865 рр. кількість броварень зросла з 263 до 313, а випуск продукції – у 2,8 рази. Через 10 років кількість броварень зменшилась, спостерігалася тенденція до укрупнення підприємств. З 1876 до 1907 рр. кількість броварень зменшувалася у 2,5 рази. 1885 – 1900 рр. виробництво пива зросло удвічі (до 1155 тис. гкл). Ріст суми податків відбувався пропорційно до випущеної продукції. Початок XX ст. ознаменувався гальмуванням росту продукції броварень. У 1901 – 1907 рр. випуск пива зріс на 20 %, податки – на 38 %. У 1920-х рр. 41 броварнею Галичини продукувалось понад 100 млн. л пива. Від середини 1930-х рр. кількість броварень зменшилася до 34, третина з них зосереджувалася у Львівському воєводстві. Протягом 1930-х рр. броварні щорічно виробляли 500 – 600 тис. гкл різних сортів пива. Таким чином, від середини XIX ст. до початку Другої світової війни число броварень зменшилося усередно. Водночас, випуск готової продукції зріс учетверо, сума сплачених податків – у десятки разів. Броварні Галичини, маючи десяту частину підприємств Австрії, виготовляли лише 5 % продукції пивоварної промисловості країни. Понад 40 % всіх броварень Австрії було у Чехії, яка виробляла понад 42 % продукції. Питома вага Галичини у загальній кількості броварень Австрії становила 4,1–4,3 %, а у загальній кількості виробленого пива – 4–5,25 %. Протилежні тенденції спостерігалися у забезпеченні пивом на душу населення. У Галичині цей показник складав 0,2 відра (2,5 л) на особу. Для прикладу, у Зальцбурзі на одного мешканця припадало 3 відра пива, у Верхній та Нижній Австрії – 2–2,5, у Чехії – 1,6. На межі століть у Австрії вироблялося понад 20 млн гкл пива, з чого на Галичину

припадало лише 5,75 %. Це й показник був четвертим після Чехії (46,1 %), Нижньої Австрії (18,7 %) та Моравії (10,22 %). Таке ж місце Галичина займала і за кількістю броварень. Валовий випуск продукції не відображав реальний стан справ пивоваріння краю. Середня продуктивність броварень Галичини становила 9,8 тис. гкл, що було одним з найнижчих показників у державі. Одна броварня Нижньої Австрії виробляла 59,4, Узбережжя – понад 30,5 тис. гкл пива. За виробництвом пива на душу населення (15 л) Галичина займала одне з останніх місць, випереджаючи лише Країну та Узбережжя. Найбільше на душу населення виробляли пива у Зальцбурзі, Чехії та Нижній Австрії (1,21 гкл).

Ключові слова: броварня, пиво, солод, відро, гектолітр.

The problem statement. Nowadays, there is practically no economic history of individual industries and agricultural production. The article provides for the first time a comprehensive analysis of the brewing industry of Galicia from 1847 to the end of the 1930's. **The purpose of the article** is a comprehensive research of beer production in Galicia. To achieve the goal were used historical approaches to statistical interpretation of events and phenomena, mathematical methods of modeling. The scientific novelty lies in the complex analysis of beer production in certain administrative-territorial entities of Austria.

The source of the research consists of statistical yearbooks, manuals and reference books «Mały rocznik statystyczny» (1930), «Podręcznik Statystyki Galicyi» (1901; 1904; 1908), «Rocznik Statystyki Galicyi» (1887; 1889; 1891; 1893; 1898), «Statystyka przemysłowa» (1935; 1938), «Wiadomości statystyczny o stosunkach krajowych» (1876; 1880). General features of food industry development, including brewing is shown in V. Klapchuk's monography (2015).

Statement of the basic material. Thanks to the Austrian discipline and order, we managed to establish the dynamics of brewing in Galicia. Were established the main indicators of quantity, production and payment of taxes for the years 1847 – 1907. The exceptions included the difficult years in political life of the region – 1848 – 1849 (the so-called Spring of Peoples) and 1860 – 1864 (the autonomy of Galicia and its subsequent polonization). These events were obviously more important events than statistics.

Anyway, the analysis showed that in the middle of the XIX century in Galicia there were more than 300 breweries. Most of them were primitive enterprises with small volumes of production and low employment (Fig. 1).

From 1847 to 1856 there was a decrease in the number of enterprises, but an increase in production. During that period, the number of brewery decreased by one third, and output remained the same, with the exception of 1850 – 1853, when there was a growth by 20–60%.

From 1857 to 1865 there was a gradual increase in the number of breweries from 263 in 1856 to 313 in 1865. A dramatic increase in output, which began with its increase by 45% in 1857, peaked in 1865, when it reached 692 thousand hcl of beer, which was 2.8 times higher than in 1856. Since 1866 the gradual decrease of the number from 313 in 1865 to 101 – in 1907 by three times. At the same time, the output of finished products over the corresponding period increased from 588.5 thousand hcl (1866) to almost 1370 thousand hcl or 2.3 times. We can say that labor productivity has increased seven times. Taking into account the features and sizes of tax legislation, there was a growth of paid taxes proportionally to volumes of finished products. In 1847, more than 240 thousand zlr were paid to the treasury by Galicia's breweries. Then in a quarter century (1871), it exceeded 1 million, in 1899 – 2 million, reaching almost 2.6 million zlr in 1907. If in 1847 – 1857 breweries paid for 1 hcl of beer less than 1 zlr, in 1858 – 1859 – 1,5zlr, then from 1865 to 1907 - already almost 2 zlr. In 1875, the

number of brewers decreased from 237 in 1873 – 1874 to 230 or 2.95% in comparison with previous years (this situation lasted from 1865) (Fig. 2; Table 1).

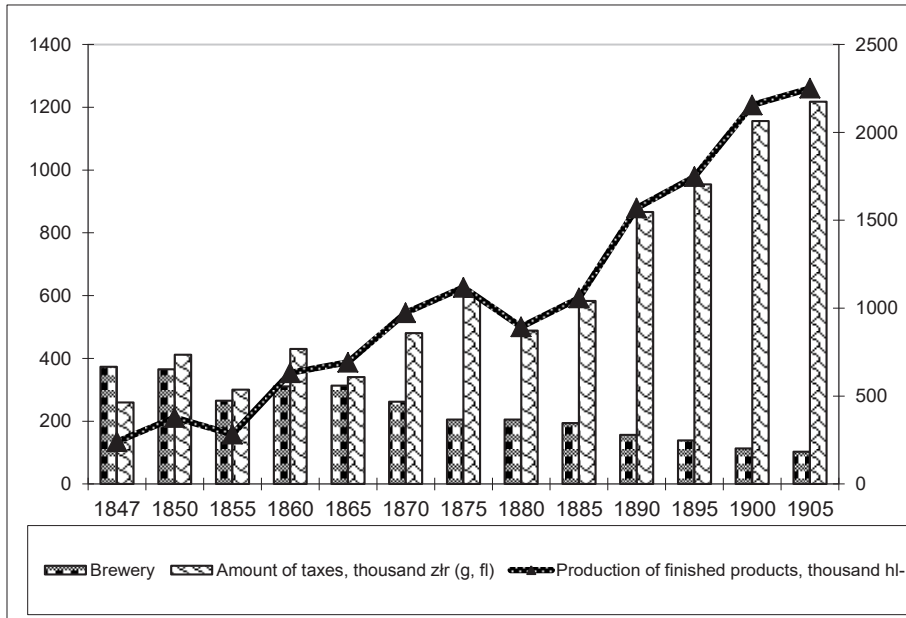


Figure 1. Development of brewing in Galicia, 1847 – 1905 (Pilat T., 1901, p. 224; 1904, p. 201; 1908, p. 234; Rutowski T., 1891, p. 213)

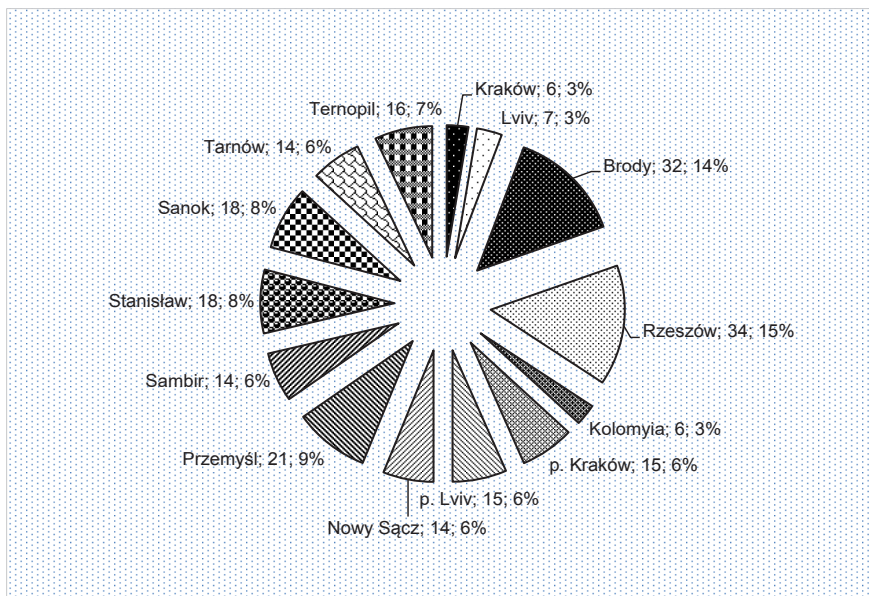


Figure 2. Galicia's breweries, 1875 (Pilat T., 1876, p. 69)

The largest number of breweries was in the districts of Rzeszów (34) and Brody (32), the least in the cities of Lviv (7) and Kraków (6), as well as in the Kolomyia district (6). However, half of the breweries in Kraków and 2/3 in Lviv were large enterprises. They paid to the treasury more than 10 thousand zlr annually. Most of the tax districts had more than half of the small breweries, first of all, it concerned the Sanok, Rzeszów, Tarnów districts (Table 1).

Table 1

**Distribution of brewery in Galicia by the amount of taxes paid
and methods of fermentation, 1875 (Pilat T., 1876, p. 69)**

Tax region	Amount of taxes, thousands zlr.							Method of fermentation on breweries		
	< 1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-7	7-10	>10	Top	Bottom	Both
Kraków (city)	1				1	1	3	1	4	1
Lviv (city)				1		1	5		7	
Brody	6	9	7		9	1		26	5	1
Rzeszów	13	11	5	2	2	1		21	5	8
Kolomyia	1		2	1	2			1	4	1
Kraków	4		3		4	2	2	3	5	7
Lviv	2	2		3	5	2	1	4	9	2
NowySącz	6	2	2			3	1	2	11	1
Przemyśl	4	7	6	1			3	16	4	1
Sambir	2	1			5	2	1		10	4
Stanisław	1	4	4	1	4	1	3	6	10	2
Sanok	10	3	2	1	1	1		11	5	2
Tarnów	8	1		1		1	3	4	10	
Ternopil	1	2	4		4	3	2	9		7
Galicia	59	42	38	11	37	19	24	91	104	35

If in 1874 35.6% of all brewers paid over 1000 zlr taxes, then in 1875 they remained only 25.63%. At the same time, the number of those brewers who paid annually more than 10 thousand zlr (10.43% versus 6.8%) increased. In 1875, there were 11 entrepreneurs in Galicia, who produced over 15 thousand buckets of beer annually. Thus, there was a tendency for the consolidation of enterprises that displaced small unprofitable breweries (Pilat, 1876, p. 70).

Beer production in Galicia increased significantly in comparison with the last years. It was almost 13.75 million liters in 1875 (Fig. 3).

Compared to 1874, this difference was 17.5%. The largest beer production was made by brewers in Krakow and Lviv, Tarnów and Brody districts. The smallest beer production was in Kolomyia (1.8%) and Sanok (2.67%). The annual distribution of paid taxes was directly proportional to the number of products produced. However, there were certain conflicts related in some districts to the difference in tax rates (Fig. 4). Thus, Lviv, produced 11.16% of all beer production in Galicia and paid 12.5% of taxes to the treasury. A similar situation was observed in Stanisław, Tarnów and Ternopil, and other districts. Significantly fewer percentages were paid by the districts of Brody, Rzeszów, Sanok, etc., where small breweries were predominant. These breweries produced beer using the top fermentation method.

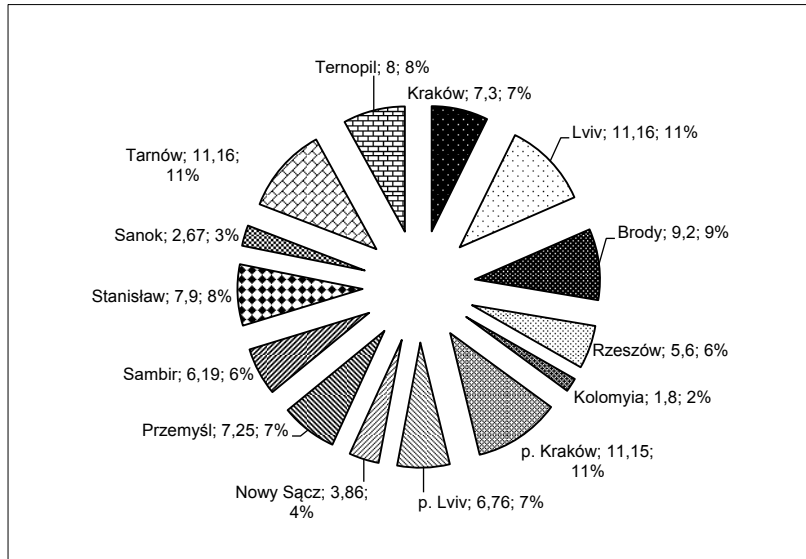


Figure 3. Production of beer by Galicia's brewery (%), 1875 (Pilat, 1876, p. 70)

The largest number of brewery products was produced in Lviv, where on average about 235.5 thousand liters were sold per brewery. In Kraków were almost 150 thousand liters (Pilat, 1876, p. 73). Most volume of the beer per capita was produced in the cities of Lviv and Kraków, and among the districts – in Tarnów, Kraków and Brody. Generally, in Galicia, was produced about 2.5 liters of beer per capita.

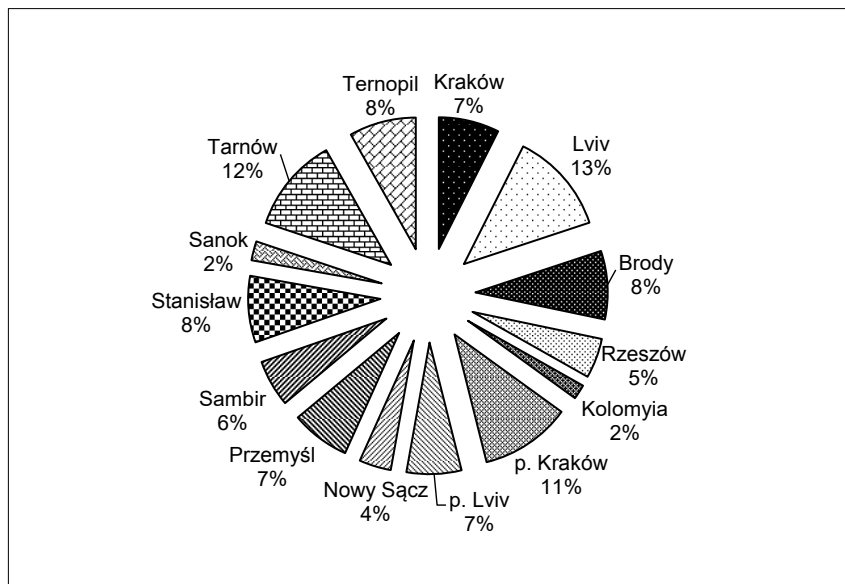


Figure 4. Payment of taxes by Galicia's brewery, 1875 (Pilat, 1876, pp. 71–72)

The breweries of Galicia, having a tenth of the enterprises, produced only more than 5% of the Austrian brewery production. More than 40% of all Austrian breweries were in the Czech Republic, which produced more than 42% of the products of Predlitavia.

In general, in Austria there was a slight decrease in the number of breweries, first of all, in the Czech Republic, Galicia and Bukovyna. In Lower Austria, Salzburg, the Kraina and the Austrian Littoral the number remained unchanged, and in the rest of the districts – increased. The share of Galicia in the total number of Austro-Hungarian brewers decreased from 4.32% in 1874 to 4.12% in 1875 (Fig. 5).

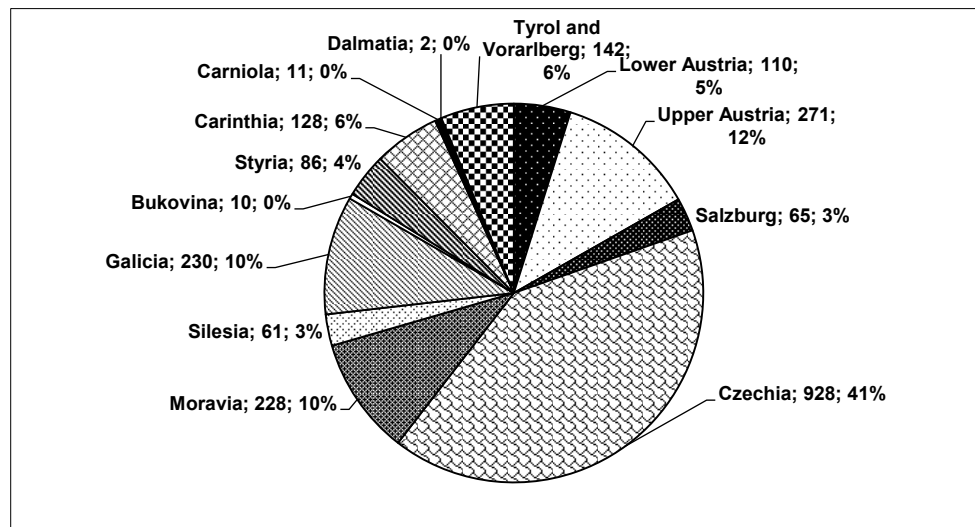


Figure 5. Number of breweries in Austria, 1875 (Pilát, 1876, p. 73–74)

The number of manufactured products of both Austro-Hungary and most of the districts also decreased – by almost 370 thousand buckets. The only exception was Galicia, whose production increased significantly. As we wrote, the share of Galicia in the total amount of beer produced in Austria-Hungary increased from 4.02% in 1874 to 5.25% in 1875. Despite the fact that Galicia was the fifth producer of beer in Austria, it still produced over 120 thousand bucks more than Hungary (Fig. 6).

The opposite trend was observed in providing beer to the population (Fig. 7). Salzburg had 3 buckets of beer per inhabitant, 2-2.5 in the Upper and Lower Austria and 1.6 in Czech Republic, in Galicia this rate was only 0.2. By this indicator, Galicia outpaced only the following regions of Austria-Hungary, such as Bukovyna, Kraina and Austrian Littoral (Pilát, 1876, pp. 93–95).

Depending on the fermentation method, the prices for beer ranged from 4.4 zlr per bucket in Brody's to 5.3 in Lviv's and 6 in Krakow's chambers of commerce and industry (Fig. 8). In general, Galicia produced in 1875 beer for almost 6 million zlr.

During 1875-1878, the situation with the brewing industry changed a little. The number of breweries declined both in absolute terms (with the exception of 1875 – 1876), and by the number of enterprises that paid taxes of more than 10 thousand zlr (Pilát, 1880, p. 205). The number of breweries, that used upper fermentation method for the beer production decreased (Table 2).

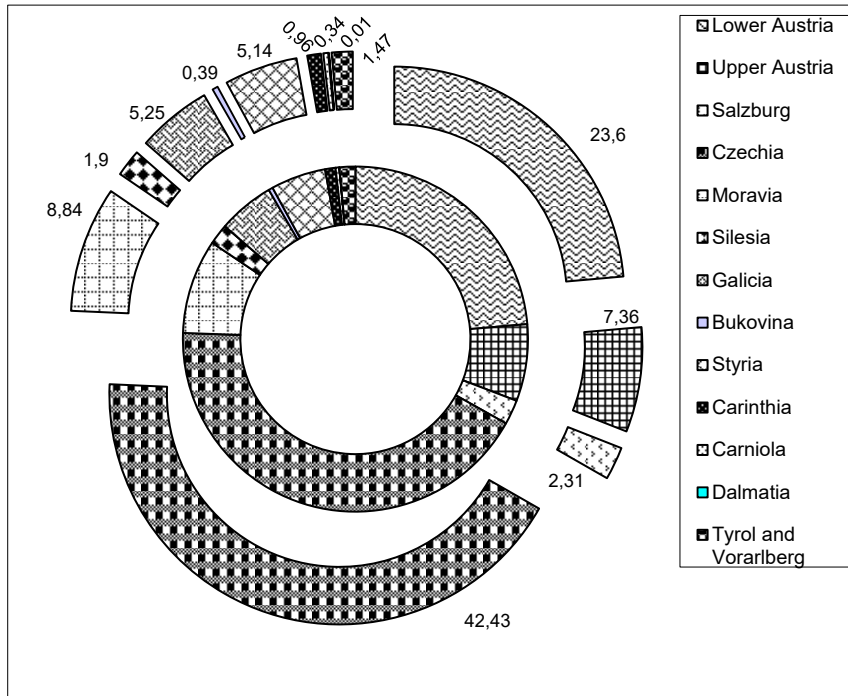


Figure 6. Beer production in Austria (1874 – 1875) (Pilát T., 1876, p. 93–95)

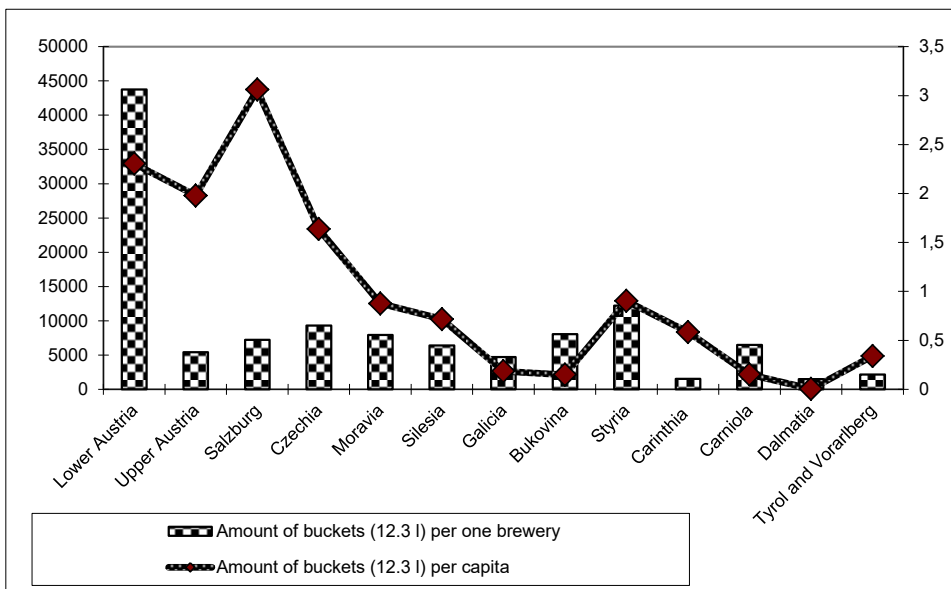


Figure 7. Producing of beer per one brewery and per capita in Austria, 1875 (Pilát, 1876, p. 95)

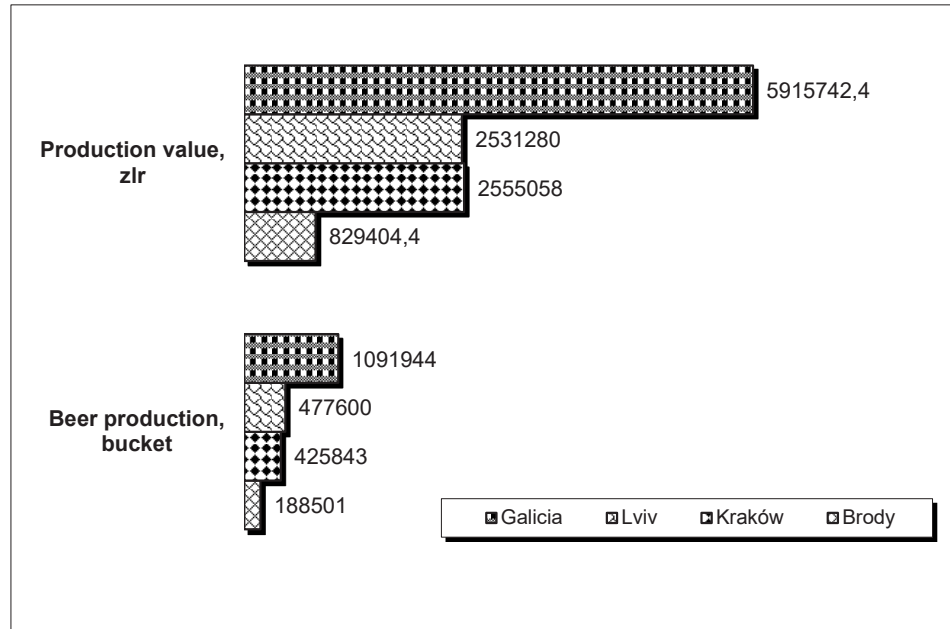


Figure 8. Issue and cost of brewery production in Galicia in the context of chambers of commerce and industry, 1875 (Pilat, 1876, p. 76, 94)

By 1878, the number of breweries decreased in almost all districts, except for the city of Lviv and the district of Rzeszów. The biggest number of breweries (since the early 1870's) were in Brody, Rzeszów, Peremyshlyany and Ternopil districts, the smallest number – in the cities of Kraków and Lviv, as well as in the Kolomyia district.

From all breweries in the campaign of 1877 – 1878 worked with a tax payment of less than 1,000 zlr about 31% of enterprises, from 1 to 4 thousand – 43%, from 4 to 10 thousand – 19% and more than 10 thousand zlr – 7%. For three years, the number of small breweries has increased (Fig. 9). Almost by 5% increased the number of breweries who paid less than 1 thousandzlr, by 4% – from 1 to 4 thousand zlr. Instead this decreased number of breweries that paid 4–10 thousand (by 5%) and more than 10 thousand (by 3.7%) zlr (Pilat, 1880, pp. 195–196).

As already noted, the number of breweries that used top fermentation method of brewing decreased and of the ones that usedbottomfermentation method increased (Fig. 10). The sustainable growth of beer production that usedbottom fermentation method was due to the fact that this beer was better and stronger.

The seasonal dynamics of Galicia's brewery has shown that the largest number of breweries (93–95%) worked:

- 1876 – February-March, less – December-January;
- 1877 – February-March, less – November-December;
- 1878 – January-March, less – December, April.

Table 2

Payment of taxes by Galician breweries in 1875 – 1878 (Pilat T., 1880, p. 205)

Tax region	Action	Breweries		Amount of taxes, thousands zlr.						
		Number	%	< 1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-7	7-10	>10
				Number of breweries						
Kraków (city)	1875-1876	6	2,55	1	0	0	1	1	0	3
	1876-1877	5	2,17	0	0	1	0	0	2	2
	1877-1878	4	1,79	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Lviv (city)	1875-1876	7	2,98	1	0	1	0	1	0	4
	1876-1877	6	2,61	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
	1877-1878	7	3,13	0	1	0	1	1	0	4
Brody	1875-1876	32	13,62	6	9	6	1	9	1	0
	1876-1877	30	13,04	7	5	6	4	6	1	1
	1877-1878	31	13,84	9	5	6	6	3	2	0
Rzeszów	1875-1876	32	13,62	12	9	5	3	2	1	0
	1876-1877	33	14,35	15	8	6	2	1	1	0
	1877-1878	33	14,73	16	10	3	3	0	1	0
Kolomyia	1875-1876	6	2,55	1	1	2	0	2	0	0
	1876-1877	6	2,61	1	2	1	0	2	0	0
	1877-1878	5	2,23	0	1	1	1	2	0	0
Kraków	1875-1876	15	6,38	3	1	1	1	5	1	3
	1876-1877	15	6,52	4	0	2	2	3	1	3
	1877-1878	15	6,70	3	3	1	2	3	1	2
Lviv	1875-1876	16	6,82	2	2	2	3	4	2	1
	1876-1877	17	7,39	4	2	4	2	3	1	1
	1877-1878	16	7,14							
NowySącz	1875-1876	14	5,96	5	1	2	2	1	2	1
	1876-1877	13	5,65	5	1	2	0	3	1	1
	1877-1878	13	5,80	4	1	2	0	4	2	0
Przemyśl	1875-1876	23	9,79	6	3	9	2	0	1	2
	1876-1877	22	9,57	6	6	7	0	0	1	2
	1877-1878	20	8,93	7	9	1	0	0	1	2
Sambir	1875-1876	15	6,38	1	0	4	2	5	2	1
	1876-1877	14	6,09	2	1	1	4	3	2	1
	1877-1878	13	5,80	1	4	1	2	3	1	1
Stanisław	1875-1876	19	8,08	2	4	4	1	5	0	3
	1876-1877	18	7,83	4	3	2	2	4	1	2
	1877-1878	17	7,59	7	2	1	2	2	2	1
Sanok	1875-1876	17	7,23	10	2	2	0	3	0	0
	1876-1877	16	6,96	7	3	3	1	1	1	0
	1877-1878	16	7,14	8	4	1	1	2	0	0
Tarnów	1875-1876	14	5,96	6	3	0	1	1	0	3
	1876-1877	13	5,65	6	2	0	0	2	0	3
	1877-1878	13	5,80	7	1	0	1	1	2	1
Ternopil	1875-1876	19	8,08	1	4	5	1	5	0	3
	1876-1877	22	9,56	2	6	5	3	2	1	3
	1877-1878	21	9,38	3	7	4	3	1	1	2
Galicia	1875-1876	235	100	57	39	43	18	44	10	24
	1876-1877	230	100	63	39	40	21	31	13	23
	1877-1878	224	100	69	52	23	22	26	17	15

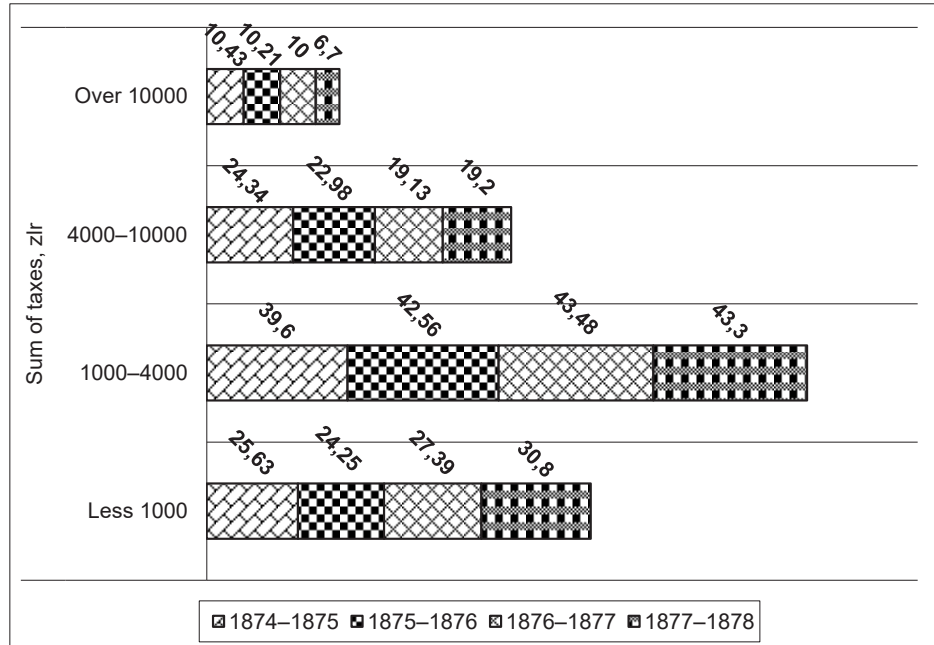


Figure 9. Classification of Galician breweries by size of taxes (Pilát, 1880, pp. 195–196)

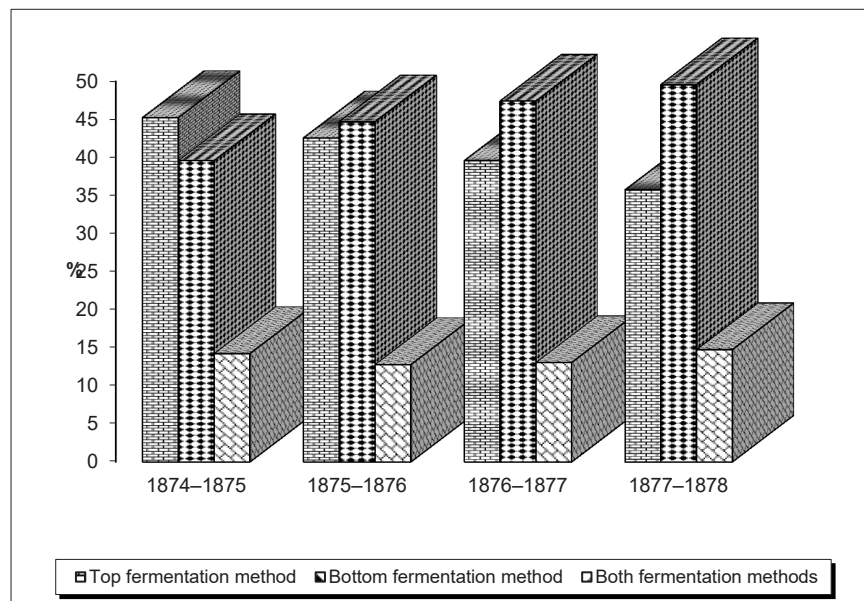


Figure 10. Classification of breweries by methods of fermentation (Pilát, 1880, p. 197)

With a decrease in the number of breweries, there was a decrease in the production of beer. In 1875 6 179310l of beer were produced (Fig. 11). In 1876 – 5958 530 l, in 1877 – 5078280 l, in 1878 – 5020240 l. However, it should be noted that in 1874 were produced 5067640 liters, which practically equaled to 1877 – 1878. Reduction of beer production was due to the production of a smaller number of higher grades of products. 9–10-degree beer was produced a little less than before 1875, 11–12-degree – as in the previous period, but the beer brand in 13 degrees was made much less (1875 – 109883hcl, 1876 – 72 197 hcl, 1877 – 39768 hcl, 1878 – 15671 hcl). A 14-degree beer were produced little – only 114 hcl in 1878 (1876 – 4306 hcl). Average strength of beer decreased with each year: 1874 – 11,5 °; 1875 – 11,3 °; 1876 – 11,2 °; 1877 – 11,18 °; 1878 – 11.07 ° (Pilat, 1880, p. 197).

In 1878, in comparison with 1876, the production of beer was generally lower in almost half of tax districts, with the exception of Brody, Kolomyia, Przemyśl, Stanisław and Lviv districts (southeastern Galicia). Steady leaders of beer production (Kraków and Tarnów districts) slowly lost their positions. In 1878, Lviv and Brody districts overtook them in terms of beer production. The smallest beer production was further by Kolomyia and Sanok districts.

In parallel with the reduction of production output, there was a decrease in the amount of taxes from 1117653 zlr in 1876 to 948791 in 1877 and 929 014 in 1878 (Pilat, 1880, pp. 217–219). However, in some districts there were certain exceptions of the rules. Thus, in Lviv and Tarnów districts, the percentage of taxes paid was higher than the percentage of production. At the same time, it was lower in Brody, Rzeszów and Sambir districts. This was due to the fact that breweries in Lviv and Tarnów districts produced beer of higher strength, for which higher tax rates were paid.

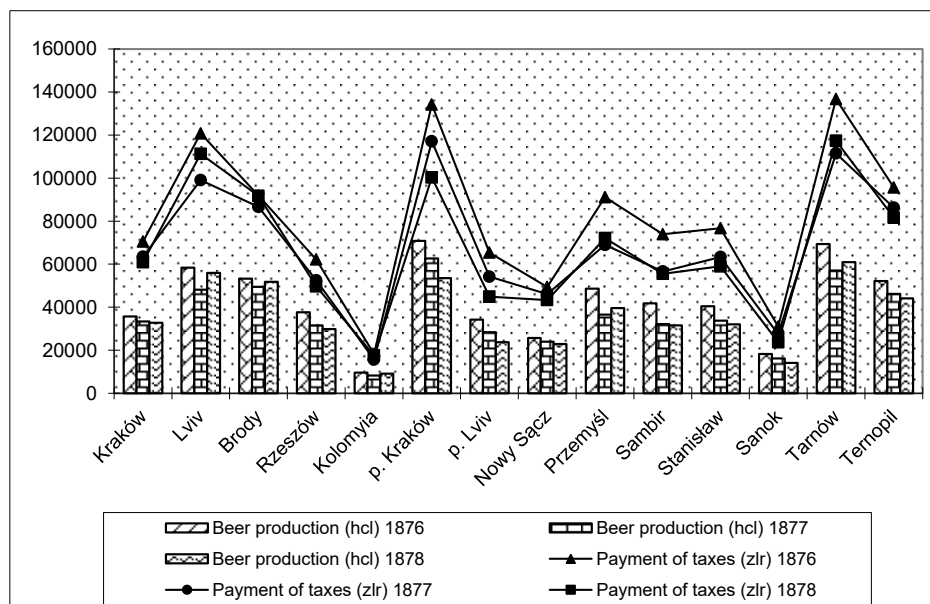


Figure 11. Production of beer and payment of taxes by Galicia's brewery in the context of tax districts (Pilat, 1880, p. 214–216)

During 1875 – 1876 the largest beer producer was the city of Lviv (7680 hcl). In 1877, the breweries of Krakow produced more beer (7810 hcl). From the suburban tax districts, the biggest volume of beer production, per one brewery, were in Kraków and Tarnów districts. The smallest were in Rzeszów and Sanok districts.

In Kraków and Lviv cities districts were produced the biggest volume of beer per capita (approximately 60 l/ person). In Tarnów it was 12–14 l/ person, Brody – 11–12 l/ person and Kraków suburban – 11–15 l/ person. The smallest volumes of beer production, per capita, were in Kolomyia (up to 2 l/ person), Sanok (3–4 l/ person) and Nowy Sącz (5–6 l/ person) districts.

In general, in Galicia, on average, one brewery produced 218–256 l beer per year, which per capita was in the range of 8.4–10.6 liters (Pilat T., 1880, p. 220).

The lowest prices were recorded in the Brody chamber of commerce and industry (8.5–9 zlr per 1 hcl of beer), the highest in Lviv (9.5–10.2). It should be noted that the price for beer in the city of Lviv was 2–2.5 zlr cheaper than outside the city district. The least variations of prices for beer were observed in the territory of Kraków (9.16–9.32 zlr) and Brody (8.5–9 zlr) chambers of commerce and industry. In Lviv chamber of commerce and industry there was a steady fall in prices from 10.17 to 9.48 zlr. There was also a decrease in the total cost of beer production in Galicia from 5.67 to 4.6 million zlr. Reduce of beer production in Galicia has led to a decrease in total income by almost 20% or by 1 million zlr (Pilat, 1880, s. 224). In 1876, the income of the breweries after paying taxes was 4550 thousand zlr, in 1877 – 3826 thousand zlr, in 1878 – 3703 thousand zlr.

From 1876 to 1907, in certain tax districts of Galicia, there was a diametrically opposite situation with the number of breweries: in some of them there were over 40, in others – less than 5. However, the trend was the same for all districts – the number of breweries has steadily decreased, reaching a 30-year fall by 2.5 times (Pilat, 1901, p. 224, 1904, p. 203, 1908, p. 234, Rutowski, 1887, p. 187).

During that period of 1876 – 1907 there were less than ten breweries in districts: the city of Kraków, the city of Lviv, Berezhany, Zhovkva, Kolomyia, Chortkiv. In Brody and Ternopil districts, the number of brewery has never been less than ten. The largest decrease in the number of enterprises was observed in Rzeszów (from 33 to 9) and Brody (from 30 to 11) tax districts. Absolute maximum (44 breweries) was recorded in Rzeszów district in 1884.

From 1885 to 1900, the production of beer in Galicia doubled – from 582 to 1155 thousand hcl; in Kolomyia district – by 4.7 times, in Lviv and Wadowice districts – 3.5–3.7 times, in Jarosław and Tarnów districts, three times (Fig. 12) (Pilat T., 1901, p. 225–227; 1904, p. 202, Rutowski T., 1889, p. 202, 1891, p. 214, 1893, p. 282, 1898, p. 253–256). Only in Kraków and Sambir districts the output decreased by 50 and 3%, respectively. The total volume of released products grew by 40–60 thousand hcl annually.

The beginning of the XX century was marked by the inhibition of the growth of beer production (Fig. 12). Between 1901 and 1907, beer production increased by only 20%, and in some years (1902, 1907) there was a decrease compared with the previous years (1903, 1906, respectively).

In different tax districts, the situation was different: in some districts, the production of beer decreased (Kraków, Zhovkva, Chortkiv), in others – increased. Significant growth (more than 30%) was recorded in Lviv, Brody, Kolomyia, Kraków and Tarnów districts.

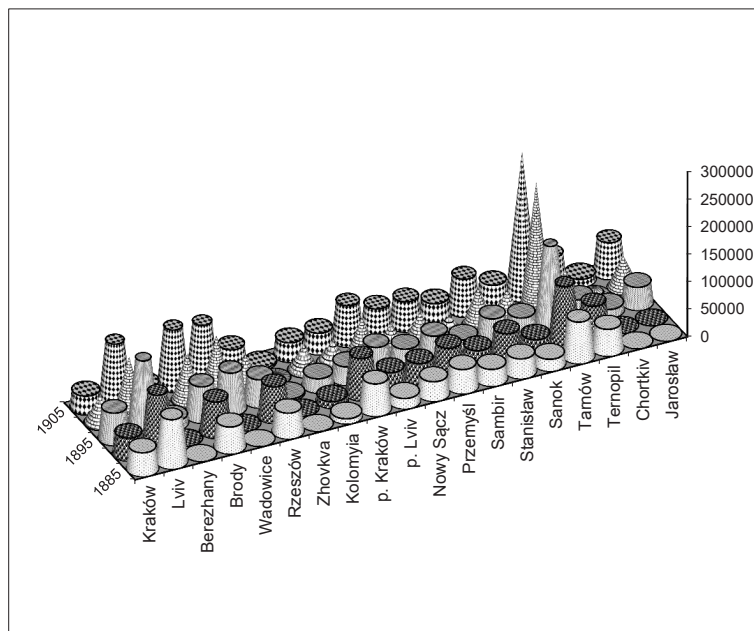


Figure 12. Beer production in tax districts of Galicia, 1885 – 1905, hcl (Pilat, 1901, p. 225–227; 1904, p. 202, Rutowski, 1889, p. 202, 1891, p. 214, 1893, p. 282, 1898, p. 253–256)

In accordance with volumes of released products, features of quality and grades of beer, tax laws in the years 1885 – 1900 there were next tax payments shown in fig. 13. In general, in Galicia, not pay attention on 1885, which was exceptional in the financial system of the region, the growth of taxes was in parallel with the output. During the relevant period, the amount increased from almost 1250 to 2,155 thousand zlr or 72.5%. If we compare that the output of breweries has doubled in that period, there were certain tax breaks for beer producers. The largest taxes were paid in Tarnów (20% of Galicia), the city of Lviv (10%) and Wadowice (9%); the smallest – Zhovkva (0.3%) and Chortkiv (1%).

In the following years (1900 – 1905), the same trends and features of taxation took place, so the picture of leaders and outsiders did not change (see Fig. 13). The growth of taxes in the province grew from 2131.4 thousand zlr to 2937.4 thousand zlr or 38%. It should be noted that the output for the relevant period increased by only 20%. However, you should not think that tax pressure on beer producers increased. More likely, this was due to inflationary processes in the first decade of the XX century. The share of the largest beer producer in Galicia – Tarnów district, was still the fifth. Somewhat decreased the share of Lviv city district (7.5%) and remained unchanged Wadowice district (9%). Chortkiv and Zhovkva together produced less than 1% of the total output of Galicia.

At the turn of the century, more than 20 million hcl of beer were produced in 1423 breweries in Austria (Fig. 14), from which Galicia accounted for only 5.75% (1.15 million liters). This rate was the fourth after the Czech Republic (46.1%), Lower Austria (18.7%) and Moravia (10.22%). The same place Galicia also occupied by the number of breweries. But the gross output did not characterize the real situation in the brewing region, because the average

productivity of the Galician brewery was much lower than the other territories of the state. Thus, one brewery in Lower Austria accounted for more than 59.4 thousand hcl of beer, more than 30.5 thousand hcl in Austrian Littoral, Styria – 21.3 thousand hcl, Moravia – 16.3 thousand hcl, Bukovyna – 15.7 thousand hcl, the Czech Republic – 14.2 thousand hcl, Silesia – 12.6 thousand hcl, then in Galicia – about 9.85 thousand hcl, which was the eight result of 14 regions of Austria (Pilat, 1904, p. 201).

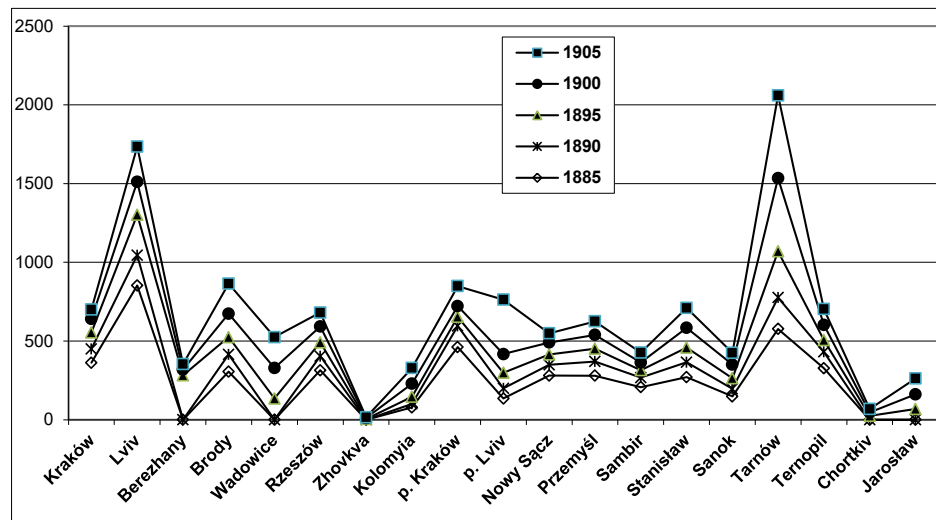


Figure 13. Tax payment by Galician brewery in the context of tax districts, zlr

For production of beer per capita Galicia took one of the last places (15 l / person), ahead of only the Kraina and the Austrian Littoral. Beer production in Salzburg (2.83 hcl / person), Czech Republic (1.46 hcl / person) and Lower Austria (1.21 g / person) were the highest per capita.

It should also be noted that Galicia produced per capita 7.7 liters of alcohol and only 15 liters of beer.

In the 1920's, there was a small amount of industrial breweries in Galicia (1928 – 41, 2054 workers), which produced over 100 million liters of beer. These plants operated power systems with a total capacity of over 8300 hp (Mały rocznik statystyczny, 1930, p. 47).

In the mid-1930's, the number of brewery in Galicia continued to decrease, reaching only 34 enterprises in 1937, more than a third of them concentrated in the Lvivvoivodship. In Krakówvoivodship, during the years of 1933 – 1937, there were 8–10 breweries. In Lviv at the same time there were 12–13. In Stanislawiv – 5, and Ternopil – 9–11. The brewery generally employed 1,600 people, each of which had 43 people. The largest number of employees, indicating the size of brewing enterprises, was in the Krakówvoivodship, where more than 110 people worked on average in each enterprise (Statystyka przemysłowa, 1935, p. 44–50, 1938, p. 58–68).

94% of brewery workers were men. The rest were women and, in single cases, boys and girls.

During the 1930's, breweries and other enterprises of Galicia produced from 630 (in 1937) to 750 (in 1931) thousand hcl of beer and malt. 80% of that production were various sorts of beer (Fig. 15). There was an annual decline in production of beer and malt, which was confirmed by a decrease in the number of enterprises themselves.

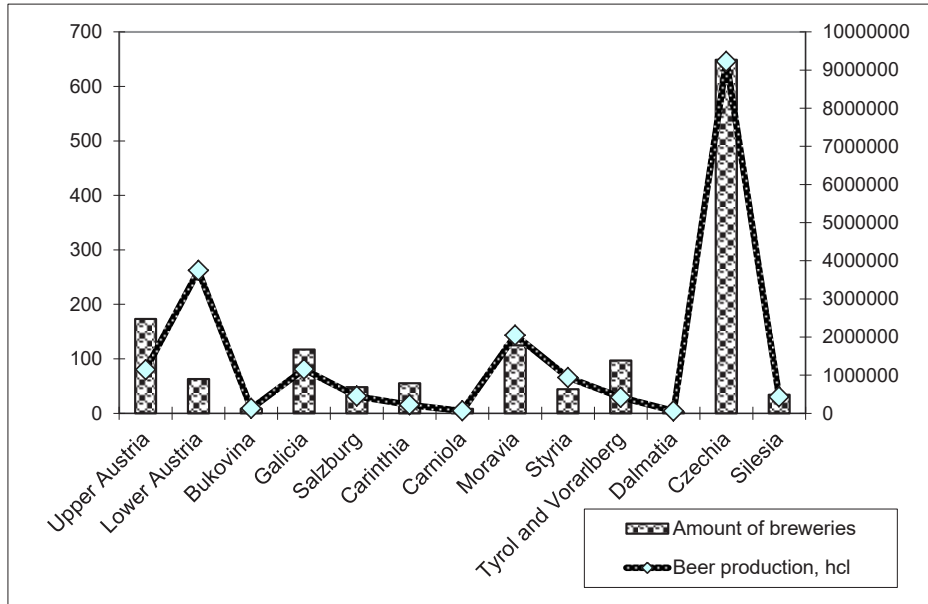


Figure 14. Producing of beer in Austria in 1900 (Pilat, 1904, p. 201)

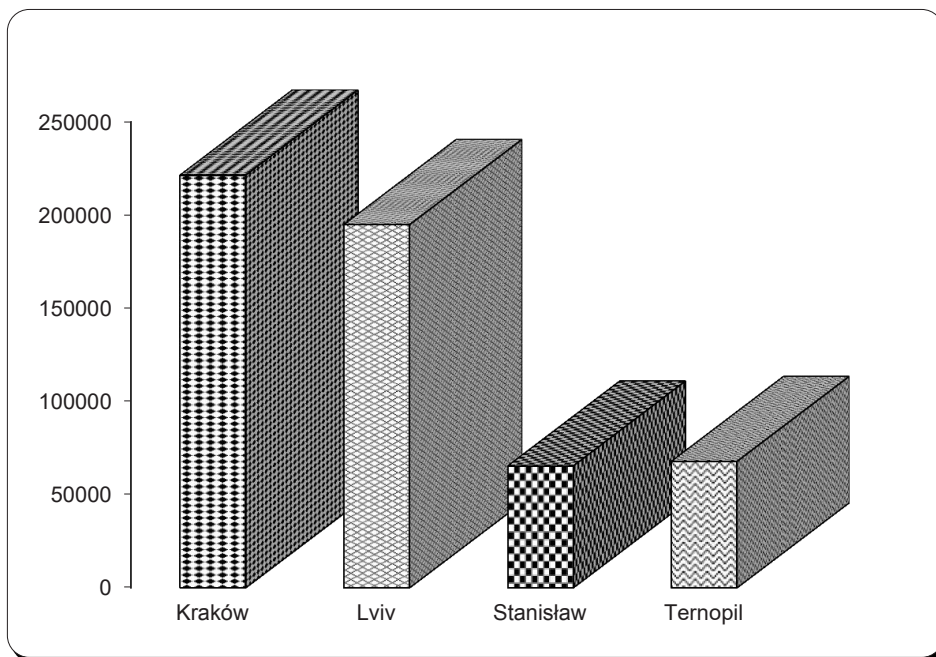


Figure 15. Beer production in Galicia, 1937, thshcl (Statystyka przemysłowa, 1938, pp. 58–68)

Conclusions. In the middle of the XIX century there were over 300 primitive breweries. From 1847 to 1856, their number decreased by a third at a stable output. From 1857 to 1865, the number of breweries increased from 263 to 313. The dramatic increase in output, which began with its increase by 45% in 1857, peaked in 1865, when it reached 692 thousand hcl of beer, in 2.8 times. Then there was a decrease in the number from 313 in 1865 to 101 in 1907, that is, three times. At the same time, the output of finished products for the corresponding period increased from 588.5 to 1370 thousand hcl or 2.3 times. Productivity has increased by seven times. Proportionally to volumes of finished products, taking into account the features and sizes of tax legislation, there was a growth of paid taxes (1847 – 240 thousand zlr, 1871 – 1 million zlr, 1899 – 2 million zlr, 1907 – 2.6 million zlr). In the 1847 – 1857 breweries paid less than 1 zlr tax for produced 1 hcl of beer. In 1858 – 1859 – 1,5zlr, in 1865 – 1907 – almost 2 zlr.

In 1875, in comparison with previous years (this situation lasted from 1865), the number of breweries decreased from 237 in 1873 – 1874 to 230 or 2.95%. There was a tendency towards consolidation of enterprises, which displaced small unprofitable breweries. If in 1874 35.6% of all breweries paid over 1000 zlr taxes, then in 1875 they remained only 25.63% of it. At the same time, the number of those who paid annually more than 10 thousand zlr increased (10.43% versus 6.8%).

In the years of 1875 – 1878, the number of breweries declined each year both in absolute terms and in the number of large enterprises. By the 1878, the number of breweries decreased in almost all districts, except for the city of Lviv and the district of Rzeszów. Of the total number of breweries in the campaign of 1877 – 1878, 31% of enterprises paid less than 1,000, 7% - more than 10,000 zlr. In parallel with the decrease in the number of breweries, there was a decrease in the production of beer (from 6.2 to 5.05 million liters) and the amount of taxes (from 1.12 to 0.93 million zlr). On average, one brewery produces 218–256 hcl of beer, which was 8.4–10.6 l / person annually. Decrease in beer production has led to a decrease in the total income of breweries by 20% (from 4.55 to 3703 million zlr).

Between 1876 and 1907, the number of breweries has steadily decreased, reaching 2.5 times in 30 years. From 1885 to 1900, the production of beer in Galicia doubled – from 582 to 1155 thousand hcl; the volume of production has grown annually by 40–60 thousand hcl. Growth of the amount of taxes occurred in parallel with the output. During the relevant period, the amount increased from 1250 to 2156 thousand zlr or 72.5%. The beginning of the XX century was marked by the inhibition of the growth of brewery production. In the years of 1901 – 1907, the production of beer grew by only 20%, taxes – from 2131.4 to 2937.4 thousand zlr or 38%.

In the 1920's there was a small amount of industrial breweries (41, 2054 workers) who produced more than 100 million liters of beer. Since the mid-1930s, the number of brewery has decreased to 34, a third of which has concentrated in the Lvivvoivodship. 1,600 people worked in the breweries (43 people per enterprise). During the 1930s, breweries and malting plants produced 630-750 thousand hcl of beer and malt annually, of which 80% consisted production of various sorts of beer.

The breweries of Galicia, having 10% of the enterprises, produced only 5% of the Austrian brewery production. More than 40% of all Austrian breweries were in the Czech Republic, which produced more than 42% of products. The share of Galicia in the total amount of Austro-Hungarian brewery was 4.1–4.3%, and in the total amount of beer produced (almost 1.1 buckets = 2.65 million liters). That is only 4–5.25%. The opposite trend was observed in

providing beer per capita. In Salzburg, for one inhabitant, there were 3 buckets of beer, in Upper and Lower Austria 2–2.5, in the Czech Republic 1.6, then in Galicia this figure was only 0.2 bucket (2.5 liters). In 1875 Galicia produced beer in the amount of almost 6 million zlr.

At the turn of the century, more than 20 million hcl of beer was produced in 1423 breweries in Austria, from which Galicia accounted for only 5.75% (1.15 million liters). This rate was the fourth after the Czech Republic (46.1%), Lower Austria (18.7%) and Moravia (10.22%). The same place Galicia also occupied by the number of breweries. But the gross output did not characterize the real situation in the brewing region, because the average productivity of the Galician brewery was much lower than on other territories of the state. Thus, one brewery in Lower Austria accounted for more than 59.4 thousand hcl of beer, more than 30.5 thousand hcl in Austrian Littoral, while in Galicia – about 9.85 thousand hcl (8 of 14 regions of Austria).

For production of beer per capita Galicia took one of the last places (15 l / person), ahead of only the Kraina and the Austrian Littoral. Beer production in Salzburg (2.83 hcl / person), Czech Republic (1.46 hcl / person) and Lower Austria (1.21 g / person) were the highest per capita. It should also be noted that Galicia produced per capita 7.7 liters of alcohol and only 15 liters of beer.

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**BRITISH CONSULATES IN PORT CITIES
OF THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA AND AZOV REGION
OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURIES**

Summary. *The purpose of the research is to study the history of British consular offices in port cities of the Southern Ukraine at the times of the Russian Empire. The research methodology is based on search and comprehensive study of representative complexes of primarily sources on the history of the British consulates in the region, in particular, the annual consular reports to London. The scientific novelty: changes in the network of consulates of the British Empire and in the configuration of British consular districts in the region have been tracked; lists of consular representatives in each consular office have been composed; the specifics of the consuls' status, functions and working conditions have been researched. Conclusions.* *The development of the network of British consular offices in port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, which took place after the*

end of the Crimean War, unambiguously demonstrated the understanding by official London prospects of the deployment of economic ties with the region. During the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries the consular district of Odessa turned into the largest British consular district on the territory of the Russian Empire in number of consular offices. Forming the consular staff, the British Empire for a long time preferred appointing «non-trading» consuls, or «consul de carriere», which required considerably more money, but allowed consuls to focus on their professional duties, while the majority of consular representatives of other countries in the region were engaged in business. On the other hand, approaches of official London to the formation of the consular staff, financing consuls and the regulation of their activities had a number of disadvantages, which ultimately led to a revision of these approaches. However, the dynamics of development of economic relations between ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region and the British Empire was affected by a wide range of factors, and, despite the efforts of the British consuls, this dynamics was not always positive. So, the consuls only had to report about such a state of affairs, recalling with nostalgia «better times» of British trade in the region.

Key words: consulate, consular district, the British Empire, the Russian Empire, port

БРИТАНСЬКІ КОНСУЛЬСЬКІ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВА В ПОРТОВИХ МІСТАХ ПІВНІЧНОГО ПРИЧОРНОМОР'Я І ПРИАЗОВ'Я ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ ст.

Анотація. Мета роботи полягає у висвітленні історії британських консульських установ у портових містах Південної України за часів Російської імперії. **Методологія дослідження** базується на виявленні та комплексному опрацюванні представницьких джерельних комплексів з історії британських консульств в регіоні, і зокрема, щорічних консульських рапортів до Лондона. **Наукова новизна** полягає у простеженні змін в мережі консульств Британської імперії і в конфігурації британських консульських округів в регіоні, встановленні персонального складу консульських представників у кожній з консульських установ, в дослідженні специфіки їхнього статусу, функцій і умов праці. **Висновки.** Розбудова мережі британських консульських представництв у портових містах Північного Причорномор'я і Приазов'я, що мала місце після завершення Кримської війни, недвозначно демонструвала розуміння офіційним Лондоном перспективності розгортання економічних зв'язків із цим регіоном. Впродовж другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. Одеський консульський округ перетворився на самий великий за кількістю консульських установ консульських округів Великої Британії в Російській імперії. При формуванні персонального складу консулів Британська імперія довго робила ставку на «non-trading» консулів, або ж «consul de carriere», що вимагало значно більше коштів, але при цьому мало забезпечувати зосередженість саме на виконанні консульських обов'язків, тоді як абсолютна більшість консульських представників інших держав у регіоні основним заняттям мала бізнес. З іншого боку, підходи офіційного Лондона до формування складу консулів, їх утримання і регламентації їхньої діяльності мали цілу низку вад, що, зрештою, спонукали до перегляду цих підходів. Втім, на динаміку економічних зв'язків між портами Північного Причорномор'я і Приазов'я із Британською імперією впливав цілий комплекс факторів, тож, попри ті зусилля, що докладались британськими консулами у регіоні, ця динаміка далеко не завжди була позитивною. І консулам залишалось лише це констатувати, із ностальгією згадуючи про «кращі часи» британської торгівлі у регіоні.

Ключові слова: консульство, консульський округ, Британська імперія, Російська імперія, порт

The problem statement. Whereas Ukraine is on a course of European integration and the country develops regional smart specialisation strategies, it is important to explore deeper the previous experience of collaboration of Ukrainian regions with European states, including the cooperation that carried out with the help of foreign consular offices. In times when a large part of Ukrainian lands belonged to the Russian Empire, the sea ports of the Southern Ukraine, from Odessa on the west to Mariupol on the east, played a special role in such

cooperation. They were real «windows on Europe» for the Empire, ensuring the specialisation of the region in export of mainly agricultural products and raw materials. Such specialisation, on the one hand, largely caused the establishment of foreign consular offices in ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, and, on the other hand, was developed with assistance of these offices. Among countries which demonstrated remarkable activities here, the British Empire was: being «mistress of the seas», Great Britain logically showed a primary interest in the coastal regions. The study of the history of British consular offices in port cities of the Southern Ukraine at the times of the Russian Empire is **the purpose of the research.**

The analysis of recent researches. Despite the apparent significance of the history of foreign consulates in Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire in the 19th – early 20th centuries, until recently only a few monographs and candidate's theses on this issue have appeared, and none of them is devoted precisely to the history of consular offices of the British Empire in port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region (Adadurov; Agstner; Halm; Lyman, 2018 a; Vovchuk). Under these conditions, we began to study biographies of the British consuls in the port city of Berdyansk. As a result, several articles on the personalities of the consuls (Konstantinova; Lyman, 2015 a, b, 2016 a, b, 2017 a, 2018 c), monographs «British consul and industrialist John Edward Greaves» (Lyman, 2017 b) and «British consuls in the port city of Berdyansk» (Lyman, 2018 b) have been published. However, Berdyansk is just one of the port cities in the region, where a consular office of the British Empire acted, and not the most significant one. Therefore, it is advisable to study the entire network of British consular offices in the port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region.

Statement of the basic material. The interest of the British Empire, as well as other Western European countries, in the ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region was closely connected with the consequences of the industrial revolution and the substantial growth of the population of these countries, which led to an increase in the demand for grain imports. Steppes of the Southern Ukraine could offer this grain. The number of vessels under British flag which visited the ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, as well as the quantities of grain they had exported from there, increased dramatically after 1846, when Great Britain had canceled the import duty on this product (Sartor, p. 159, 160). The Eastern (Crimean) war interrupted British trade through the ports of the region, and shortly after the capitulation of the Russian Empire official London began to prepare the ground for the expansion of the network of consular offices in the «Russian» port cities of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Temporarily, consuls of Denmark provided assistance to British subjects there.

The year of 1858 became significant for the development of the consular network of the British Empire; it is no accident that the Foreign Office required to make comparisons with this year in later consular reports. New consular offices were established on the territory of the district of the consul general in Odessa, which had been founded in 1804 (Adadurov, p. 117). In particular, on January 12, 1858, Queen Victoria appointed consuls to several points on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov coast, where consulates of her empire were held: one to Sukhum-Kale and Redut-Kale, and another to Berdyansk. Then Robert William Cumberbatch became the consul in the latter (Foreign-Office, January 12, 1858). The British consulate was arranged in Kerch, and in 1858 the vice-consul in Theodosia, the consular agent in Yenikale and the guardian in Sevastopol were subordinated to it (Accounts and Papers, p. 87).

In 1861, in addition to the consulate general in Odessa, there were consulates in Kerch and Berdyansk, vice-consulates in Kherson and Theodosia (*Annuaire Diplomatique de l'Empire de Russie*, p. 57–58).

As of 1871, the jurisdiction of the British consulate general in Odessa was extended from the Danube to Poti, the distance between which along the coastline of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov reaches 1500 miles. In the Ukrainian lands under the jurisdiction of the consulate general there were consulates in Nikolaev, Kerch and Berdyansk, as well as the vice-consulate in Theodosia, beyond these lands – the consulates in Taganrog and Poti (*Accounts and Papers*, p. 93).

In 1887, in frames of the consular district of Odessa, the Foreign Office received reports of the consul general in Odessa, the vice-consuls in Nikolaev, Sevastopol, Kerch, as well as in Poti and Batumi (*Foreign Office, 1887, Annual Series, # 115*). The same year, official London received «Report for the Year 1886 on the Trade of the Ports of the Sea of Azoff», which included reports of a British consul in Taganrog and a vice-consul in Berdyansk (*Foreign Office, 1887, Annual Series, # 80*).

Already since 1888, in frames of the consular district of Odessa, in addition to the reports of the vice-consuls in Nikolaev, Sevastopol, Kerch, Poti and Batumi, reports were also submitted of a vice-consul in Berdyansk and a representative of the British vice-consulate in Kerch in the port of Novorossiysk (*Foreign Office, 1888*). Since the next year reports of a vice-consul in Kiev and a consular agent in Evpatoria were also added to the report of the consul general in Odessa (*Foreign Office, 1889*).

In 1890 – 1896, reports of the consul general in Odessa were accompanied by reports from Nikolaev, Sevastopol and Kiev, in 1890, 1892, 1902, 1903, 1905 – 1908 – also from Evpatoria, in 1897 – 1908 – from Theodosia; since 1907 reports from Kherson were added.

Since 1890, when only part of the ports of the region remained in direct accountability to the consulate general in Odessa, reports of vice-consuls in Kerch and Berdyansk began to be submitted in frames of the consular district of Taganrog (*Foreign Office, 1890*). From 1892, reports of a vice-consul in Rostov-on-Don were also added. In 1894 – 1902, in addition to the above mentioned, a consul in Taganrog also sent reports of a consular agent in Genichesk, and since 1897 – of a vice-consul in Mariupol.

Since 1903 reports from most of the ports of the Sea of Azov London already received in frames of the consular district of Rostov-on-Don. It refers to the reports of consuls in Rostov-on-Don, vice-consuls in Kerch, Mariupol and a consulate agent in Genichesk. In 1904 and 1908, the reports of a vice-consul in Taganrog were added to them, in 1908 – the report of a vice-consul in Berdyansk, whereas in 1907 and 1908 reports of a consular agent in Genichesk were no longer submitted.

Reports of the consular district of Odessa for 1908, which were compiled and published in 1909, were already much more numerous than before: they included reports from Odessa, Kerch, Nikolaev, Berdyansk, Evpatoria, Kherson, Mariupol, Sevastopol, Theodosia, as well as Kharkov, Rostov-on-Don and Taganrog (# 4295. *Annual Series*). So, now all the lands of the Southern Ukraine were again under the direct jurisdiction of the consulate general in Odessa. In the same composition, reports of the consular district of Odessa were submitted in subsequent years, besides, reports from Kiev were added to them.

The above changes in the representation of consular reports compiled in the cities of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov for the Foreign Office were due in part to changes in the network of consular offices in the region. In particular, in 1871, Peter Barrow, the consul in

Kerch, who at that time had a vice-consul in Theodosia in his subordination, reported that the only point in which the consular post was abolished after 1858 was Yenikale (Accounts and Papers, p. 89). However, Keith Edward Abbott, the consul general in Odessa, in the same 1871 in response to the similar request from the Foreign Office did not mention the liquidation of the consular post in Yenikale, while pointing out that since 1858 such posts on the territory of his consulate general were abolished only in Sukhum-Kale and Kherson (Accounts and Papers, p. 98). As for the latter, the British consular office, as well as all other foreign consular offices, was closed there in 1866, which was directly interconnected with the termination of foreign trade through the port of Kherson that year. Instead, in the same 1866, the British consulate was opened in Nikolaev, where a consul from Kherson was transferred (The National Archives). By that time the port in Nikolaev was open for foreign vessels for already four years. But a year before the opening of the port for foreign vessels Nikolaev, where a part of the Navy of the Russian Empire was dislocated, had no one foreign consulate (*Annuaire Diplomatique de l'Empire de Russie*, p. 49–68). In Mariupol, the vice-consulate was opened only in 1896 (# 1736. *Diplomatic and Consular Reports*, p. 1). Prior to that, from 1858 to 1876, the British subjects living in Mariupol or visiting this city were under protection of a consul in Berdyansk. When in 1876 the consulate in the latter was reorganized into the vice-consulate, Mariupol was transferred under the jurisdiction of the consulate in Taganrog. As for Berdyansk, the activities of the vice-consulate in this port city were interrupted from 1903 to January 1, 1908 (# 4027. *Annual Series*, p. 11). In the same year of 1908, on August 12, the activities of the British consular office in Kherson resumed (# 4295. *Annual Series*, p. 81). This was preceded by the opening of the port in Kherson and the connection of the city with the railway network.

The full heuristics of consular reports from the region of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries gave an opportunity to find out that the port cities of the Southern Ukraine had such British consuls:

Odessa (consuls general): Grenville Murray (1855 – 1868), George Benvenuto Mathew (1858), Frederic Cortazzi (vice-consul, 1866 – 1874), Keith Edward Abbott (1870 – 1873), Robert Stuart (1874), Stanley (1875 – 1883), Gerald Raoul Perry (1884 – 1888), Webster (vice-consul, 1885), Stevens (vice-consul, 1887), Thomas B. Sandwith (1889 – 1890), P. Stevens (acting consul general, 1891 – 1892), A. W. Woodhouse (acting consul general, 1892 – 1893), C. E. Stewart (1893 – 1898), H. G. Mackie (acting consul general, 1896 – 1899), C. S. Smith (1900 – 1913), James Frederick Roberts (1916);

Berdyansk: Robert William Cumberbatch (1858–1864), William George Wagstaff (1864 – 1865, 1874 – 1876), James Ernest Napoleon Zohrab (1865 – 1874), Harvey Robert Lowe (1877 – 1903), Greene (acting vice-consul, 1893), Spirs Gabriele (acting vice-consul, 1896, 1898, 1902), John Edward Greaves (1908 – 1918);

Kerch: Jackson Eldridge (1858 – 1863), Robert Ch. Clipperton (1864 – 1866), Peter Barrow (1866 – 1879), Colledge (1880 – 1883), Stevens (1884), Hunt (1887 – 1895, 1902), Henry (1892), Wardrop (1896 – 1902), Waite (acting vice-consul, 1903), Costala (acting vice-consul, 1904), Michell (1906 – 1908), H. E. Dickie (1909 – 1913), M. Мегалос (M. Megalos) (1916);

Theodosia: Charles Clipperton (1862), Edward B. B. Barker (1863 – 1874), Rees (1896 – 1906), Liebmann (acting vice-consul, 1902), Carassarini (acting vice-consul, 1908 – 1909), W. C. W. von Stürler (1910 – 1916);

Kherson: Stevens (1865 – 1866), E. W. Caruana (1909 – 1913);

Nikolaev: George Stevens (1866 – 1876), Cicognani (acting consul, 1872, 1873), Charles Lawton (1876 – 1877, 1884), William George Wagstaff (1876 – 1884), Arthur Woodhouse (1885 – 1905), Sigismund Gorzher (proconsul, 1902 – 1903), Vivian H. C. Bosanquet (1905 – 1906), John Picton Bagge (1906 – 1917), Henry James Brown (till 1918);

Sevastopol: Samuel Henry Harford (1875 – 1876, 1882 – 1884, 1887 – 1890), Moffat (1878), Stiffel (1879), Grierson (1885), Mallison (acting vice-consul, 1890), P. W. I. Stevens (1891 – 1892), Owen (acting vice-consul, 1892), A. P. Murray (1893 – 1898), A. W. Woodhouse (acting vice-consul, 1894), C. E. Stewart (1893 – 1894), C. J. Cooke (1898 – 1901), Mackie (1902 – 1903), Erskine (1904 – 1908), K. Ringeling (acting vice-consul, 1909), Young (1910), John Lowdon (1912 – 1916);

Evpatoria: H. J. B. Martin (consular agent, 1889 – 1916);

Genichesk: Costala (consular agent, 1894 – 1916);

Mariupol: William Sherrington Walton (1896 – 1917).

It should be emphasized that, as consuls and vice-consuls noted in their reports to London, the consular offices in the region had mainly economic, commercial functions, which were determined by roles of the port cities in which they were located. In this context, the remark of consul James Ernest Napoleon Zohrab is indicative: «Politically, Berdiansk is of no importance whatever» (Accounts and Papers, p. 72). At the same time, Peter Barrow, the consul in Kerch, noted: «The character of this consulate is, generally speaking, commercial, but might, at any given moment, become political, owing to the annual sojourn of the Imperial Court at Yalta» (Accounts and Papers, p. 87). Only the assessment of the character of his consulate by the consul general in Odessa Keith Edward Abbott was fundamentally different from the others. Abbott, noting that he did not receive any instruction from London for a precise definition of the character of his consulate, considered the functions both political and commercial. Moreover, the commercial functions, with the exception of the management of the shipping business, were not numerous, and «the nature of the correspondence from this office is more political and general than commercial» (Accounts and Papers, p. 95). At the same time, it is indicative that the British consul in the Russian capital Thomas Michell generally considered that it was impossible to believe that any paid consulate had no political functions (Accounts and Papers, p. 112).

The last remark is related to the fact that for the long time the British Empire adhered to the approach according to which its consular representatives should be in the state service without combining their duties with trade or other business.

In this regard James Ernest Napoleon Zohrab noted that, among all the foreign consuls in Berdyansk, only he and the consul of Italy were «non-trading» or «consuls de carrière», the rest were «trading» or «consuls honoraire» (Accounts and Papers, p. 74–75). At that time, the consul general in Odessa reported that on the territory of his consular district, from Odessa to Poti, there was not any unpaid British consul (Accounts and Papers, p. 98).

The situation changed considerably in the late 19th – early 20th centuries, when representatives of business appeared on various consular positions in the region. One of them was John Edward Greaves – the founder and chairman of the board of the joint-stock company «Etablissements industriels de Berdiansk John Greaves et C^o, Société anonyme», which owned the largest in Europe plant of reapers manufacturing (Lyman, 2017 b). It is interesting that three decades before he became British vice-consul, this subject of the British Empire offered his candidacy for the post of German consul in Berdyansk, but Berlin chose another challenger (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts).

The fact that for a long time in frames of the period under study the British consuls had the status of «non-trading» caused the situation when the vast majority of them represented interests of the British Empire exclusively. However, the yearbook «Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire généalogique, diplomatique et statistique» during the years of service of Robert William Cumberbatch in Berdyansk mentioned his surname in the list of not only British but also Prussian consuls. But the study of consular documents of Secret State Archives of Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz) in Berlin gives us reasons to assert that this was a mistake, and the Prussian consul in Berdyansk in the relevant years was Johan Haemmerle (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

The incompatibility of posts by British consuls contradicted to the extremely widespread practice in the region, when one person was a consul of several states at once. This practice was predetermined primarily by the fact that in many cases, first of all in small towns a country did not have its subjects, capable and willing to perform consular duties for free, and the volume of consular work was not significant.

As for the British «non-trading» consuls in the region, they were almost unanimous in arguing that their salaries and money for office allowance were insufficient, which allowed them to live in a very modest way, while their status demanded additional expenses.

In reports to London, the British consuls noted that in this part of the Russian Empire they did not have privileges compared with their foreign counterparts. The consul in Kerch was even more categorical: «There are no privileges or jurisdiction enjoyed or exercised by my colleagues, any more than by myself. I know of no country where the position of Consuls stands so low as in this part of Russia. We are treated simply as commercial agents – are refused any privilege but what is enjoyed by foreigners generally, and are scarcely recognized as public functionaries» (Accounts and Papers, p. 89).

The working hours of the consuls were not limited by the official office hours (according to reports, the consulate general in Odessa worked daily from 10:00 to 15:00, the consulate in Berdyansk – from 10:00 to 12:00 and from 14:00 to 17:00, the consulate in Kerch – from 10:00 to 12:00 and from 14:00 to 16:00, having a day off on Sunday). The consul general in Odessa noted that his own official duties «occupy a much longer time», and the main problem was the absence, unlike in 1858, the position of a vice-consule in the staff of the consulate general. The consul in Berdyansk stated that despite the schedule, he received shipmasters at his office at whatever hour. The consul in Kerch reported that the above schedule concerned only the receiving of local residents, while shipmasters and travelers could be served from 6:00 to 24:00 (Accounts and Papers, p. 73–74, 88, 97).

According to reports of the British consuls in the region, their responsibilities included: drawing up contracts, administer oaths; notarization of documents; record of baptism, wedding and death; visiting British subjects – patients in hospitals and prisoners; protection of interests of British subjects in courts, including the provision of translation services; participation in the resolution of conflicts between shipmasters, sailors, and merchants; providing shelter to British subjects who had been unjustly persecuted; ordering and attesting various reference information (Accounts and Papers, p. 88); taking care of cargo of British vessels shipwrecked; management of the salaries of discharged seamen; answering written requests from British subjects, regardless of which place of the world these requests came from; receipt and management of the state fees; correspondence with the Foreign Office and other government institutions of the British Empire, with other consulates, representatives of local authorities etc. (Accounts and Papers, p. 97).

If we talk about the volume of documents and work done, then, say, in the British consulate general in Odessa in 1871, in addition to the annual report on trade and quarterly reports, 468 dispatches, letters and returns were received and sent; 12 surveys were ordered and registered; 97 protests were noted and extended; 162 bills of health were issued; 29 logs were inspected, certified and extracted; 39 orders of arrest, hospital orders and boarding-house orders were processed; 269 ship articles were signed; 6 ship registers and logs were endorsemented; 194 fee lists were given for shipping, 9 births, 4 marriages and 3 deaths, 6 general business, 269 ships entered and 267 ships cleared were registered; 18 passports were granted or vised; 17 official certificates were issued; 91 signatures were attested; 24 copies of documents, 11 swearing affidavits, 7 cases of desertions of seamen were certified; cases of 26 discharged and 19 engaged seamen were solved. In general, during 1871 the consulate general compiled and processed 2047 documents, while in 1858 – only 775, of which 541 concerned registration of ships entered and ships cleared (Accounts and Papers, p. 97). In the same 1871 (until November), the British consulate in Berdyansk compiled and processed only 90 documents (in 1858 – 100) (Accounts and Papers, p. 73), the British consulate in Kerch – 129 (in 1858 – 147) (Accounts and Papers, p. 88).

Additional difficulties in fulfilling these responsibilities were that for many of them it was impossible to find instructions or precedents (Accounts and Papers, p. 88).

Conclusions. The development of the network of British consular offices in port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, which took place after the end of the Crimean War, unambiguously demonstrated the understanding by official London prospects of the deployment of economic ties with the region. During the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries the consular district of Odessa turned into the largest British consular district on the territory of the Russian Empire in number of consular offices.

Forming the consular staff, the British Empire for a long time preferred appointing «non-trading» consuls, or «consul de carriere», which required considerably more money, but allowed consuls to focus on their professional duties, while the majority of consular representatives of other countries in the region were engaged in business. On the other hand, approaches of official London to the formation of the consular staff, financing consuls and the regulation of their activities had a number of disadvantages, which ultimately led to a revision of these approaches.

However, the dynamics of development of economic relations between ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region and the British Empire was affected by a wide range of factors, and, despite the efforts of the British consuls, this dynamics was not always positive. So, the consuls only had to report about such a state of affairs, recalling with nostalgia «better times» of British trade in the region.

Perspectives of further research of this issue are the continuation of the series of books «History of foreign consulates in the South of Ukraine» and the multi-volume edition «The Ukrainian South as viewed by consuls of the British Empire (19th – early 20th centuries)», initiated by us.

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**THE ANCIENT POLAND STATE SYSTEM IN SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSIONS
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURY**

Summary. *The purpose of the research* – is to demonstrate the heated discussion in the Polish historiography concerning the ancient Poland state system issues in the context of the modern typology of the scientific conflicts. **The methodology of the research** is based on the general scientific and special historical methods application. The principles of historicism, the objectivity and the value approach concerning the studied phenomena have been observed. The study source base has been covered and ensured by the heuristic method application. The use of the historical-genetic, historical-typological and historical-systemic methods has made it possible to reproduce and follow precisely the scientific discussions unfolding and to obtain the correct conclusions. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in historiography, the scientific controversy in the beginning of the XXth century concerning the state system of the ancient Polish state, which was developed between the scientists O. Balcer and S. Kutrzeba and was supported by other researchers, is regarded as a worldview controversy of the numerous historiographic centers and generations representatives. **Conclusions.** *The essence of the*

scientific conflict between the researchers O. Balcer and S. Kutrzeba consisted in the theoretical and methodological aspects, as it arose because of the conceptual differences within the classical positivist model of historiography that at the beginning of the XXth century stepped into the phase of the modernist transformations. As far as we are concerned, such conflicts have rarely a destructive nature, but rather contribute to the fruitful competition of ideas, since «the minimum level presence competition creates the conditions for the new ideas birth» (Collins, 2002). Therefore, it is undisputed that the above-mentioned controversy contributed to the further scientific progress significantly, as it inspired scientists to study the ancient Polish state nature more thoroughly, as well as raised the new issues, revised many fundamental problems, and even led to the introduction of new numerous views into the historical science in the participants' publications.

Key words: Polish historiography, historical legal research, scientific discussion, scientific conflict.

ДЕРЖАВНИЙ УСТРІЙ ДАВНЬОЇ ПОЛЬЩІ У НАУКОВИХ ДИСКУСІЯХ ПОЧАТКУ XX ст.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – показати розгортання у польській історіографії дискусій довкола питань про державний устрій давньої Польщі у контексті сучасної типології наукових конфліктів. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на застосуванні загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних методів. Дотримано принципи історизму, об'єктивності та ціннісного підходу до досліджуваних явищ. Коректність вивчення джерельної бази забезпечена застосуванням евристичного методу. Використання історико-генетичного, історико-типологічного та історико-системного методів дало змогу достовірно відтворити та прослідкувати розгортання наукових дискусій та отримати коректні висновки. **Наукова новизна** полягає в тому, що вперше в історіографії наукова полеміка поч. XX ст. про державний устрій давньої польської держави, що розгорнулася між О. Бальцером та С. Кутишебою і була підхоплена іншими тогочасними дослідниками, розглядається як світоглядне протистояння представників різних історіографічних осередків та поколінь. **Висновки.** Науковий конфлікт О. Бальцера з С. Кутишебою лежав у теоретико-методологічній площині, оскільки виник через концептуальні розбіжності в рамках класичної позитивістської моделі історіописання, що на початку XX ст. вступила у фазу модерністичних трансформацій. Як відомо, такі конфлікти рідко мають деструктивний характер, а радше сприяють плідній конкуренції ідей, оскільки «наявність деякого мінімального рівня конкуренції створює умови для народження нових ідей» (Коллінз, 2002). Відтак незаперечним є твердження, що ця полеміка значно сприяла подальшому науковому поступу, позаяк інспірувала вчених на більш детальні дослідження характеру давньої польської держави, а також оприявила нові питання, піддала ревізії багато засадничих проблем і навіть спричинилася до впровадження в історичну науку багатьох нових поглядів, представлених у публікаціях її учасників.

Ключові слова: польська історіографія, історико-правові дослідження, наукова дискусія, науковий конфлікт.

The problem statement. The most specific feature of the scientific synthesis process of the Polish history creation is that it was first declared at the beginning of the XXth century in the writings of the law historians, and subsequently, evolved in the economics history studies and developed through a rather heated discussion. Sharing point of views, proving one's correctness, and even arguing, are usually considered to be the indicative of a broad view issues which involved and the participants erudition, but first and foremost they serve as a good incentive to deepen the study of the subject. According to the researcher R. Collins, the big scandals and controversies mark significant historical shifts in the science social organization (Collins, 2002). In this sense, a vivid example of a large-scale discussion is the intellectual confrontation concerning the state system of the ancient Poland issues between the law historians: O. Balcer and S. Kutrzeba, which broke out in the early XXth century and many researchers decided to join this subject at that time.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The above-mentioned topic was incredibly resonant, hence aroused some interest in the historiography from the very fact of its appearance. Therefore, in the early XXth century there were the first attempts to analyze this discussion (Kętrzyński, 1909; Krzyżanowski, 1909; Krzyżanowski, 1913; Łodyński, 1914). Eventually, this interest was fueled up by the disputants themselves, who carried on exchanging the polemical remarks for a long time. In the 20–30ies of the XXth century, while analyzing O. Balcer's work there was an outburst of interest in this discussion (Wojciechowski, 1926; Adamus, 1933; Polackówna, 1933; Zajączkowski, 1933). From the point of view of time, the first attempts to summarize the above-mentioned problem were made in the 1950-ies and 1960-ies of the XXth century, when the Slavic generic theory underwent the revision, as well as the model of the state system of the ancient Poland in its context (Bardach, 1957; Adamus, 1958). In the late 1990-ies, R. Nowacki, the researcher of O. Balcer's biographical essay, paid a considerable attention to the controversy of his character with S. Kutrzeba (Nowacki, 1998). The researcher P. Biliński did not address this topic in S. Kutsheba's biographical essay as R. Nowacki comprehensively analyzed the following issue (Biliński, 2011). A detailed overview of the problem can be also found in the collective monograph, dedicated to the activities of O. Balcer Law School in Lviv, where this controversy is analyzed in the context of Lviv historians discussions with the representatives of the other academic units (*Oswald Balcer i lwowska szkoła historycznoprawna*, 2010). However, no one has addressed to this topic in the context of the contemporary historical conflictology development, which allows to typologize the following intellectual confrontation by considering its internal mechanisms and taking into account the broader historical context.

The purpose of the article. We would like to focus our attention on the key issues concerning the discussion on the state system of Poland, the core of which was the intellectual confrontation between Lviv and Krakow historians O. Balcer and S. Kutrzeba, in the context of the current scientific conflicts typology.

The statement of the basic material. Having considered the initial motives of the scientific activity, the conflicts that accompany it are conditionally divided into cognitive, cognitive-psychological, ethical, social and social-psychological (Baranets, Verevkin, Savinova, 2012). In a real life, they are usually intertwined and disguised. However, there are three types of confrontation: conceptual (theoretical, dogmatic and ideological), status (struggle for resources, prestige and social status) and personal (incompatibility of temperament and character). In order to find out the essence of the scientific controversy between O. Balcer and S. Kutrzeba, it is important to look at them more closely as the representatives of the particular historiographic centers and different generations with their own views on the history researcher.

Oswald Balcer belonged to the older generation of the historians, who began their scientific careers in the 1970-ies and 1980-ies and were influenced by the positivism methodology. They were better than the previous generation of the researchers of the past, professionally trained, but, with a few exceptions, remained the old methodological positions. And among these «exceptional» scientists, the researcher E. Maternicki also includes O. Balcer, whose views at the beginning of the XXth century have evolved significantly (Maternicki, 1982, p. 8).

O. Balcer began his studies at the Lviv University, Law Faculty (he also attended Ksawery Liske's Historical Seminar) and later on carried on studying at Jagiellonian University in Krakow (under Michał Bobrzyński's supervision). O. Balcer is regarded as one of the

most prominent Polish scholars in the history of law, whose scientific career began with the publication of the generous monograph «Genesis of the Crown Tribunal» («Geneza trybunału Koronnego») in 1886, in 1895 Genealogy of Piastów («Genealogia Piastów») took the world by storm and in 1919 – 1920 resulted in the three volumes appearance of the «Kingdom of Poland 1295 – 1375» («Królestwo Polskie 1295 – 1370»). It is believed that with the advent of his first works, a new stage in the development of the history of the Polish state and law took place (Maternicki, 1982, p. 112). It is captivating that among all O. Balcer's works, concerning the state system matters, the closest to a generalized view on the character of the Polish state were his university lectures, which were first printed in lithographic way in 1898.

O. Balcer formed his own point of view concerning the tribal system issues (in particular the throne inheritance) that were inherent in the power institutions in the medieval state, as well as the history of ancient Poland periodization. The scientist believed that at the beginning of the Polish state formation there was a federation of families, some of which gave birth to the nobility. In accordance with the patrimonial theory, he interpreted the Polish state as the Piast dynasty property (Bardach, 1957, pp. 39–40). These O. Balcer's views concerning the state and law issues, he put on one level the social and the state system as two autonomous and equal factors, and considered the development of forms of the state as a result of the society union (as a whole) with the state as a phenomenon, were typical of his time (Bardach, 1957, p. 40). Actually, this theory, despite its ambiguous perception, had an important influence on the creation of synthetic concepts of the Polish history, as J. Maternicki notes, not only in the era of modernism and neo-modernism, but also in the time of Rzeczpospolita II (the Second Polish Republic) (Maternicki, 1982, p. 113).

However, Lviv scientist did not manage to create the syntheses of the Polish state history, despite the fact of grasping its millennial history, although he certainly contributed to a significant increase in knowledge about the field. It is noteworthy that O. Balcer and the school which he created, studied the state system issues on a broad background in comparison with the other spheres of a public life. Its representatives evaluated the importance of the economy, raised the questions on the border between the history of law and the history of the church and military history. This perception of the problem went far beyond the limits of «German historicism» and proved O. Balcer's belonging to the modernization trend in Polish historiography (Kolbuszewska, 2005, p. 184).

Stanislaw Kutrzeba, Krakow History School alumnus and B. Ulyanovsky's student was the representative of the «younger» generation of the historians. His interest in historical science began with the study of the socio-economic problems. And the works «Krakow's Finance in the Middle Ages» (1900) and «The Population and Property of Kazimierz at the End of the XVIth century» brought Stanislaw Kutrzeba to the pioneer of the contemporary historical and economic research in Poland (Maternicki, 1982, p. 119). According to the scientist Maternicki, the last work was marked by «courage», taking into consideration the statistics to the study of relations in a small town, which at that time was Kazimierz near Krakow. Another scientist, Y. Dombrovskyi, noted the following about another work written by S. Kutrzeba, devoted to the Krakow's trade in the Middle Ages: «In this work, he gave an example of how to study and represent the history of cities and commerce, dwelling on both the political material on the one hand and the economic on the other. Thorough interpretations of privileges, royal orders, and prohibitions against the backdrop of great public policy went hand in hand with honest city books, transactions, contracts, records, and bills analysis» (Maternicki, 1982, p. 119).

Soon, S Kutrzeba became interested in the state history and law issues, and in 1902 there was the emergence of the following works: «Zemsky and City Courts in the Middle Ages» and a number of other studies based on the study of all medieval court books available at that time (Kutrzeba, 1900; Kutrzeba, 1902. *Handel Krakowa...*; Kutrzeba, 1902. *Sądy ziemskie ...*). In 1905 he published «An Essay on the History of the State System of Poland», a work that became a phenomenon not only in scientific but also in social and cultural life (Kutrzeba, 1905). The author represented the work the following: «The history of the state system could not be a flow of information, it must represent the development of life and its forms, it should explain this development» (Kutrzeba, 1905, p. VI). The author created a textbook for a wide range people, who were interested in this issue, moreover, the above-mentioned textbook was supposed to promote Poland structure evolution. Hence, S. Kutrzeba made the final decision concerning the presentation form of the topic. Last but not the least, the material was well-organized, written in a comprehensible way, easy to understand. The following features distinguished the work from the typical monographs, concerning the state system history.

S. Kutzberba became famous and his book was translated and reprinted into other languages. Designed as a textbook, immediately after its release, it was evaluated by students as an academic publication. The above-mentioned work was the incentive, which triggered Polish historical and legal studies in the early XXth century. Because of the discussion started by O. Balcer, one of the most respected specialists of the time, such kind of development was possible. In fact, according to E. Maternicki, the scientific level of S. Kutzberba's work was reinforced by O. Balcer's polemical remarks, which opened a discussion on the fundamental problems of the Polish state system.

As it was mentioned above, the scientist, O. Balcer did not create a synthetic work on the history of Polish state system, but, according to R. Nowacki, for a long time O. Balcer was preparing for this and the researcher even published his own university lectures, which recorded his generalized view on this topic (Nowacki, 1998, p. 101). The acquired «positivist» habit concerning exploring the facts meticulously and thoroughly in order to clarify the unexplained issues, hindered the implementation of this project, but did not interfere with S. Kutzberba's debate over the synthesis of the history of the Polish state system.

The structure of the Polish state system during the Middle Ages became the cornerstone of the intellectual confrontation between two famous historians. The core of the scientific debate was dealing with the status of the kingdom in the XIII – XIVth centuries, as from time to time, other ethnic territories for various political and dynastic motives were included into the Polish kingdom, whether it was a «general» Polish kingdom (Królestwo Polskie) or the regional Greater Poland kingdom (Wielkopolska), around which the rest of the regions were grouped and the individual principalities, were united with the Greater Poland kingdom under the authority of a single ruler «automatically».

In 1906 there was published a large and the most critical review written by O. Balcer (more than 100 pages), which appeared in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* as the response to the S. Kutzberba's work appearance in 1905: «The History of the Polish State System» (*Historia Ustroju Polski*) (Balcer, 1906). O. Balcer, in his opinion, put an emphasis on false S. Kutrzeba's statements, which did not have any reference confirmation, the scientist also drew attention to the infringement, made by the Krakow researcher concerning his copyright. O. Balcer's main focus was on the particular periods of Polish history characterization and he also paid attention to the peculiarities of the social and state-administrative structure of the medieval Polish state system.

The question of criteria periodization of the history of the Polish state received a negative remark from the reviewer. O. Balcer upheld his version of periodization, which he had already given in the course of lectures for students (1898), and criticized the criteria of dividing Polish history into shades and interpretations of their significance by S. Kutrzeba. For instance, Balcer disagreed with Kutrzeba regarding the chronological boundary that separated the period of the society primary organization from the time of the class society formation. S. Kutrzeba believed that the states formation of the lasted for two centuries and ended with the granting of the Kosice privilege in 1374. Instead, according to Balcer, the separate states were formed earlier (the noble state became isolated at the end of the XIIth century, as there were the townspeople and the mayors, who appeared long before 1374), and the above-mentioned privilege only stated this process and was no more than an administrative and legal act. The following fact, according to O. Balcer, was the evidence of the adoption at that time by the majority of Polish cities in German law, which contributed to the development of the economic institutions (Balcer, 1906, pp. 9–13).

Much attention was paid to the character issues of the Polish state under the last Piast dynasty in the XIVth century. According to S. Kutrzeba, the united state of the last Piast dynasty was not a monolithic organism, but a federation of lands, which in the time of Casimir the Great, began to unite (Kutrzeba, 1905, pp. 45–46). O. Balcer, appealing to the analysis of the title, pointed out that the idea of defining the first Polish monarchs as kings of one particular land after the kingdom restoration appeared in the first half of the XIVth century (Balcer, 1906, pp. 22–23). S. Kutrzeba tried to prove the lack of the Polish lands unity relying on the fact of Piast joint international representative bodies scarcity at that time. Instead, his opponent explained the following situation by the fact that the ruler had not only the supreme state power in his hands, but also was implementing the executive, the legislative and the representative powers.

O. Balcer highlighted also the difference of his views on a number of the following issues: the public relations in the post-state period, the Polish nobility origin, the legal relations with Lithuania, the throne's electivity genesis, etc. (Balcer, 1906). The reviewer also did not accept S. Kutrzeba's state and public authorities characterization of that time. In particular, the scientist S. Kutrzeba considered the signing of the Union of Lublin (Unia Lubelska) in 1569 as the defining date for the Polish state, O. Balcer, on the other hand, could not agree with his point of view. O. Balcer believed that the more important event was the organization of the Polish Seimas, which formed up in 1505, when they adopted the constitution *Nihil novi* (Full name: «Nihil novi nisi commune consensus» (nothing new without the general consent), known in historiography as the Radom Constitution – LL) and standardized noble privileges (Balcer, 1906, p. 52). Therefore, according to O. Balcer, the above-mentioned date that was crucial for the Polish history periodization. After all, since 1505 the term «Polish Commonwealth» (Rzeczpospolita) became widely used in relation to the Polish state system and the Sejm itself, though considered to be noble, was not dealing with the issues of the privileged exclusively, but was the legislature for all social groups that inhabited the country.

The Polish-German interaction issues were also the stumbling blocks in the discussion. Thus, O. Balcer did not agree with S. Kutrzeba's hypothesis that Mieszko I had sworn allegiance to the German Empire in 963. Lviv scientist believed that the Polish duke only had to pay tribute. Moreover, O. Balcer made the wrong decision considering S. Kutrzeba's lack of the interest in the The Congress of Gniezno (Zjazd Gnieźnieński) and other Polish-German relations manifestations (Balcer, 1906, pp. 408–413).

The root of evil and the paramount issue from which derived the negative remarks, according to O. Balcer were S. Kutrzeba's selection correctness, reading and interpretation of the historical sources. In particular, O. Balcer drew attention to the uneven processing of individual periods and the disproportionate nature of the materials presented within them. The scientist wrote the following: «The more ancient period, the more detailed it is discussed [...] As far as we are concerned, the source material relating to the ancient periods is more varied and detailed depicted, however, it does not explain the unevenness of processing when the task of the researcher is to concentrate it appropriately and in relation to all phases of the development, to extract and mark the phenomena evenly» (Balcer, 1906, pp. 431–432). While seeking for the causes of e Kutrzeba's textbook imperfections, O. Balcer wrote that he «sees the greatest problem in the large amount of material (both original and monographic – ed.), as there was no need to work on it, and the haste that followed to capture its integrity» (Balcer, 1906, p. 430).

The scarcity or the lack of the thorough ancient state and public life legal characterization phenomena the reviewer considered to be one of S. Kutsheba's work defects. The reasons for this the reviewer saw in the lack of clarity and over-generalization of the author's construction, the anachronistic criteria use or the peculiar analogies use, and, in some cases, not too detailed study of the source texts and their misinterpretation, which appeared and resulted in the single-mindedness of all facts and phenomenon.

Despite all remarks and reservations, O. Balcer's overall conclusion about S. Kutrzeba's work was positive. According to Lviv scientist, the work contained the valuable ideas that could only be fully disclosed in the future, with the advent of the historical science. The reviewer made the following conclusion: «Once again, the author will skip one or another piece of information, sometimes he will not see everything that could contribute to the issue clarification, neither the source will not be thoroughly considered, or its contents will be misinterpreted, nevertheless, the book is a vivid example of the author who feels free to in the rich source material of the documents» (Balcer, 1906, pp. 440–441).

S. Kutrzeba responded quickly to the criticism and decided to defend himself in the polemical article «A Few Questions on the History of Poland State System» (Kutrzeba, 1906), in which he simply rejected Balzcer's remarks without delving too deeply into their content. In particular, he wrote the following: «Whoever writes a popular textbook is not obliged to provide information more than the literature of the time [...] It is not necessary to turn to the sources, especially the manuscripts» (Kutrzeba, 1906, p. 590). Considering the criticism points, Kutrzeba took the position of «deaf defense», explaining his vision more detailed, but «defiantly» not deviating from it. He defended his version of the source material periodization and interpretation, and accused the reviewer of a baseless scrutiny beyond the scientific controversy.

Obviously, such a superficial, even «frivolous» response with the transference to the personality most affected the reviewer, and he published in the next year journal his reply to this response, which was no less than the previous volume (Balcer, 1906, p. 1–58). O. Balcer expected the heated discussion, but not the defense built on the objections alone, hence, he was perturbed by the lack of controversy «in essence», O. Balcer wrote the following: «[I] expected a truly contentious controversy from which true science could benefit [...] but the author did not even read carefully everything that I have written» (Balcer, 1906, p. 2). Obviously, the above-mentioned situation was the main O. Balcer's reason for publishing his paramount observations once again, focusing mainly on the medieval period. He replied

to the accusation of «scrutiny» the following: «There are as many reasons as needed for the controversy» (Balcer, 1906, p. 1). In this text, O. Balcer has heard other rather prescient phrases: «Sometimes it happens that the author does not pay attention to the sources cited, in order to verify my statements and not to deny them vociferously»; «The author applies a specific research methodology, which lies in presenting evidence based on the prevalence of assertions»; or «lacks accusations that are «playing» on the feelings of the reader: e.g. «Prof. Balcer tries to downsize the value of the Union of Lublin (Unia Lubelska)» (Balcer, 1906, pp. 6, 10, 11).

As a result, the discussion has slowly moved on to ad personam. S. Kutrzeba blatantly criticized O. Balcer that he could have presented the programmatic aspects of the Polish law history in a textbook rather than a university lecture. O. Balcer justified that they had lost some relevance, and so he did not even publish them, but was forced to turn to the issue in 1905 – after his ideas began to appear in the writings of some scholars without mentioning the source, etc.

O. Balcer, in the context of the controversy, published the second part of his «response to reply» written by S. Kutrzeba, which also appeared on the pages of *Kwartalnik Historyczny* under the title «The Polish State in the First Decade of the XIVth and the XVth Centuries» (Balcer, 1907). In this critical essay, Lviv researcher focused mainly on questions of the character of the Polish state in the XIVth and XVth centuries. In particular, the essay depicted a more detailed interpretation of the meaning of the *Nihil novi* constitution, that was Lviv scientist's principal cause of immersing himself in a detailed analysis of the text of this document, appealing to the linguistic features of classical Latin, which, according to the contemporaries, he knew perfectly well.

The further discussion, in general covered 5 notebooks of *Kwartalnik Historyczny* periodic, the numerous researchers took part in it: S. Kętrzyński – twice, M. Łodyński and Z. Wojciechowski – once. Later on the discussion was moved from the «Articles» section to the smaller volume of the section «Polemics» (Kętrzyński, 1909; Krzyżanowski, 1909; Krzyżanowski, 1913; Krzyżanowski, 1914). The scientist S. Kętrzyński supported S. Kutrzeba's ideas concerning the restored Polish Kingdom importance and the interpretation of the last Piast dynasty (Piastowie) as a federal state, while O. Balcer's ideas were backed up by S. Estreicher and S. Krzyżanowski. The heated discussion slowed down slowly before World War I in order break out again in the period of Polish independence. According to S. Kutrzeba, the most notable in this controversy was that it was caused by the usual textbook written by the researcher, and O. Balcer's critical articles published in the journal were larger than the original source. Although, the participants' point of views remained uncoordinated in the controversy, but numerous topical issues were considered and a number of new research directions were outlined in the course of the following scientific debate (Polemika, 1907).

Diverse O. Balcer's works were based on the «Kutrzeba-Balcer» controversy, for instance, «Polish Capitals 1295 – 1370» (1916) and one of the most thorough works on the history of the Polish state and law «The Polish Kingdom 1295 – 1370» appeared, three volumes of which were published during 1918 – 1920 (Balcer, 1916; Balcer, 1919 – 1920). In this work, the researcher paid much attention to early Slavic history, the issue evolution concerning the significance of this period in the history of the Polish state, the state unity idea and the significance of Krakow as the core of the above-mentioned idea. However, according to critics, Balcer did not compile a final synthesis on these issues. After all, the author was not aimed at depicting the historical events integrity – it was rather the

background on which the state system of Poland issue was fundamental to O. Balcer's research (Tymieniecki, 1920).

Despite the sharp criticism, S. Kutrzeba's views were a tremendous step forward not only for the historical studies, but also instigated the further research into the political, economic and cultural history of the era. His logical, comprehensible, realistic generalizations systematized the material perfectly and distinguished this work from the studies on the state and law history favorably at that time. Hence, the work was extremely popular, as it was reissued for dozens times and translated into other languages. S. Kutrzeba carried on working, he focused on the research in the direction of clarifying the legal and political relations between Lithuania and the Crown, and in 1914 the scientist published a second volume of the «Poland State History Essay». And during 1917 – 1920 appeared two additional parts of the above-mentioned essay (Kutrzeba, 1914). According to E. Maternicki, «an importance indicator for the science of S. Kutsheba's work is that his works were replaced by a newer collective study after half a century. Not many university textbooks have remained relevant for so long and have had such an impact on historical studies as the above-mentioned «Poland State History Essay» (Maternicki, 1982, p. 122).

Conclusions. The essence of the scientific conflict between the researchers O. Balcer and S. Kutrzeba consisted in the theoretical and methodological aspects, as it arose because of the conceptual differences within the classical positivist model of historiography that at the beginning of the XXth century stepped into the phase of the modernist transformations. As far as we are concerned, such conflicts have rarely a destructive nature, but rather contribute to the fruitful competition of ideas, since «the minimum level presence competition creates the conditions for the new ideas birth» (Collins, 2002). Therefore, it is undisputed that the above-mentioned controversy contributed to the further scientific progress significantly, as it inspired the scientists to study the ancient Polish state nature more thoroughly, as well as it raised the new issues, revised many fundamental problems, and even led to the introduction of new numerous views into the historical science in the authors' publications.

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**LEGAL STATUS OF THE TRADE UNIONS
IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN 1905 – 1917**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is the study of the trade unions legal status in the Russian Empire in 1905 – 1917, which was the form of the employees struggle for their socio-economic rights. The methodology of the research: the adherence to the principles of objectivity and historicism contributed to the consistent disclosure of the preconditions, the content and the consequences of the trade union law introduction in Tsarist Russia. The use of the comparative historical, historical legal methods made it possible to trace the influence of the legal component on the history of the trade union movement development during the specified period. The scientific novelty consists in a detailed historical and legal analysis of the content of the trade union legislation in the Russian Empire, its positive sides, the drawbacks and prospects of a practical application in the specified period. Conclusions.* For the first time, there was done an in-depth analysis of the legal acts, regulating the legal status of the trade unions in the Russian Empire in 1905 – 1917. At the end of the XIXth and the early XXth centuries, the

labor movement was intensified due to the difficult financial situation of the workers, their political and legal empowerment in the territory of the Russian Empire. The outbreak of the First Russian Revolution made the authorities give the legal status to the trade unions: The Temporary Rules enshrined the employees right to create the professional organizations to protect their socio-economic interests. The legislation contained certain legal drawbacks and contradictions. The government's desire to maintain control over the trade union movements was manifested in a number of the restrictions: a number of categories of the workers were deprived of their right to participate in the trade unions, the functions of the latter were restricted, and the legal order established by them gave the authorities the considerable opportunities for the abuse. However, while the Russian trade union law was less progressive than that of other European countries, it was a major breakthrough in the civil society development in the Empire. Despite the proclaimed temporary nature, the above-mentioned legal act was in effect until 1917.

Key words: the trade union, the First Russian Revolution, Temporary Rules on the societies and unions, the trade unions statute, authorities, legal status.

ПРАВОВИЙ СТАТУС ПРОФСІЛОК У РОСІЙСЬКІЙ ІМПЕРІЇ В 1905 – 1917 рр.

Анотація. *Мета роботи* – дослідження правового статусу профспілок у Російській імперії, що у 1905 – 1917 рр. були однією з форм боротьби найманих працівників за свої соціально-економічні інтереси. **Методологія дослідження:** дотримання принципів об'єктивності та історизму сприяли послідовному розкриттю передумов, змісту і наслідків запровадження профспілкового законодавства у царській Росії. Застосування порівняльно-історичного, історико-правового методів дали змогу прослідкувати вплив юридичної складової на історію розвитку профспілкового руху у вказаний період. **Наукова новизна** полягає у детальному історико-юридичному аналізі змісту профспілкового законодавства Російської імперії, його позитивних сторін, прогалин та перспектив практичного застосування у вказаний період. **Висновки.** У статті було вперше здійснено постатейний аналіз нормативно-правових актів, що регулювали правовий статус професійних спілок у Російській імперії в 1905 – 1917 рр. Такий історико-юридичний розгляд правових норм допоміг визначити їхні позитивні сторони, прогалини та перспективи практичного застосування. Наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. на теренах Російської імперії через скрутне матеріальне становище робітників, їх політико-правове безправ'я активізувався робітничий рух. Спалах Першої російської змусив владу надати професійним спілкам легальний статус. Тимчасові правила закріплювали право найманих працівників на створення професійних організацій для захисту своїх соціально-економічних інтересів. Законодавство містило певні юридичні прогалини та суперечності. Прагнення уряду до збереження контролю над профспілковим рухом проявилось у низці обмежень: низка категорій робітників були позбавлені права на участь у профспілках, функції останніх були обмеженими, а закріплені законодавством порядок їх функціонування відкривав органам влади широкі можливості для зловживань. Водночас, хоча російське профспілкове законодавство було мени прогресивним, ніж законодавство інших європейських країн, воно стало значним проривом у розвитку громадянського суспільства в імперії. Незважаючи на проголошений тимчасовий характер, указаний нормативно-правовий акт діяв аж до 1917 р.

Ключові слова: професійна спілка, Перша російська революція, Тимчасові правила про товариства і союзи, статут профспілки, органи влади, правовий статус.

The problem statement. The trade unions, as non-governmental organizations, which aim at representing and protecting the socio-economic interests of workers, have a particular historical and legal development. Nowadays, under conditions of a market economy, the trade union movement has got a considerable potential in the direction of asserting workers' rights, a constructive cooperation with the employer, and facilitating enterprises development. Unfortunately, in modern Ukraine, the professional associations, not completely freeing themselves from the negative experience of the USSR, have not yet become the fully fledged subjects of protection of labour, the socio-economic rights and interests of their members.

Taking this fact into consideration, it is topical to study the historical experience, in particular, of the trade union movement in the Russian Empire, which included Ukrainian lands. One of the factors, which influenced the trade unions formation and activities in tsarist Russia, was the trade union legislation, the nature of which corresponded to the socio-economic and political conditions of that period, the interaction nature of the industrial sphere with the state.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The legal status issue of the trade unions in the Russian Empire has been partially analysed in the historical science. For instance, the surname of V. Hrynevych, the pre-revolutionary researcher, should be mentioned in this aspect. His scientific work is devoted to the working professional movement analysis in Russia. However, considering the trade union legislation, the author, according to his words, analyzed only the basic features of the Temporary Rules of 1906. (Grinevich, 1908, p. 80). D. Antoshkin (Antoshkin, 1921) та O. Rozenfeld (Rozenfeld, 1923) paid the most general attention to the legislative aspects.

Unfortunately, the problem of the trade union law of tsarist Russia is of little interest to modern scholars. In our view, this is due to the stereotype that the trade union movement is well-researched by the historians of the Soviet period. However, the latter is not true, since some part of the historical material is not reflected in their research works, and the other part requires some revision and release from the ideological strata.

It is worth mentioning the works of D. Pospelovskiy (Pospelovskiy, 1983), V. Bonnell (Bonnell, 1983), V. Tsitulskiy (Tsitulskiy, 2011) among the attempts to analyze the legal status of the trade unions. However, despite the promising title of the article by V. Tsitulskiy (Tsitulskiy, 2011), the author only briefly analyzed the problem of the trade unions legal status. The main part of this work is devoted to the history of their origin and the professional associations activities. The latter, of course, is of a scientific value, but does not correspond to the author's stated topic of the publication.

It legal status follows from the above-mentioned, the problem of the trade unions legal status in the Russian Empire in 1905 – 1917 has not been sufficiently studied and needs a more detailed analysis.

The purpose of the article is the study of the trade unions legal status in the Russian Empire in 1905 – 1917, which was the form of the employees struggle for their socio-economic rights.

The statement of the basic material. At the end of the XIXth and early XXth centuries, in the territory of the Russian Empire the situation of workers was extremely difficult. The low wages, the violations of a technical safety at enterprises, a long duration of working hours, the arbitrariness of administration, the poor sanitary and hygienic conditions were the typical signs of an employee's daily life. The situation was complicated by the political lawlessness, the inability to protect their socio-economic interests. These factors led to the workers' strikes, which were often suppressed by the punitive and repressive authorities. Aware of the dangers, posed by the labour movement to the autocratic empire, the government took measures to improve the workers status, both legislative and organizational.

In the 1880-ies – 90-ies a factory inspection (a controlling body) was established and the first factory laws were passed in Russia (Valetov, 2007, pp. 34–38). At the organizational level, the government facilitated the creation of the mutual assistance societies (*zubatovshchyna*) to meet the needs of the workers. S. Poliarush believes that the professional mutual assistance societies were similar to the trade unions in purpose, but differed in the methods they used: if the mutual assistance societies tried to improve the position of the worker by means of their

internal resources, the trade unions sought to protect the economic interests of their members by fighting entrepreneurs. It happened when, having gained experience of self-organization at the mutual assistance societies, workers tried to reorganize them into the trade unions (Poliarush, 2018, p. 155).

In general, the above-mentioned government measures were ineffective. The Russian labour legislation was far behind the laws of Western Europe, where the trade unions were legally active, whereas in Russia they were forbidden: for example, in France the right to create the trade unions was recognized in 1864, in Great Britain – 1871 (Shcherbyna, 2012, p. 42).

The revolutionary events of 1905 forced the authorities to change the policy radically. The legalization of the trade unions, which were spontaneously created during this period, was the concession of the revolutionary movement. On April 21, 1905, a circular, issued by the Ministry of the Internal Affairs (MIA), abolished the legal responsibility for the strikes. The Manifesto of October 17, 1905 declared the freedom of thought, speech, assembly and union (Pospelovskiy, 1987, p. 66), (Vysochayshiy manifest «Ob usovershenstvovanii gosudarstvennogo poryadka», 1909, p. 150). The proclamation of rights and freedoms had to be backed by the guarantees of their fulfillment. Thus, on December 2, 1905, the law was issued, which allowed organizing the peaceful strikes (except for the strikes at the enterprises of a public and state importance) (Vremennye pravila nakazuemosti uchastiya v zabastovkakh, 1909).

On March 4, 1906, the Temporary Rules for Societies and Unions (hereinafter referred to as the Temporary Rules) were approved, in which Section I governed the activities of the public organizations, created by an open order, and Section II concerned the trade unions, for which it was necessary to be registered (O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh, 1909). The Legal Act was positioned as a temporary measure since the 1st State Duma had to adopt a General Law on the Societies and Unions in the new legislative order (Zhurnal Gosudarstvennogo soveta s suzhdeniyami po proektu vremennykh pravil ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh, 1912, p. 82). However, no permanent Act was adopted until February 1917.

The Temporary Rules caused mixed reactions in the society. In the government circles, the document was seen as a forced means of relieving a social tension. According to S. Witte, a Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the labour disputes and misunderstandings between the employers and the workers were an inevitable phenomenon of the capitalist relations. The task of the authorities was to provide the conditions for the peaceful resolution of such conflicts, and the creation of the trade unions, both among the workers and the entrepreneurs, should be considered the best means of resolving them. At the same time, the government was careful to treat the professional associations as a potential threat to the existing order. In particular, the workers' trade unions were at risk of being politicized, and the business associations could grow into the economic unions that were undesirable for the country's economy. The employees' ability to defend their economic interests should be sufficient to deter them from the political struggles, but limited so as not to cause dissatisfaction of the factory owners (Zhurnal Gosudarstvennogo soveta s suzhdeniyami po proektu vremennykh pravil ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh, 1912, pp. 98–99). In the Temporary Rules the revolutionary circles of the society saw numerous restrictions on the trade union activity, and, for example, the representatives of the tsarist guards – the danger to the state system.

Article 1 of Section II of the Temporary Rules set out the purpose of the trade unions: to identify and reconcile the economic interests, to improve the working conditions of their members or to increase the productivity of the enterprises, belonging to them

(O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh, 1909, p. 204). To fulfill these tasks, the trade unions could perform the following functions (Article 2): finding ways to resolve the misunderstandings between the employers and the employees through negotiation or arbitration; to find out the size of wages and other working conditions in various fields of industry and trade; providing a financial assistance to its members; the establishment of the cash registers: a funeral, a dowry, a mutual aid, etc.; establishing libraries, vocational schools, courses and readings; assisting its members in the profitable purchase of the essentials and tools; the assistance in finding work or employees; providing a legal assistance to its members.

From these tasks, it became clear that the trade unions could not raise the issue of improving working conditions and payment by the employer, but the trade unions had the right only to find out the actual amount of wages, working hours and other conditions, set by the owner of the enterprise. This formulation was caused by the government fears that workers would make an entrepreneur meet their requirements (*Zhurnal Gosudarstvennogo soveta s suzhdeniyami po proektu vremennykh pravil ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh, 1912, p. 99*). The local authorities refused to register the trade unions, in the statute of which the purpose of the association was described as «protecting the legal and economic interests of its members», demanding to replace the word «protection» with «ascertainment and agreement» (*Shelymagin, 1952, p. 186*).

The introduction of the arbitral tribunals was intended to eliminate a factory inspection from the involvement in the disputes settlement between the employers and the employees. The experience illustrated the following: the factory inspection activity in this area was so inefficient that it often led to even a greater conflicts escalation, a real unrest that had to be suppressed by the police, and even the military. This, in turn, reinforced the distrust to the government and promoted the spread of a revolutionary propaganda in the working circles (*Zhurnal Gosudarstvennogo soveta s suzhdeniyami po proektu vremennykh pravil ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh, 1912, p. 100*).

However, the good intentions of the government were not realized because of its negligence, since the Temporary Rules did not make reference to the statute of the civil proceedings, governing the activities of the arbitral tribunals. Thus, there was no mechanism for the use of the special professional arbitration courts, and all attempts by the trade unions to use the institute failed: the employers, using the lack of the legal rules, responded to the requirements of the arbitration courts with lockouts, which, in turn, made the workers strike (*Blazhchuk, 1908, p. 6*).

The trade unions could open their departments, on condition they would not be separated from the central management organization. But the association of several societies in the trade unions and the management of unions from abroad was forbidden (*On Temporary Rules, 1909b, p. 205*), as the authorities wanted to prevent the trade unions from the politicization and their participation in the revolutionary movement. It should be noted that in Western Europe, in 1901, the International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Centers (ISNTUC) was established, which included the representatives from most major European and the US labour movements (*Milner, 1988*).

Article 7 of Section II of the Temporary Rules stated that members of the trade unions could be persons of both sexes, who worked for industrial and commercial enterprises (both state and private) and were engaged in homogeneous work or crafts. Owners of identical, homogeneous or productive business relationships could also form their own trade unions (*O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh, 1909, p. 205*).

This legal rule had several disadvantages. For example, in the legal rule there was not mentioned about the minimum number of participants, required to form the trade union. This theoretically allowed 2–3 persons to register their own professional association, which in the future remained only on paper: the association had neither members nor premises, did not show any activity. The police official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs M. Blazhchuk, who in 1907, because of the police concern on the intensive trade union movement, analysed the situation of the trade unions. In his note he marked that in the Empire there were 85 such puppet societies, artificially created by revolutionaries there, where workers did not need it (Blazhchuk, 1908, p. 5). Analyzing this information, it should be taken into account the hostile attitude of the author of the note, as a police official, to any non-governmental organizations and the revolutionary movement. In our opinion, in addition to the reason, stated by M. Blazhchuk, the inaction of many trade unions was explained by other factors, in particular, the pressure on the unions by the authorities, the repression against members-activists. However, the low level of a public consciousness and self-organization did indeed take place in the working environment, and the government, which initially sought to suppress the workers' initiatives in the long run, later realized that such actions did not work in its favour: by preventing the workers from amateur activities, the government itself performed the function of meeting the workers' needs, but it led only to the fact that in all social troubles, the workers blamed the government. The revolution made the government realize that allowing the workers to take care of their own economic interests in the professional associations alone would help distract them from the political struggle. Often, the cause of conflict between the employer and the employees was not only the miserable condition of the latter, but also the elemental workers' ignorance, regarding the economic factors of the industrial production. To explain and to find the peaceful ways of resolving disputes – that was the trade unions' purpose from the point of view of the government (*Zhurnal Gosudarstvennogo soveta s suzhdeniyami po proektu vremennykh pravil ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh*, 1912, pp. 97, 100).

The legal restriction of the trade union movement only to the industrial and commercial sphere meant that the agricultural workers, the railway workers, the mail and telegraph workers, the prompters, the pilots, and the representatives of other non-productive industries were restricted in the right to participate in the trade unions. According to the circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of July 23, 1906, their associations were created on the basis of Section I of the Temporary Rules. Outside the document there were the professional associations of workers, whose enterprises were not the subject to factory and mining inspection (stonemasons, carpenters, musicians, pharmacists, etc.). Because of the regulation absence, these workers began to set up their companies in accordance with Section I of the Temporary Rules, until a circular was issued on November 30, 1907, explaining that these categories of workers were the subject to Section II, if they were employed by, or were the owners of commercial or industrial enterprises (Rogovin, 1912, p. 30). The civil servants, the railway workers, the mail and telegraph employees were not allowed to participate in the trade unions. They could only be incorporated into the non-governmental organizations under Article 9 of Section I of the Temporary Rules (*O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh*, 1909, p. 201).

Article 8 of Section II of the Temporary Rules allowed the teenagers to join the trade union (*O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh*, 1909, p. 205). That issue created some controversy with other legal acts. Thus, under the civil law, the teenagers could not independently dispose of their property. However, according to the Temporary

Rules, the trade unions had the right to buy and dispossess a real estate, to create capital, to sign agreements, to sue and to be sued, etc. (*O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh*, 1909, pp. 203, 206). The same controversy concerned the Jews and the Roman Catholics, who had some restrictions on the property rights. But the trade unions, whose members the Jews and the Roman Catholics were, did not have such restrictions (Blazhchuk, 1908, p. 5).

The main document, governing the activities of the trade union, was the Statute. It should include the name of the company, the purpose, the location, the level and the methods of its activities; the names, the patronymic names and the founders' names; the procedure for joining the company and of the participation termination; the members' rights and responsibilities; the amount of membership fees; the power of the governing bodies and the terms of their being in power, etc. (*O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh*, 1909, p. 205).

The union applications were filed to a senior factory inspector or district mining engineer two weeks before the union started its functioning. Then the applications were transmitted, by the governor or the mayor, to the provincial or city association, where, within a month, the trade unions were to be granted either a registration or refusal. The decision to close the trade union was made by a provincial or city association at the initiative of the governor or the mayor. The professional societies are the subject to closure in case of the violations detection, committed at their opening, deviation from the statute, the society threat to a public safety or peace, if the activity of the company became immoral in nature, etc. The decisions could be appealed in the Senate: such complaints were filed by the trade unions to the provincial or city association, from where the governor sent them to the Senate. The timeframe for reviewing complaints was not regulated by law (*O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh*, 1909, pp. 203–205). Thus, the legislation paved the way for the authorities abuse: the notion of immorality, the violations of a public safety and peace could be taken by any actions that did not please the authorities or the owner of the enterprise, and the complaints consideration in the Senate lasted for 2–3 years (Shelymagin, 1952, p. 189). The city association included a senior factory or a district inspector, the police officers, the representatives of the judiciary, etc., which affected the trade union movement significantly: for the smallest reasons, the societies were refused of registration or the existing ones were closed. (Svyatlovskiy, 1907, p. 122).

The criminal liability was established for the Temporary Rules violation. The criminal liability was provided by the same rules (sections III – IV): the arrest up to 3 months, the fine up to 300 rubles or the imprisonment for up to 1 year (*O vremennykh pravilakh ob obshchestvakh i soyuzakh*, 1909, pp. 206–207). It should be noted that no European trade union law at the time, unlike Russian, had punitive articles (Svyatlovskiy, 1907, p. 123).

The procedure for holding the trade union meeting was governed by the «Temporary Rules on Public Meetings» of March 4, 1906. Such statement should include the name, the first name, the patronymic name and the place of residence of the organizer or organizers (*O vremennykh pravilakh o publichnykh sobraniyakh*, 1909, p. 208). Thus, the law allowed the public meetings only to the individuals and not to the societies as a whole. In addition, such permission was granted if it was clearly stated in the law. The absence in the Temporary Rules of the direct indication of the trade unions right to hold meetings gave the authorities a reason to ban them. Because of the police bans, the societies often used the Delegate Meeting Institute as an interface between the board and the general meeting. Subsequently, the order was issued that forbade the general meetings on Sundays and

public holidays, and on weekdays they could only be convened from 4 till 8 o'clock. The authorities also began requiring notarization of the petitioners' signatures, authorizing only the elections meetings and the reports hearing, not allowing the constituent and general meetings (Shlosberh, 1930, pp. 51, 63).

The trade unions were constantly monitored. The searches in their premises were conducted on the smallest occasion and with the violations of a procedural law. In order to close or suspend the trade union activities the sufficient grounds were: the presence of non-members of the society at the meeting, the suspicion of organizing a strike or providing a financial assistance to the strikers. If the revolution of 1905 – 1907 was the impetus for the formation of a large number of the trade unions, then under the pressure of the police repression, their number decreased.

At the beginning of 1908 in the Russian Empire there were 300 trade unions (130,000 members), at the end of 1910 – 204 trade unions (about 38,000 members) (Tsitulskiy, 2011, pp. 68–69). However, by 1913, compared to 1905, under the pressure of the strike movement the amount of working hours decreased slightly, from an average of 10.8 to 9.8 hours for men, from 9.9 to 9.5 hours for women. (Shelymagin, 1952, p. 25).

During World War I, the reduction in the number of skilled workers affected the trade unions activities. But despite the persecution, they continued to defend the interests of the workers. In wartime, their economic situation deteriorated sharply: the government abolished a number of factory laws, working hours often exceeded 12–13 hours, the overtime work was widely used, and the safety rules were violated. All this caused the strike movement increase and the trade unions politicization (Filimonov, 2014, p. 159). The trade unions began to put forward not only socio-economic demands but also the political ones: they demanded the political freedoms guarantee, the war cessation, the social order democratization.

The February Revolution of 1917 caused the changes in all spheres of a public life. The fall of the autocracy marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the trade union law, the new opportunities for the trade unions creation and their massive formation. However, the Provisional Government's policy on the professional organizations had many contradictions (Solominchuk, 2015, pp. 119–120).

Conclusions. Thus, for the first time, in the article there was made an in-depth analysis of the legal acts, regulating the legal status of the trade unions in the Russian Empire in 1905 – 1917. Such historical and legal consideration of the legal norms allowed to determine their positive sides, the drawbacks and the practical application perspectives.

The trade union movement in the Russian Empire was legalized under the pressure of the revolution of 1905 – 1907. The Russian legislation was less liberal to the trade union movement than the Western European countries legislation. The tsarist government, by introducing the Temporary Rules, pursued a twofold aim: on the one hand, to give the workers a minimal protection of their socio-economic rights in order to reduce a social tension, and on the other, not to allow the trade unions to become the equal organizations alongside the administration of enterprises, to take them under control and not to allow them to be politicized and to grow into a powerful social force. While in the West the activities of the trade unions were governed only by law, in Tsarist Russia they were also largely dependent on the authorities arbitrariness. The government had been constantly fighting the workers' organizations. The governors and mayors received the circulars that recommended a strict regulation and oversight of the trade union activities.

Despite the prohibitions and restrictions imposed, the Temporary Rules were a major breakthrough in ensuring the socio-economic rights of the workers, as they enshrined the employees right to establish the professional organizations. The legislation regulated the trade unions purpose and functions, the procedure for their creation and closure, the membership and the main aspects of a practical activity. The Temporary Rules contained some drawbacks that were later corrected in the government clarifications and circulars. Despite the proclaimed temporary nature, the above-mentioned legislative act was in force until 1917.

The provisions and conclusions of this article have been formulated on the basis of the governing regulations analysis, which regulated the legal status of the trade unions in the Russian Empire during 1905 – 1917. The general postulates of the trade union law have been previously considered in the historical science, but a further research will allow us to analyze the components of trade union legal status in a more detailed form and to assess them in accordance with the current approaches.

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**FUNCTIONING OF «PROSVITA» BRANCH IN HORODOK
DURING 1909 – 1939**

Summary. *The aim of the research is to display the «Prosvita» society history in Horodok town; to analyze the main directions of its activity during 1909 – 1939. The research methodology is based on the historicism, systematic, scientific, verification, author copyright principles; on the general scientific methods application: analysis, synthesis, generalization; the special historical methods have also been used (the historical-genetic, the historical-typological, the historical-systematic ones). The scientific novelty consists in the fact that the archival sources data have been analyzed and systemized in the article, the «Prosvita» society main functioning directions have been established in Horodok town, in particular, the «Prosvita» society influence on the district branches. The Conclusions.* *The «Prosvita» society activities took place under extremely difficult conditions of Polish-Ukrainian relations complication and the repression in the 1920-ies and 1930-ies. The local authorities obstructed the numerous events, initiated by the «Prosvita» society, took into custody the activists and even for a period of time closed the «Prosvita» society in Horodok. An additional complicating factor was the noticeable Moscovites influence, who, by their ideology, disoriented the part of the Ukrainians in the city, thereby limiting the «Prosvita» society potential resources.*

The literacy spread, the national consciousness development, the economic information dissemination were of an utmost importance concerning the «Prosvita» society activities. The «Prosvita» society

activities branch in Horodok was in charge of the district (povit) societies, facilitated the activation, interconnection, cooperation and creation of new societies; the libraries were organized at each reading room; two travelling libraries were created; there were the books swapping between the district (povit) reading rooms, and some courses for the illiterate were introduced.

The public lectures on various aspects of Ukrainian history and culture, the economic aspects, and spreading sobriety were important activities of the society. Much attention was paid to the theatrical and choral groups work, the concerts, celebrations organization, which was a means of national consciousness developing, culture, as well as a way of raising funds for the public affairs. The young people education was of great importance, and the cultural and educational section of «Prosvita» society branch worked effectively.

Key words: Horodok, Horodotskyi povit, «Prosvita» society theatrical group, choirs, reading rooms.

ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ ФІЛІЇ «ПРОСВІТИ» У ГОРОДКУ ВПРОДОВЖ 1909 – 1939 рр.

Анотація. Метою дослідження є висвітлити історію товариства на прикладі філії товариства «Просвіта» у м. Городок, проаналізувати основні напрямки його діяльності упродовж 1909 – 1939 рр. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності; комплексно застосовано загальнонаукові методи: аналіз, синтез, узагальнення, а також спеціально-історичні методи (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що у статті проаналізовано та систематизовано дані архівних джерел з досліджуваної проблеми, висвітлено історичний розвиток товариства «Просвіта» у м. Городок, головні напрямки його діяльності. **Висновки.** Діяльність городоцької філії товариства «Просвіта» сприяла збереженню та розвитку української мови, культури, національної свідомості не лише у Городку, але й у Городоцькому повіті. Вона здійснювала нагляд над повітовими товариствами, сприяла активізації, взаємозв'язку, співпраці та створенню нових товариств.

Одним з найважливіших напрямів діяльності товариства було поширення писемності, розвиток національної свідомості, поширення інформації економічного спрямування. Першочергове значення «Просвіта» приділяла культурно-просвітницькій діяльності: при кожній читальні діяли бібліотеки, було створено дві мандрівні бібліотеки, організовано обмін книгами між читальнями повіту, курси для неписьменних.

Важливим видом діяльності товариства були публічні лекції, більшість яких стосувалися різноманітних аспектів української історії та культури, економіки, поширення тверезості. Значне місце відводилося роботі театральних та хорових гуртків, організації концертів, святкувань, що було засобом розвитку національної свідомості, культури, а також способом збору коштів на громадські справи. Особливою турботою просвітян було виховання молоді, ефективно працювала молодіжна культурно-освітня секція філії «Просвіти», що сприяло зростанню культурного рівня, національної свідомості українського населення.

Ключові слова: Городок, Городоцький повіт, товариство «Просвіта», театральний гурток, хор, читальня.

The problem statement. For a long period of time, the «Prosvita» society was the largest Ukrainian cultural and educational organization, during the interwar period it performed as a driving force and an integral part of the Ukrainian cultural and educational movement. The «Prosvita» society carried out the considerable cultural and educational work, developing Ukrainian culture, a national consciousness on condition of Ukrainian state absence, in the difficult conditions of political persecution and the muscophiles widespread sentiments.

The analysis of recent researches and publications. There is a lack of scientific researchers, in modern historiography, that would, on factual material, reveal the regional peculiarities of the «Prosvita» society within the specifically defined chronological frameworks. The following article has used extensively the archival sources data that thoroughly cover the

various aspects of the «Prosvita» society activities in Horodok, in particular, the relationship with the county societies. It is worth paying attention to O. Palamarchuk's research, where Horodok society activities were considered in the context of important historical events of the national liberation struggle, the other Ukrainian organizations activities, in particular, the «Ukrainian Women Union», the «Ridna Shkola» (Native School), etc. (Palamarchuk, 1998). In his historical essay on the city, the researcher R. Horak highlighted some important events in the society's activities (Horak, 1995).

The purpose of the article – is to highlight the «Prosvita» society history in Horodok, Lviv region; to elucidate main directions of its activity during 1909 – 1939, in particular, the reading rooms establishment, the public lectures, concerts, the celebrations, dedicated to the Ukrainian history and culture actual issues, the economic aspects, the theatrical and choral groups establishment, etc.

The outline of the main material. In the early XXth century Horodok was sufficiently polonized, during the interwar period it was called Horodok Jagiellonian, in honor of King Jagiel, to whom the monument was built in the town centre. There were 4 educational establishments in Horodok (1 gymnasium and 3 public schools), in which the subjects were taught in Polish, since only one school was bilingual. There was also noticeable the influence of Muscophiles, who, in particular, began to run the Ukrainian economic organizations «Pomich» and the «Dniester». Therefore, the attempts to set up the branch of the «Prosvita» society were unsuccessful for a long time, while in some villages of Horodok district the reading rooms of «Prosvita» were functioning.

The opening of the «Prosvita» branch was facilitated by the opening of the gymnasium in 1909, when the pupils and the teachers arrived in the town. This fact increased the number of nationally conscious people significantly (Horak, 1995, p. 46). The well-known Galician lawyer Longin Ozarkiewicz became the initiator of the creation of «Prosvita» in the town. The Ozarkiewicz's family house was a kind of a cultural and educational centre of the town. The house was visited by Ivan Franko, the artists Ivan Trush, Oleksa Novakivskyi, Olena Kulchytska and her sister Olha. In the law office the future well-known writer Les Martovych started his career.

The assembly was held on April 1, 1909, which gathered about 60 people. As noted at the meeting, the purpose of its creation was «to awaken the life between our poor, the agitated by Moscow agitators, on the one hand, and the polonized burgesses, on the other hand» (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 348, d. 1, p. 1937, p. 3). The delegates were greeted by the delegate of the Central Branch of the «Prosvita» society in Lviv, the deputy of the State Council Folys, who emphasized that the «Prosvita» society is «that alive who keeps us enlightened in life and that a man without enlightenment becomes a slave and the poor». He called on the assembled members, especially the peasants, to work in Horodok district in defense of their native Ukrainian language. In this district there lived about 70% of the Ukrainians at that time (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 8).

The meetings were held on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, Sunday and holidays, most often in autumn and winter, which was determined by the nature of the agricultural work. As a rule, there were some entertainments organized, reading newspapers, public lectures, rehearsals of choirs, theatre circles.

An important problem was the lack of its own room for meetings, the presentation of abstracts. The plot of land was purchased for building, and about 700 kr were collected in 1909 – 1910 (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 20). Horodok branch requested Lviv

authorities for a financial assistance because it was at risk of losing the land. The Polish community wanted to buy it to build a Polish school. «Due to lack of the financial resources» they asked to preserve in the newly established branch not 15 but 25% of the membership fees for at least one year (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 3–10). The membership fees were the mainstay of the society's activities, however, according to the numerous reports, many people were hesitant to pay the fees.

It was also decided to set up a bursa (a dormitory for the rural youth, who studied) under the auspices of the «Prosvita». Three rooms for the performances, the private rooms for rent and the shop were planned. M. Yarema, Professor at the Ukrainian Gymnasium in Przemysl, donated 200 kr to buy the inventory for the bursa. The bursa contained 5 rooms and 2 kitchens, where in 1910 there lived 14 pupils, in 1911 – 18 (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 26).

The activities of Horodotsk branch of the «Prosvita» Society contributed to the preservation and development of the Ukrainian language, culture and national consciousness not only in Horodok but also in Horodok district (povit). During the first year of functioning, the branch was successful. First of all, functioning of the reading rooms and shops was checked. The delegates from Horodok participated in almost every meeting of the district reading rooms. The post of a luminarist of the «Prosvita» reading rooms and shops was created. M. Shutu was appointed a luminarist, who, being a capable organizer, «already in a short time found great work because of the awakening of life in the reading rooms in the villages and encouraged the people greatly to set up shops. On May 30, 1909, he founded a new reading room in Bratkovychi and brought to life several reading rooms that did not function effectively from the period their foundation» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 12). The new reading rooms were also created, in particular, in 1909, 5 new ones were created in Horodok district (povit): in Bratkovychi, Artyshevychiv, Bartativ, Stodilky, Zushytsi. The branches were located in private or rented premises, had their own shops, libraries (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1936, p. 16).

The work of Hrodok branch was interrupted by World War I – it resumed its activity only in 1921. At the beginning of 1925 the number of the reading room members was 173, at the end of 1926 there were 22 reading rooms in Horodok district (povit) (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 1–13).

In 1925, S. Bilyak, a well-known social and political figure, a lawyer, headed the branch in Horodok. He stated: «the authorities of Horodok district (povit) underestimated the role of education and the result of it is banditism, alcoholism, thefts and other crimes in a very large size. In part, the reason for is the economic need that is caused by the large population of the countryside... The reading room must be the initiator and the leader in every such case, it must become a parent and a teacher for its members. The reading room should become the second home for every citizen» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 15). M. Lada, the Chief Delegate noted a noticeable shortage of people, willing to be engaged in the cultural and educational work, in particular, the Ukrainian academic youth and teachers: formally, the reading room had quite a few members, but only a small percentage paid the membership fees and even fewer did regular work. The part of the clergy distanced themselves from the cultural and educational work; «there were also people of Muscophile ideology among them» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 13).

In 1928 – 1932 the Polish-Ukrainian relations got worse, intensified, in particular, in 1932 the OUN attacked the post office in Horodok, after which a series of repressive actions took place. S. Bilyak, the head of the branch, was arrested. Several times the searches were

carried out in the premises of the branch, during which many documents were destroyed. The secretary R. Palamarchuk had to hide to avoid being arrested (Palamarchuk, 1998, p. 31). The number of members of the society was not constant: in 1933, there were 120 of them (48 women and 62 men), then in 1934 it was almost twice as low: 64 people, of whom 52 were men and 12 women. There was a noticeable decrease in the number of women. In 1935 in Horodok the number of members of the society increased to 350 people, in the district (povit) there were 2718 members of «Prosvita» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1944, p. 5).

In 1934 the OUN's terrorist attack against Polish Interior Minister B. Peracki, the leader of the pacification, has sparked a new wave of the repression. The activity of the Society was under a constant threat of closure by the Polish authorities, in particular, in 1934 there was stopped the activity of reading rooms in Horodok, Zavydovychi, Zashkovychi, Kernytsya, Velykyi Lubin, Bartativ. The reason for the repression was police reports that a large number of the Ukrainians visited the graves of the fallen people in 1918, which took place solemnly (CSHAUL, f. 348. d. 1, c. 1936, p. 12). Later the reading rooms were opened, but there was a constant danger of closing. In the county, it was difficult to get permission to take action: «In order to obtain such permission, it is necessary to be well, because they refuse to do so, in such a way that such an interested person will get bored», often the police dispersed people (CSHAUL, f. 348. d. 1, c. 1936, p. 16). On June 17, 1934, R. Palamarchuk and the government official I. Kalynevyh, almost all the members of the youth cultural and educational section, as well as about a dozen conscious peasants were arrested. Subsequently, some of the arrested were released because the investigation did not prove the facts of anti-state crimes. However, all former «Prosvita» members, especially those imprisoned, were forbidden to participate in the community activity by the authorities (Palamarchuk, 1998, p. 53).

In order to reduce persecution, the Main Department called on Horodok branch for prudence and caution, in particular, it was recommended to arrange duty services to avoid provocations: the falsification of the forbidden literature, the provocative leaflets. It was also decided to exclude the people, who had conflicts with the authorities, from the management of the branches of the society (CSHAUL, f. 348. d. 1, c. 1936, p. 17).

Subsequently, the repression weakened slightly, but it did not stop. Despite the prohibitions and persecution, – S. Horbal, the resident of Horodok, recalled: every year on Whitsun there took place the visits to the cemetery and places of burial of the heroes of the «Prosvita», to which the youth joined, «the crosses and the graves of the fallen for the freedom of Ukraine were restored by members of «Falcon», the girls put sand around the graves, lined the paths, decorated the graves with flowers and wreaths. The inscriptions on the wreaths had to «pass censorship» (Palamarchuk, 1998, p. 59).

One of the most important activities of the society was the spread of literacy, the development of the national consciousness, the dissemination of information of an economic nature. The «Prosvita» provided courses for the illiterate and the low literate, which in 1925 enrolled 22 people, in particular, 7 boys and 15 girls, in 1934, enrolled more than 40 people of all ages. As stated in his report at the meeting of the «Prosvita» branch in Horodok on March 30, 1937, the representative of the Main Department V. Tatomyr: «the main aim of the «Prosvita» is the struggle against illiteracy ... The task is set up for us – to get rid of slavery, to wake up the feeling of responsibility, to engage in endurance and consistency in work, and then to unite in one thought ... and to work together with one common purpose – the independent State ... We must go to the following four directions: 1. Morality and God. 2. A good book. 3. Youth organization. 4. Women's organization» (Palamarchuk, 1998, p. 27).

The primary importance of the society was given to the cultural and educational activities, with libraries operating at each reading room, in particular, the list of the donated books to the library of the newly established Horodok branch in 1909: «History of Ukraine-Rus» (10 copies), «Plazing Vegetables» (10 copies), «The Collection of Songs» (10 copies), «Production of Cement Tiles» (5 copies), «Apiary» (2 copies) (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 7). After World War I, the library had to be re-created, since the pre-war one was destroyed, in particular, 134 books were purchased. As noted in the report, «people were happy to read the books and with a great interest,» novels and stories were the most popular. Also people paid for receiving the magazines: «The People's Prosvita», «The Ukrainian Voice», «The New Time», «The Freedom», «The Ukrainian Council». Due to the lack of books, two wandering libraries were created to cover district (povit) reading rooms, and the books were exchanged among the district reading rooms (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 194, p. 13).

In 1933 there were 216 books of fiction (novels, stories, poetry), 7 economic, 22 popular-scientific, 2 books-advisers, dictionaries, 18 children's books, 1 theater book in the library of Horodok society. About 124–130 books were read during the year, most often the books: «Sahaidachnyi» (15 times) and «Mazepa» (37), «Sotnykivna» (44). The seniors were more interested in the stories of war and recollections, the younger ones were interested in fantastic stories. In 1934, Horodok branch subscribed to seven magazines: «The New Time», «The Great History of Ukraine», «The Life and Knowledge», «The Chronicle of Red Kalyna», «The Mosquito», «The Woman's Destiny», «The Woman's Will» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1944, p. 4).

The Public lectures were an important activity of the Society, most of which were devoted to various aspects of Ukrainian history and culture. In particular, in 1910 O. Yablonskyi read the essay «On the Cossacks» in the reading room in Malkovychi (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 26). During October 19, 1924 – June 30, 1925 I. Tsegelskyi read the essays on the topics: «On the Ancient Theatre in Greece», «On the Ukrainian Turnstones and Tourists», «On the Cossack Duma», «On the beginnings of the Printing Thing in Ukraine», V. Skrypchuk: «The Significance of the Ukrainian Book», V. Babiy: «Prehistoric Times», «Geography of Ukraine», «Prince's Day in Ukraine», in the essay on «Native School» he pointed to the importance of Ukrainian schooling and the obligation to maintain existing ones and to found the new ones. He called for the founding of Committees of Native Schools in each community to raise donations for the needs of Ukrainian private schooling (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 8). In 1933, 18 public lectures were conducted, 16 of them were on historical topics, 1 – on a dairy manufacturing topic and 1 – on a medical topic. In 1935 K. Karachevskyi conducted the lecture on the topic: «Prescriptions of the Polish Code of Obligations»; a student of theology from Drozdovychi Horoshko conducted the lecture on «Bolshevism», «Educational and organizational needs of Horodok povit», R. Palamarchuk: «The value of the Soviet philosophy and Moscow Philosophy» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1944, p. 3). Such public lectures were popular, usually attended by 15–120 people (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, p. 8).

The society paid a special attention to the eradication of drunkenness, which was organized by the presentation of essays on anti-alcohol and anti-nicotine topics (M. Boberskyi conducted the lecture «On the Impact of Alcoholism on a Human Life» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1937, p. 26), I. Tsehelskyi – «The Harm of Nicotine» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 8), R. Yarosh – «On Sobriety» (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1944, p. 1). There were organized

the circles whose members completely abstained from alcohol. Each reading room had to subscribe to «The Renaissance» magazine, and various celebrations were held without drinking alcohol.

Another activity sphere of the society was the organization of the concerts and celebrations. On May 17, 1926, the «Prosvita» reading room organized the concert in honor of T. Shevchenko, on June 15 – a festive meeting to mark the 10th anniversary of I. Franko's death, and in October – Book Holiday (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 13). In 1934 2 the concerts were held in honor of T. Shevchenko. The reading room made money from organizing the similar events, for example, «Vechornytsi» on November 9, 1934 brought in profit of 75 PLN. Every year, at Christmas holidays, the Union of the Ukrainians, together with the «Prosvita» activists, prepared a nativity scene (Verterp), collecting donations for the public affairs (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1944, p. 12).

At the reading rooms of the society there were theatrical and choral circles. During 1933, there were 6 performances of the «Easter Drama», and often there was on the performance «Joseph in Egypt». During 1934, there were 2 concerts in honor of T. Shevchenko, as well as «The Bethlehem Night» performance was acted out three times. In 1936 for the revitalization of work in reading rooms the competitions of choirs and amateur theater circles started among the povit reading rooms (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 56).

Horodok»Prosvita» also created the office of a legal aid, much attention was paid to the economic development of the Ukrainians, in particular, as evidenced by the topic of the lectures, in particular, in 1926 Sterniuk elucidated the cooperation, its essence and role in the life of people, in particular, the Ukrainians. Horodok «Prosvita» organized the cooperative courses together with other town organizations. In 1935, four cooperatives, the branch of the Ukrainian Bank, and the branch of «The Union of the Ukrainian Women», functioned well at the branch (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 9).

The youth cultural and educational section of the branch «Prosvita» worked effectively. In 1934 it numbered 21 students, also the representatives of working youth. During the year, the members of the section made 12 reports on the youth topics, they acquainted the peasants with the publications of the journal «The Student Way». Each member of the section took care of a specific youth group, children's or teenage unit of the «Sokil» Society in Horodok and the villages of the povit. In various villages there were made the reports on the economic topics, history of Ukraine, the concerts and performances were organized as well. For several months, young educators visited 22 villages, held 61 sports competitions in the povit (Palamarchuk, 1998, p. 41).

Despite the weekly public lectures, the choir performances, a large «Prosvita» library reading room in Horodok was attended only by a small number of the intellectuals and the suburban dwellers, there were no town residents, who attended the the lectures (CSHAUL, f. 348. d. 1, c. 1940/2, p. 71). In 1926 among 22 reading rooms in the povit, the minor part of them worked actively, often due to the lack of their own premises (CSHAUL, f. 348, d. 1, c. 1940, p. 13).

In the 1930-ies, there were already three Ukrainian reading rooms in Horodok – apart from the main reading room, in the town center; in 1935 they were also founded in the suburbs – Zastavskiyi (in I. Bohonka's house) and Lvivskiyi (in V. Kishko's house). The reading room in the Zastavskiyi suburb was particularly active, which was traditionally considered as a stronghold of Muscophilia. It comprised a shop, a library, a choir, a theater group. Its activities led to the fact that in Muscophilia Society named after M. Kachkovskiyi

there remained only «the part of the supporters». In 1939 it was closed (CSHAUL, f. 182, d. 1. c. 313, p. 16).

Instead, the «Prosvita» reading room in the Lvivskiy suburb in Horodok was in a worse state of affairs because it lacked the adequate facilities, lacked a choir and a theater group, so it was mostly visited only by older people. A large number of the reading room members attended the choir circle (CSHAUL, f. 348. d. 1, c. 1940/2, p. 71). This reading room also functioned among the activists at the muscophile reading room, and it had some financial problems. The conflicts arose between the Muscophiles and the pro-Ukrainian population. The Muscophiles noted that the Ukrainians tried to take their building and use it for the reading rooms, but it did not work (CSHAUL, f. 182, d. 1, c. 326, p. 44). It is noteworthy that the archival documents did not record any data on the oppression of the Muscophiles by the Polish administration. In January 1936, the reading room in the Lvivskiy suburb of Horodok was liquidated (CSHAUL, f. 182, d. 1, c. 326, p. 82). The liquidation of two Muscophile reading rooms in Horodok also testified to the successes of the «Prosvita» movement.

In the fall of 1939, the Soviet government liquidated the society as a «source of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism,» the libraries were destroyed, the massive arrests began, and the deportations of the nationally conscious Ukrainians, their families, and especially the members of the «Prosvita» began. L. Ozarkkevych, head of Horodok Branch, was the first among the first victims and many other residents of Horodok. Most of the «Prosvita»educators managed to avoid such persecution and emigrated to the West.

The conclusions and perspectives of further research. The activities of the society took place under the difficult conditions of Polish-Ukrainian relations complication and the repressions of the 1920-ies and 1930-ies. An additional complicating factor was the noticeable influence of Muscophiles, who, by their ideology, disoriented the part of the Ukrainians of the town, thereby limiting the potential resources of the «Prosvita».

One of the most important activities of the society was the spread of literacy, the development of the national consciousness, the dissemination of economic information. The «Prosvita» branch in Horodok managed the povit societies, facilitated the activation, interconnection, cooperation and the creation of the new societies. The libraries functioned at each reading room, two travelling libraries were created, the books were exchanged among the povit reading rooms, and the courses for the illiterate were organised.

The public lectures on various aspects of Ukrainian history and culture, the economic aspects, and the spread of sobriety were the important activities of the society. Much attention was paid to the work of theatre and choral groups, the organization of concerts, the celebrations, which was a means of developing the national consciousness, culture, as well as the way of raising funds for the public affairs. The education of young people was of a great importance, and the cultural and educational section of the «Prosvita» branch functioned effectively.

In further scientific research it is necessary to cover the activity of the branches of the «Prosvita» society in various settlements, their cooperation with other Ukrainian organizations, the contribution to the development of culture and the national consciousness.

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**UKRAINE AND THE SOVIET EXPORT
OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION TO EUROPE IN 1919**

Summary. *The aim of the research* is to determine the role of Ukraine in disrupting the plans of the Russian Bilshovyks, concerning the export of the communist revolution to Central and Western Europe and the Balkans in 1919. **The research methodology** is based on: the general scientific methods (analytical and synthetic, inductive and deductive); the general historical – (historical-comparative, problem-chronological, retrospective, synchronistic, diachronic). **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time in the newest Ukrainian historiography there has been analyzed the attempt disruption of the Russian Bilshovyks to export the communist revolution to Europe across the territory of Ukraine in 1919. **Conclusions.** In 1919 there was a real threat of the Russian Bilshovyk troops invasion to Central and Western Europe, as well as the Balkans. Hungary was to be their first victim. The preparation for the invasion was carried out under the slogans of «an international assistance», given to the Hungarian proletariat. There was no common border between Russia and the countries of Central and Western Europe, so the success of the military operations depended on the circumstance – how quickly the Russian troops would pass across Ukraine, which was seized by the national revolution, and

would break through to Hungary. This attempt failed. The massive anti-Bilshovyk uprisings in Ukraine, a stubborn resistance of the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR), the refusal of the government of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) to conclude an agreement with the Bilshovyks, A. Denikin's attack on Ukrainian lands was diverted by the significant Soviet military forces. It made the invasion plans for Hungary via Bukovyna into an impracticable project. As a result, the export of the communist revolution from Russia to Europe failed. So, the main obstacle on the path of communism to Europe was Ukraine, which stopped the Russian communist invasion in 1919.

Key words: European revolution, Hungarian revolution, export of revolution, Ukrainian People's Republic, West Ukrainian People's Republic, M. Grygoriev's rebellion.

УКРАЇНА І РАДЯНСЬКИЙ ЕКСПОРТ КОМУНІСТИЧНОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ В ЄВРОПУ 1919 р.

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – визначити роль України у зриві планів російських більшовиків щодо експорту комуністичної революції в Центральну, Західну Європу та на Балкани у 1919 р. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на: загальнонаукові методи (аналітичний і синтетичний, індуктивний і дедуктивний); загальноісторичні (історико-порівняльний, проблемно-хронологічний, ретроспективний, синхроністичний, діахронічний). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в новітній українській історіографії зроблена спроба комплексного аналізу причин провалу спроби більшовицької Росії здійснити в 1919 р. через територію України експорт комуністичної революції в Європу. **Висновки.** У 1919 р. існувала реальна загроза вторгнення в Центральну, Західну Європу і на Балкани російських більшовицьких військ. Першою їх жертвою мала стати Угорщина. Підготовка до вторгнення здійснювалася під гаслами «інтернаціональної допомоги» угорському пролетаріату. Спільного кордону між Росією і країнами Центральної і Західної Європи не існувало, тому успіх військових операцій залежав від того, наскільки швидко російські війська пройдуть через охоплену національною революцією Україну і прорвуться в Угорщину. Але масові антибільшовицькі повстання в Україні, впертий опір армії Української Народної Республіки (УНР), відмова уряду Західно-Української Народної Республіки (ЗУНР) пропустити більшовицькі війська через Галичину до Буковини, наступ військ А. Денікіна на Сході України перетворили план вторгнення в Угорщину на нездійснений проект. Як наслідок, експорт комуністичної революції з Росії в Європу захлинувся. Отже, Україна 1919 р. стала головною перепорою на шляху російського комуністичного вторгнення на Захід.

Ключові слова: Європейська комуністична революція, Угорська революція, експорт революції, Українська Народна Республіка, Західно-Українська Народна Республіка, повстання М. Григор'єва.

The problem statement. After World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and German empires, a series of the democratic revolutions took place in Europe. A number of new independent states emerged. All of them found themselves in the difficult socio-economic conditions caused by the deep economic crisis, unemployment and hunger. The result was the activation of the local pro-communist forces who, with the Soviet Russia assistance, sought to establish Bilshovyk orders in their countries. In turn, the Soviet Russia planned a military campaign to the West and aimed at implementing the project of the European Communist Revolution. The Soviet Russia carried out its campaign under the demagogic slogans of «the liberation of peoples from the yoke of capital», «international assistance to the proletariat of brotherly countries» and the creation of a European federation of socialist states. These were elements of a «hybrid war» that the Soviet Russia began to use in relation to different countries in 1917 and continued to do so later. In the suggested article, the attempt to export the Bilshovyk revolution to the West in 1919 is characterized not only as a purely military operation, but also as a multifaceted «hybrid» political project.

The analysis of recent researches and publications. The issue of preparing and attempting to realize the export of the Communist revolution to Europe by the Bilshovyks in

1919 has not received a comprehensive coverage in the historical publications. The general approaches of the Bilshovyk leadership of Russia to the issue of the revolution export were analyzed in the monograph by Yu. Felshtynskiy, published in 1992 (Felshtynskiy, 1992) and in a short article by H. Yefimenko, published in the «Encyclopedia of Ukrainian History» (Yefimenko, 2005, pp. 22–24). In a recently published article by I. Farenii «The Peasant Revolution in the Theoretical Views and Political Practices of Ulyanov-Lenin», F. Engels was quoted, who believed that the coming Russian Revolution would accelerate the European Proletarian Revolution (Farenii, 2019, p. 60).

Some aspects of the problem, related to Ukraine's role in the failure of the Bilshovyk plan for the revolutionary march to the West were reflected in an article by a Russian author A. Kuryenyshchev (Kuryenyshchev, 2001). In modern Ukrainian historiography, this problem has not been specifically analyzed. Some of its aspects were analyzed only by the representatives of Ukrainian emigration and some researchers – the witnesses and active participants of the events (Stakhiv, 1957; Mazepa, 1950; Vynnychenko, 1990; Antonov-Ovseenko, 1932). The publications of these authors contain a wealth of the documentary material that cannot be found in other sources. But the authors draw attention mainly to the military political aspects of the Bilshovyk export of the revolution to Europe. The problem did not get the complex coverage.

Statement of the basic material. After the end of World War I, the situation in Hungary, where the socio-economic crisis was combined with the foreign policy, was particularly dramatic. As a result of the revolution, on October 31, 1918, the government led by Earl Caroli separated Hungary from Austria and, using the liberal slogans, attempted to keep under control the lands of the former Hungarian kingdom, inhabited by the Croats, the Slovaks, the Carpathian Ukrainians, the Slovenians, the Romanians and etc. But this attempt failed. On March 20, 1919, the Entente made an ultimatum demand: by March 23 to withdraw its troops from the designated lands and let Romanian troops pass into the territory of Eastern Hungary (Transylvania), and on the land of Transcarpathian Ukraine – Czechoslovak troops (Avetisyan, 1989, pp. 56–57; Stakhiv, 1957, pp. 88–89).

In a state of hopelessness, on March 21, 1919, Caroli voluntarily transferred the entirety of power into the hands of the Hungarian Social Democrats, who together with the Communists, formed a joint government and proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet socialist republic. The actual head of the Hungarian Soviet government was a Communist Bela Kun, who, together with Hungarian prisoners of war, returned to his homeland from the Bilshovyk Russia in November 1918.

While staying in Moscow, Bela Kun repeatedly met Volodymyr Lenin, the Russian Bilshovyk leader. Bela Kun became his fervent supporter and planned to carry out the communist transformations in Hungary in accordance with Russian experience, in particular, with the use of «a red terror». To do this, he needed a solid power. That is why he immediately appealed to the Soviet People's Commissar for the Soviet military and economic assistance. The Government of the Soviet Hungary offered the Soviet Russia «a defensive and offensive alliance against all enemies of the proletariat» (Yozha A. & Milei, 1977, p. 264; Fomin, 1983, p. 124).

This was the very issue, what the leadership of the Soviet Russia expected from the Hungarian Communists. So the answer came immediately. The welcoming telegram of the VIIIth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bilshovyks) (RCP(b), signed on March 22, 1919 by V. Lenin, stated that «the working class of Russia is rushing to your rescue» (Lenin, 1973, p. 181). The very next day, on March 23, the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Russia

troops I. Vatsetis sent a letter to V. Lenin, in which he suggested establishing a common front between Hungary and the Soviet Russia across the territory of Bukovyna (Direktivny Glavnogo komandovaniya Krasnoy Armii, 1969, p. 219).

Bukovyna until November 1918 was the part of the Austrian kingdom, had the status of the Crown region, and after the collapse in November 1918, Austria-Hungary was occupied by Romania.

What were the benefits of the «Bukovyna variant» of the revolution's export to Central and Western Europe? What were the problems for this plan to be implemented? First of all, one should keep in mind that Bukovyna borders on Transylvania – the north-western region of modern Romania. In contrast to Bukovyna, which belonged to Austria, this region was the part of the Hungarian kingdom until 1918. One of the most important conditions for Romania's entry into World War I on the Entente side was the annexation of Transylvania. After the victory of the Entente in the war and the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, Romania considered Transylvania its own territory, although this status was secured by the Trianon Peace Treaty only in 1920. Hungary also resisted establishing of Romanian orders here. In the imagination of the Russian Bilshovyk leadership, it was this circumstance that made the route across Bukovyna and Transylvania optimal for a revolutionary march to the West.

There was another direction for the invasion of the Soviet troops into Hungary – across the former Bessarabian province, which until 1917 was part of the Russian Empire, and in January 1918 was occupied by Romania. In order to break through Hungary, it was necessary to pass across the Romanian-controlled ethnic lands of Ukraine and the Romanian territory itself. Moreover, crossing Romania – was a direct path to the Balkans, whose population, according to the Bilshovyk leadership, was ready, like Romania, to adopt the revolutionary slogans (Antonov-Ovseenko, 1932, pp. 16, 17, 57 ; Stakhiv, 1957, p. 90).

There were great difficulties in implementing both of these plans. The problem, first of all, was that Russia had no common border with Romania. There was Ukraine between Russia and Romania. Therefore, before breaking through Hungary across Bukovyna or Bessarabia, the Bilshovyk troops had to cross Ukraine. There was no other way. After all, at the end of March 1919, when the local communists were defeated in Hungary, the Russian Bilshovyks did not yet manage to establish a full control over the Dnieper Ukraine. Thus, the future of the plan to export the Communist revolution to Europe depended largely on Ukraine, and from the attitude of its population to Russian Bilshovysm.

It should be recalled how the Bilshovyk control over Ukraine took place in the first half of 1919. After the collapse of the Hetman P. Skoropadskyi regime in the Dnieper region in late 1918, the Ukrainian People's Republic, headed by the Directory, was restored. Immediately afterwards, the UNR became the target of an armed aggression by the Soviet Russia, operating under the puppet guise of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkrSSR) led by the Bilshovyk government, formed in Moscow. However, the Bilshovyks denied the involvement of the Russian troops in the hostilities in Ukraine. They cynically stated that the Ukrainian Red Army fought against the Directory. The Ukrainian Red Army was subordinate to the government of the UkrSSR, which was «wholly independent» of the Russian Soviet People's Commissar. This tactic was used by the Bilshovyks in relation to other countries, which later the Bilshovyks sought to take control.

The attack of the Russian Soviet troops was quite rapid, and at the end of March 1919 under the control of the UNR government there remained only a narrow strip of Ukrainian land in the west of Podilsk, Volyn and Kherson provinces. Podillia and the former Kherson region

along the Dniester River bordered on Bessarabia, which was occupied by Romania. It was crossing the Dniester River that the Russian Bilshovyks planned their armed breakthrough into Bessarabia and Romania, and crossing them – to Hungary and other countries of Central and Western Europe, as well as the Balkans.

As for Bukovyna, it was the most convenient to break through it across the territory of Western Ukraine. After the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, headed by the State Secretariat, was proclaimed there. The former border between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Russian Empire became the border between the UNR and ZUNR. On January 22, 1919, the Act of Union of these two Ukrainian states took place. ZUNR was declared to be the Western Region of the UPR (ZO UNR). The new state quickly became the target for aggression by neighboring Poland, which in late 1918 also regained its independence and claimed Western Ukrainian lands.

Thus, in order to break through the Soviet Hungary across Bukovyna, the Russian Bilshovyks first had to overcome the resistance of the UNR and ZUNR troops. This meant that the Soviet Russia was entering into an open military conflict with Romania and Poland, with the mighty Entente behind them.

Such a perspective did not suit either Russia or Hungary. They attempted to achieve a peaceful pass to Hungary by the Russian Bilshovyk troops across the territories, controlled by the troops of the UNR, ZUNR and the Romanian Kingdom.

Volodymyr Vynnychenko wrote about one of the peaceful export variants of the Communist revolution to Europe in his book «The Renaissance of the Nation». It should be mentioned that he was the head of the Directory – «the first» by the influence figure in the leadership of the UNR. In February 1919, V. Vynnychenko resigned and went abroad (Soldatenko, 2005, p. 129). As V. Vynnychenko recalled, he was addressed by the Hungarian Soviet government representatives and proposed to reorganize the Directory Authority in Ukraine, making it more «communist», and independent of Russia. At the same time, the Hungarians agreed on the role of the mediators in the negotiations between Moscow and the Ukrainian leftist socialists in the matter of forming in Ukraine a «true Ukrainian national Soviet government». This government should have eliminated the UPR Directory, the State Secretariat of the ZUNR, should have approved the Soviet regime and bring the ZUNR – Ukrainian Halychyna Army (UHA) military units to their side. As a result, a solid communist front was created that included Hungary, Halychyna, the Dnieper Ukraine, and Russia (Vynnychenko, 1990, pp. 322, 325–326; Soldatenko, 2005, pp. 129–130).

V. Vynnychenko, who supported the idea of the European Communist Revolution, readily accepted the proposals of the Hungarian Communists. But in basis of the agreement he put forward the following conditions: the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which was planned to be established on the basis of the UNR; the creation of the Ukrainian national Soviet government; the defensive-offensive military union of the Soviet republics; the attack on Halychyna in order to free it from the Poles (Vynnychenko, 1990, pp. 325–326).

According to V. Vynnychenko, the Hungarians gladly agreed with the proposals of the Ukrainian side. In his belief, Bela Kun government did not even assume that V. Lenin could be against the proposals of the Ukrainian side. He was convinced that the future of not only the communist regime in Hungary but also the fate of the European Communist Revolution depended on the implementation of this project. «Perhaps, indeed, this moment», V. Vynnychenko writes, «would be decisive in the struggle of socialism against capitalism

around the world» (Vynnychenko, 1990, p. 326). In accordance with his estimation, this proposal was also agreed in Western Ukraine, «whose government was ready to agree with anyone not to allow the victory of the Poles and to keep Halychyna in Ukrainian hands» (Vynnychenko, 1990, pp. 325–326). But the negotiations on V. Vynnychenko's conditions ended in failure. Why this happened, V. Vynnychenko does not write. He only points out that he is aware of the «great resistance» to this idea by H. Rakovskyi and H. Pyatakov, the central figures in the puppet government of the UkrSSR pro-Moscow government (Vynnychenko, 1990, p. 323).

We consider the events, described by V. Vynnychenko, as a real fact. This is recognized by a number of researchers. In particular, in his book «The Second Soviet Republic in Ukraine», M. Stakhiv reproduces the text of V. Vynnychenko. But M. Stakhiv rejects V. Vynnychenko's attempts to find any significant differences in the attitude to the Ukrainian issue by V. Lenin and his supporters in Ukraine. According to him, «there was no difference between Lenin and Pyatakov in the Ukrainian case» (Stakhiv, 1957, pp. 112–113). M. Stakhiv reminds that Moscow formally recognized the independence of the UkrSSR, its defensive-offensive and economic union with it. The Bilshovyks declared a voluntary association of the UkrSSR with Soviet Russia on the basis of a «socialist federation». Theoretically, this should have meant that Ukraine was quite equal with Russia. «Only in fact», M. Stakhiv rightly points out, «there was no republic, no union, no government, only a government doll, headed by a foreigner – H. Rakovskyi, the Bulgarian-Romanian in nationality» (Stakhiv, 1957, p. 113).

In fact, Moscow rejected the recognition of Ukraine's real independence. V. Lenin did not even dare to use this project as a purely tactical technique – a tool for organizing a revolutionary march to the West. The Soviet republics that formed on the lands of the former Russian Empire, including the USSR, were considered as the Soviet territorial administrative structures rather than the national sovereign states. The Soviet state in the post-imperial space represented the Bilshovyks as a unitary socialist republic. The Federation was allowed, but as a temporary form. «As one of the transitional forms on the way to a full unification,» the party allowed «a federal unification of the states, organized by the Soviet type.» It was written in the RCP programme (b), adopted at the Party's 7th Congress at the end of March 1919. (Programma RKP(b), 1957, p. 201). The Bilshovyks did not make any exceptions for Ukraine.

There is no doubt that the Hungarian Communists, V. Vynnychenko negotiated with, knew about this strategy of the Russian Bilshovyks. M. Stakhiv believes that in the negotiations with V. Vynnychenko they acted as Moscow satellites quite deliberately. And the ultimate goal of this venture was a complete control over all of Ukraine, a military breakthrough across Bessarabia and Bukovyna to Hungary, and from there to Central and Western Europe as well as the Balkans. The UNR Directory and the ZUNR State Secretariat, which still controlled part of the Dnieper Ukraine and Western Ukraine, stood in the way of realizing these intentions (Stakhiv, 1957, p. 338). For Moscow aggressive Bilshovysm there were no moral obstacles, so when discussing this «peaceful» plan, the Bilshovyks simultaneously prepared to march to Europe (Sytnyk, 2017, p. 76). They were well aware that the success of the Hungarian Revolution depended on the final defeat of the UNR army and whether the Soviet troops would break through Bessarabia and Bukovyna. However, the resistance of the UNR army continued for a month before, at the end of April 1919, it was forced to retreat across the Zbruch river within the territory of ZUNR. The Soviet troops approached to the Dniester, on the left bank of which the territory of Bessarabia began.

The Bilshovyks' success in the fight against the army of the UNR coincided with the proclamation of the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Although it lasted less than a month – from

April 6 to May 3, 1919, in Moscow and Budapest, the event was seen as a manifestation of the progressive European revolution that must be supported. Regarding the main Romanian forces in Bessarabia, they were then deployed to the West to fight the Soviet Hungarian troops for control of Transylvania. These events were perceived by the Bilshovyks as an auspicious moment for forcing the Dniester River and breaking through the Romanian-occupied territory of Bessarabia.

On May 1 and 2, 1919, the Radnarkom of the Soviet Russia and the Radnarkom of the UkrSSR issued an ultimatum demand to liberate the territory of Bessarabia from the Romanian troops within 48 hours and to transfer power to the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Bessarabia. This «puppet» government was formed in Odesa on May 6. It issued the Manifesto on the formation of the Bessarabian Soviet Republic, which was to become the part of the Soviet Russia (Mazepa, 1950, p. 190). The Romanian government did not respond to the ultimatum. The Bilshovyk command accelerated the preparations for the military operations in Bessarabia. On May 2, the People's Commissar of Military Affairs of the UkrSSR, without waiting for the ultimatum to end, ordered the formation of the 1st Bessarabian Division from the local Bessarabians in Odesa. In the nearest future this division was supposed to be deployed into the army (Grazhdanskaya voyna na Ukraine, 1967, p. 5). The 4th and 6th Ukrainian Divisions and two International Brigades were formed as well (Fomin, 1983, p. 128). One of the first to appear in the Romanian front was the brigade under the command of M. Grigoriev, who was recently distinguished by seizing Kherson, Mykolayiv and Odesa. They also hoped for a massive pro-communist uprising in Bessarabia.

However, neither in Bessarabia nor in Romania did the population support the Bilshovyk invasion. More over, the additional Romanian troops were deployed from the Hungarian Front (from Transylvania) to Bessarabia. But most importantly, M. Grigoriev failed to comply with the order to attack Romania and on May 9, 1919, three days before the planned forcing by the leading Soviet units of the Dniester River, he began the anti-Bilshovyk uprising. There were 15,000 soldiers under his command. In his Universal, he declared the members of the Bilshovyk government of the UkrSSR, headed by H. Rakovskiy the adventurers and speculators (Mazepa, 1950, p. 199). The rebels seized Katerynoslav, Cherkasy, Oleksandrivsk, Kremenchuk, Mykolaiv, Kherson.

Despite the threat from the rear, the Bilshovyk command did not abandon the idea of attacking Romania. The Soviet military machine, aimed at attacking Europe, continued functioning. On May 12, the Dniester River was forced. On May 22, the Soviet troops approached Chisinau, and on May 29, they seized the city of Bender. At this stage, deprived of any help, the Soviet attack in Bessarabia stopped (Antonov-Ovseenko, 1932, p. 48).

The great forces were diverted to suppress M. Grigoriev's uprising and other anti-Soviet uprisings (Horak, 1998, p. 90). In particular, against the insurgents there were sent the military units, formed from the ethnic Hungarians, the so-called «internationalists» (Melnikova & Kulinich, 1983, p. 108). They were trained to be sent to Hungary. I. Mazepa considers M. Grigoriev's uprising finally to disrupt the Bilshovyk plans to export the Communist revolution to the West (Mazepa, 1950, p. 190).

The important events took place further north of Bessarabia, on the former border of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, which after the Act of Union on January 22, 1919 became the administrative border between the UNR and ZUNR. As it was mentioned above, under pressure from the Bilshovyk troops, at the end of April 1919 the remnants of the UNR army were forced to move across the Zbruch river to Halychyna, in ZUNR territory. Under

such conditions, the Bilshovyk leadership of Russia intensified the interest in Bukovyna, across which from Halychyna there was the direct, shortest route to Hungary. On May 3, 1919, the ultimatum to Romania was signed by H. Rakovskiyi, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR. The Romanian government was informed of leaving the territory of Bukovyna within 24 hours. Romania did not respond to this ultimatum.

The logical step of the Bilshovyks would be to start the military campaign in Bukovyna. But this operation was impossible without the consent of the ZUNR government. At the same time, the Bilshovyks did not dare to fight at the same time with the ZUNR and UNR troops, because this (even with the favourable development of events for them) would delay their invasion to Hungary. Therefore, it was urgently needed to communicate with the ZUNR government immediately. For this reason, on April 16, V. Antonov-Ovseyenko, the Commander of the Ukrainian Front, describing the prospects of a revolutionary campaign in Europe, in the telegram to V. Lenin and L. Trotskyi concluded: «Everything depends on peace with Poland and Halychyna» (Antonov-Ovseenko, 1932, p. 57).

As a result, Moscow initiated the Soviet ceasefire note, signed by H. Rakovskiyi. The ZUNR State Secretariat did not answer. At that time, V. Antonov-Ovseyenko, the Commander of the Armed Forces of the UkrSSR, took the initiative. The informal negotiations were initiated between the command of the Bilshovyk units, stationed in the ZUNR border territories and the representatives of the UHA (Ukrainian Army of Halychyna) in Stanislav. The Soviet conditions were transmitted through the parliamentarians. The Bilshovyks promised to help Halychyna inhabitants with the weapons and military equipment. As it is known, starting in mid-April of 1919 the units of the Haller army (France) began to arrive in Halychyna to help the local Poles. ZUNR was internationally isolated and felt a dire need for the most necessary to continue war. This determined the conditions of the Bilshovyks, similar to surrender. They were formulated in Moscow and passed on to Halychyna representatives by V. Antonov-Ovseyenko and his parliamentarians. The conditions included the following points:

1. A complete split of ZUNR with UNR. The liquidation of the UNR army in Halychyna and the transfer of its weapons and property to the Bilshovyks;
2. The reorganization of the UHA by removing anti-Bolshevik officers from its membership;
3. The permission for the Bilshovyk troops to pass for the operations in Bukovyna against the Romanian troops (Antonov-Ovseenko, 1932, p. 292).

There is little information on the reaction of some ZUNRs on this issue. Antonov-Ovseyenko wrote in his memoirs that the UHA delegation even travelled to Kyiv. Initially, the parties allegedly agreed on a «common front against the common enemies», but then Halychyna representatives stated that there was no common point of view among the UHA soldiers (Antonov-Ovseenko, 1932, p. 292; Mazepa, 1950, p. 191).

We do not know all the details of the negotiations, but it is hard to imagine that the UHA leadership went to any separate contacts that the ZUNR government would not have known about. M. Stakhiv said that in fact the UHA commanders did not negotiate with the Bilshovyk parliamentarians at all, but sent their proposals to the State Secretariat. But there were no answers from it. Then one of the Commanders got through with the Head of State's Secretariat, S. Holubovych, and asked him how they should treat the visits of the Bilshovyk parliamentarians. The Head replied that the ZUNR government had decided not to enter into negotiations with either V. Lenin or H. Rakovskiyi, and that no H. Rakovskiyi's suggestions would be answered. (Stakhiv, 1957, p. 338).

However, the Bilshovyks continued seeking for the agreement with the UHA and the ZUNR government. On May 16, 1919, the Minister in the government of the UNR, as I. Mazepa states, V. Antonov-Ovseyenko and the members of the Soviet People's Commissar: V. Zatonskyi and O. Zatonskyi arrived at the border town of Volochysk (on the Soviet side of the border) (Mazepa, 1950, p. 191). The Commander of the UHA was informed of the appearance of the Soviet delegation by the parliamentarians. The uninvited guests appeared in the dislocation area of the UHA. But the Commander did not accept the parliamentarians, and ordered his adjutant to reply: «Go back! We don't talk to the bandits!» (Stakhiv, 1957, p. 117).

There was another important circumstance that made the Bilshovyk campaign impossible in Hungary – the situation in the Soviet Southern Front in eastern Ukraine. For the Bilshovyks, it became critical. Breaking through the Soviet defense, the troops of the White Guards of the Volunteer Army (Bilohvardiitsi) began to advance from the Don to Donbass in late May. On May 27, they seized Luhansk and continued their rapid advance into Ukraine. At the same time, the uprising of the 3rd Dnieper Division under the command of N. Makhno began. The Division fought in the structure of the Soviet troops against the Denikins. N. Makhno left the front and with his supporters began an insurgent raid in the Soviet rear (Belash & Belash, 1993, pp. 226–232). The Denikin Front and the rebels were diverting more and more the Soviet forces. Under these circumstances, the Bilshovyks were not up to the march to Hungary. On May 25, the People's Commissar for the Naval Affairs of Ukraine M. Podvoyskyi informed V. Lenin that to help the Red troops in Donbass, the military units, planned to be used for the breakthrough in Hungary, were removed from the Ukrainian Front (Melnikova & Kulnich, 1983, p. 108). The Denikinis became a major threat to the Bilshovyk regime in Russia. On July 3, 1919, V. Lenin called out: «All to fight Denikin!»

At this time, the government and the army of the UNR returned from Halychyna to the Dnieper Ukraine in the area of Kamianets-Podilskyi and began to oust the Bilshovyk troops from the region. On July 17, another major event took place. Under pressure, made by the Polish troops, the UHA and the ZUNR government crossed to the right bank of the Zbruch river. The UHA merged with the UNR army. In mid-August 1919 the number of the united Ukrainian army was more than 80 thousand people (Kovalchuk, 2006, p. 47). It began its march deep into Naddnipryanschyna.

At the same time, the internal situation in Hungary was complicated. Without waiting for help from Russia, the Hungarian Communists lost support in their country as well. The internal contradictions grew. After all, the government without communists was formed in late July. On August 1, 1919, the Soviet power in Hungary was ultimately defeated. On August 4, the Romanian troops entered Budapest. The attempt of the Soviet export of the communist revolution from Russia to Europe ended in failure.

Conclusions. The analysis of the historical sources and research involved in this article give grounds to draw the conclusions that after the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I, the Bilshovyk leadership of Russia, headed by V. Lenin, planned a «revolutionary march» to Central and Western Europe, and also to the Balkans for the purpose of establishing the communist orders there. A convenient opportunity for the invasion was the revolution in Hungary, which led the Communists to power in this country. The closest bridgehead for preparing the «export of revolution» to Europe across Hungary was Ukraine, and the convenient «corridors» for this purpose were Bessarabia and Bukovyna. But Ukraine did not become a bridgehead for the deployment of a «revolutionary campaign» to the West. On the contrary, a number of circumstances made it an insurmountable obstacle to the Bilshovyk intentions of exporting the revolution to Europe.

Firstly, the UNR Army resistance and the massive anti-Bilshovyk uprisings of the Ukrainians of Naddniprovschyna – the peasants, mainly. If in May 1919, during the attempt to break through Bessarabia and Romania into southern and central Europe, the peasant uprisings hadn't broken out in the Soviet rear in Ukraine, in particular, led by M. Grigoriev, the Soviet invasion would not have stopped under Chisinau. The attacks of the Bilshovyks would have continued in the western and southern directions and would have strengthened the communist order in Romania, the Balkans and Hungary.

Secondly, the position of the ZUNR government. If the State Secretariat of the ZUNR had agreed to reconciliation with the Bilshovyks, it would have helped them to send their troops across Bukovyna to Hungary, and then – Western Europe. It didn't happen.

Thirdly, the defeat of the Bilshovyks in the Southern Front. If at the end of May 1919 N. Makhno had not raised the anti-Bilshovyk uprising and thus had not helped A. Denikin to break through the Southern Front in Donbass, the forces balance of in the East of Ukraine would have remained in favour of the Bilshovyks. This would contribute to the success of the Soviet export of the Communist revolution to Europe.

Thus, an armed resistance by the UNR army and the peasant uprisings in the south and east of Ukraine thwarted the Soviet campaign into Bessarabia, and the ZUNR government's principled position made it impossible for the Bilshovyk invasion of Hungary across Bukovyna. The export of the communist revolution from the Bilshovyk Russia to Europe was stopped.

Therefore, there is the reason to conclude that in the first half of 1919 Ukraine made a significant contribution to the salvation of Europe from the Bilshovyk invasion.

The authors of this article realize that the Bilshovyk plans failure is not limited to the Ukrainian factor. In the system of international relations after World War I, other factors also failed to disrupt the Russian Bilshovysm in the West. This problem is of a pan-European nature and deserves a more thorough study, in particular involving the works of European and American authors and sources of a foreign origin.

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**LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND PROTECTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
IN EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES (1919 – 1946)**

Summary. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the formation and development of an international mechanism for the protection of national minorities under the auspices of the League of Nations in the context of its dissemination to the countries of Eastern Europe. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, science, author's objectivity, consistency, social approach, and interdisciplinarity. General sciences (analysis, synthesis, deduction, induction, generalization) and special-historical methods (historiographical analysis, terminological analysis, retrospective, and comparative and historical) methods are used. The scientific novelty of the research is based on the*

analysis of a wide range of studies on the genesis of the protection of national minorities by the League of Nations, a critical assessment of the functioning of the League's human rights mechanism in relation to minority ethnic groups in the countries of Eastern Europe. The research found that the system of guarantees of the League of Nations for the benefit of minorities was shaped under the influence and in the context of the development of international relations of the League with Eastern European states, at the stage of securing the respective obligations of the states, as well as during the supervision of their implementation. The article substantiates the existence of an alternative historiographical approach to the concept of «Eastern European states», which was characteristic of the interwar period, 20-s and 30-s of the 20th century, in the context of an urgent need for a systematic settlement of the national minorities' status in Europe, which was of particular interest for the leading countries of the Entente.

Conclusions. An international protection mechanism was primarily provided not to national minorities, but to social groups, as well as to their individual representatives. This significantly narrowed the rights and interests of «non-dominant» strata of the population of states. The system of minority rights guarantees of the League of Nations was also controversial: on the one hand, in many countries, there were significant violations of the rights of minorities, and, on the other hand, an established system often opened the way for possible abuses and artificial ethnic hostility agitation, such a way giving the possibility to a part of the country of origin of a particular minority to influence the policy of multinational states. The signatories to the treaty on the protection of minorities persistently resisted the desire of the League of Nations to provide effective control over the fulfillment of the treaty obligations imposed on them by the winner-countries of the First World War. They considered the created system inequitable and inappropriate since it disregarded the rest of the multinational states that faced similar problems. All this conditioned the League's poor performance in protecting the rights and interests of minority ethnic groups living on the territory of Eastern European states.

Key words: League of Nations, national minorities, Eastern Europe, peace treaty, minorities treaties, unilateral declarations.

ЛІГА НАЦІЙ І ЗАХИСТ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ МЕНШИН У ДЕРЖАВАХ СХІДНОЇ ЄВРОПИ (1919 – 1946)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати діяльність Ліги Націй у сфері захисту національних меншин у східноєвропейських державах протягом 1919 – 1946 рр. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, науковості, авторської об'єктивності, системності, соціального підходу та міждисциплінарності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, дедукція, індукція, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історіографічного аналізу, термінологічного аналізу, ретроспективний, порівняльно-історичний) методи. **Наукова новизна:** на основі аналізу широкого спектру досліджень, присвячених генезису захисту національних меншин Лігою Націй, представлена критична оцінка функціонування правозахисного механізму Ліги стосовно меншитарних етнічних груп населення країн Східної Європи. Показано, що система гарантій Ліги Націй на користь меншин формувалася під впливом та у контексті розвитку міжнародних відносин Ліги зі східноєвропейськими державами як на етапі закріплення відповідних зобов'язань держав, так і у зв'язку із наглядом за їх виконанням. Обґрунтовано існування альтернативного історіографічного підходу до поняття «східноєвропейські держави», що було характерним у міжвоєнний період в умовах нагальної потреби системного врегулювання статусу національних меншин на території Європи, в чому особливо були зацікавлені провідні країни Антанти.

Висновки. Міжнародний механізм захисту передусім надавався не національним меншинам як соціальним групам, а окремим їх представникам. Це істотно звужувало права й інтереси «недомінантних» верств населення держав. Система гарантій прав меншин Лігою Націй також мала суперечливий характер: з одного боку у багатьох країнах відбувалися значні порушення прав приналежних до меншин осіб, а з іншого – встановлена система часто відкривала шлях для можливих зловживань і штучного розпалювання етнічної ворожнечі з метою впливу у такий спосіб на політику багатонаціональних держав зі сторони країни походження конкретної меншини. Держави, що підписали угоди щодо захисту меншин, наполегливо чинили опір прагненням Ліги Націй забезпечити дієвий контроль за виконанням договірних зобов'язань, нав'язаних

їм країнами-переможцями у Першій світовій війні. Створена система розцінювалася ними як нерівноправна і нецілісна, оскільки залишала поза увагою решту багатонаціональних держав, що стикалися з подібними проблемами. Усе вище перераховане низьку ефективність роботи Ліги у напрямі охорони прав та інтересів міноритарних етносів, які проживали на території східноєвропейських держав.

Ключові слова: Ліга Націй, національні меншини, Східна Європа, мирний договір, угоди про національні меншини, односторонні декларації.

The problem statement. The protection of national minorities within the League of Nations was a groundbreaking direction in the political dialogue of the states of that time. The protection of their rights was established as a characteristic attribute of a peaceful settlement after the First World War. Interstate cooperation on the protection of the interests of these social groups became an example of future universal cooperation in the sphere of human rights. This unprecedented approach to stabilizing the situation in ethnically diverse countries was seen as a kind of alternative to the inhuman methods of solving this problem – «ethnic cleansing»: for example, the genocide of the Greeks, committed by the Turkish government in 1914 – 1923, which became known in the historiography as an Asia Minor catastrophe (Finney, 1993, p. 2, 48, 53, 126, 381; Yildirim, 2006, p. 17, 88, 193; Chatzikyriakidis, 2011, p. 52). Ethno-national problem was exacerbated by changes in the political map of post-war Europe when the revision of state borders was accompanied by the inclusion of foreign community into their population. Allied and United forces insisted that Eastern European states signed agreements that would guarantee political, religious, language and other rights of national minorities.

The analysis of sources and researches. Between the two world wars, the practice of providing a state with safeguards for the protection of national minorities was to formalize them into peace treaties, special agreements («minorities treaties»), and unilateral acts.

During the League of Nations, the issues of the recognition and observance by the Eastern European States of the rights of national minorities were studied by O. Bochkovskiy (1922; 1958), V. Krotkov (1923), H. Rosting (1923), M. Vishnyak (1929), I. Levin (1934), C. Macartney (1934), J. Kunz (1945) and others. Among modern scholars who studied the above-mentioned issues, there are prominent works of V. Gevorkyan (1955), R. Pearson (1983), S. Sierpowski (1991), P. Thornberry (1993), C. Fink (1972; 1995), A. Abashidze (1996), J. Preece (1998), V. Mytsyk (2004), Y. Turchyn (2013), P. Kovács (2013), O. Ilinskaya (2017), A. Horot (2018). It is also important to consider the publications affiliated with international intergovernmental organizations, in particular, the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG, 2016).

The publication's purpose is to analyze the formation and development of an international mechanism for the protection of national minorities under the auspices of the League of Nations in the context of its dissemination to the countries of Eastern Europe.

Opening remarks. By this time, there was no clear understanding of the concept of «Eastern Europe». The content of the term is substantially dependent on its geographical, geopolitical, social and cultural, and even economic connotations. However, the principle of historicism requires relying primarily on historiographical material, which directly relates to the studied issues. Urged by the necessity to resolve the issue of national minorities as a result of the revision of the borders in Europe after the First World War, the following states were considered Eastern European: Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Turkey, Poland, Romania, Finland, Albania and the Kingdom of Serbs,

Croats and Slovenes (since 1929 – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) (Levin, 1934, p. 64; Fink, 1972, p. 331; Pearson, 1983; Fink, 1995, p. 197; Preece, 1998, p. 68; UNOG, 2016).

Statement of the basic material. Famous Ukrainian politician and publicist Olgerd Bochkovskiy noted that the solution to the question of national minorities in pre-war Europe was within the domestic jurisdiction. Instead, after the First World War, there was a real opportunity to carry out international supervision of compliance with minority rights, which was accompanied by a number of problems provoked by «old European political psychology», an absolutist understanding of state sovereignty essence, which did not correspond to the contemporary world tendencies. Therefore, a state that requires loyalty from national minorities must first of all conscientiously fulfill its obligations to them (Bochkovskyi, 1922, p. 5; 1958, p. 54–56; Turchyn, 2013, p. 45). The priority task of the introduction of international protection was to include the status of diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic groups living on the territory of Central Powers defeated in the First World War to the system of peace treaties. The plan was implemented in the treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey that included special sections on the protection of minorities. According to a contemporary of the event, a member of the League of Nations Secretariat Helmer Rosting, the special role of the New States and Protection of Minorities Committee had a powerful role in this direction at the Paris Peace Conference (Rosting, 1923, p. 646).

The Saint-Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly peace treaties concluded with the Christianity dominating states, received same-type provisions of minority protection. The treaties protected the lives and freedom of citizens of these countries based on equality before the law irrespective of their origin, nationality, language, race or religion. They provided the right to freely practice religion and to express personal convictions if such practices were not contrary to public order or public morals and gave the same civil and political rights; it was prohibited to make the exercising of these rights conditional on a particular confession. There were no restrictions on the use of minority languages in private communication, periodicals or book publications, religion, trade, courts, and public meetings. The right of ethnic, religious or language groups was proclaimed to establish and maintain charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational institutions at their own expense. In cities and areas of minority residence, they were guaranteed education in their native language in primary schools with the compulsory study of the state language and financing their needs from state, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

Minority representatives were granted citizenship of the receiving state without any formalities *ipso facto*, provided 1) they lived in the territory of this state, had the right to its citizenship at the moment of the relevant peace treaty enforcement and were not citizens of other countries; or 2) they were born on the territory of such a state from persons who were not granted citizenship of other countries.

Peace treaties obliged Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria to recognize all the above provisions as fundamental norms as well the fact that none of their internal acts could contradict these norms, change them or have a higher legal force over them. The League of Nations was the guarantor of the implementation of these international obligations and was not subject to modification without the consent of the majority of the Council of the League. A priori, any member of the Council had the right to draw the attention of the body to the breach of obligations, and the Council could take necessary, adequate to the circumstances measures.

Any legal issue or fact arising out of the provisions of the Saint-Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly Peace treaties was considered a matter of dispute that could be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the request of the concerned state.

With regard to the Sevres Peace Treaty, Turkey recognized the inalienability of only its particular minority clauses: in terms of guaranteeing all Turkish citizens security, protection of life and freedom, equality before the law, civil and political rights (including the organization of an electoral system based on a proportional representation of minorities in the parliament), the right to practice their religion and express their personal convictions, free use of their native language, creation, management and control of their charity, religious and social institutions, institutions of primary, secondary and higher education without intervention of the authorities. Although, according to the treaty the Turkish government was formally obliged to respect the church and scholastic autonomy of the non-Islamic direction, recognize the diplomas issued at foreign schools and universities, spend funds from budgets of all levels in the fair amount on the educational and charity goals of ethnic, language and religious minorities in the places of their compact (numerous) residence, to prevent the pressure on Christians and Jews to act incompatibly with the canonical norms of their beliefs.

The Turkish authorities should not prevent the mutual and voluntary emigration of minorities if it was considered appropriate by the Entente powers. In this context, it was planned to conclude a special agreement between Turkey and Thrace six months after the Sevres Peace Treaty enforcement to settle the issue of population exchange. The matter was that under the peace conditions, East Thrace with the city of Adrianople, the European coast of the Dardanelles, the Galilee Peninsula and Izmir (Smyrna) were ceded from Turkey to Greece. Therefore, the key objective of the exchange was the homogenization of the national composition of the states formed on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire and the prevention of the development of separatism by potential ethnic-religious minorities. In due time, such an agreement was not concluded, primarily because of the beginning of the Greco-Turkish war of 1919 – 1922.

Taking into account the existence of a terrorist regime in Turkey since January 1, 1914, the violent Islamization of the population was considered illegal. In order to redeem guilty charges for mass murder during this period, the Turkish government was supposed to assist in the search and release of persons of any race or religion that had disappeared, had been enslaved or had interned by that date. The Government committed itself to promote the activities of mixed commissions appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to receive complaints from the victims of violence, their families or relatives, and conducting necessary investigations, and to execute decisions on the release of the victims and to ensure their safety and freedom. The government should have made efforts to return those minority members who had been forced to leave their homes since January 1, 1914, either due to illegal eviction or because of the threat of physical harassment. Questions on the restoration of housing, the removal from the office of perpetrators of mass murders and deportation of minority representatives, the abolition of contracts of sale and other acts concerning their housing, starting January 1, 1914, the disposal of property of members of the communities missing or died on January 1, 1914 in the absence heirs also were within the competence of mixed (arbitration) commissions. The Commission consisted of a representative of the Turkish government, the minority and the chairperson of the Council of the League.

The Sevres Peace Treaty did not contain clear language about the League of Nations as the guarantor of international protection of minority rights. Under the terms of the agreement,

the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Japan, having consulted the Council of the League, were authorized to decide what measures would be necessary to ensure the compliance with the treaty provisions on ethnic, religious and linguistic communities in Turkey, with full readiness of the government of the latter to properly implement such measures.

The Sevres Peace Treaty was perceived in Turkey as unfair, and therefore it was not ratified by the country's parliament. It was replaced by the Lausanne Peace Treaty dated July 24, 1923, which reflected the same approaches to the international protection of minority rights as the Saint-Germain, Neuilly, and Trianon agreements. Although the materials of the Lausanne Conference revealed Turkey's total reluctance to become a member of the League of Nations, and hence of its control over the protection of the non-Muslim population (Krotkov, 1923, p. 65–67).

Special international agreements on the minority rights protection were signed within the framework of the League of Nations by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers (Great Britain, France, Italy, the USA, and Japan) with five countries: the Versailles agreement dated June 28, 1919 with Poland, Saint-Germain agreements dated September 10, 1919 – with Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Paris agreement dated December 9, 1919 – with Romania and Sevres agreement dated August 10, 1920 – with Greece. By content, they were the same with the relevant provisions of the previously described peace treaties.

The common attributive feature of these minorities treaties was the elaboration (clarification) of the legal status of individual national minorities: in an agreement with Poland – minorities from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia and Jews; in an agreement with Czechoslovakia – minorities from Germany, Austria, Hungary and the Ukrainian ethnos of Subcarpathian Rus; in an agreement with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – minorities from Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Muslims; in the treaty with Romania – minorities from Austria, Hungary, Jews, Saxons and Szekelys of Transylvania; in an agreement with Greece – minorities from Bulgaria, Turkey and the Jews. Questions related to Ukrainians had been settled in minorities treaties with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania respectively.

According to the American professor Carol Fink, the agreement with Poland was a starting point for concluding similar agreements with the other above-mentioned states (Fink, 1972, p. 331; Fink, 1995, p. 198). The Prime Minister of the Polish Republic, Ignatius Jan Paderewski, received a letter from the President of the Paris Peace Conference, Georges Clemenceau together with the text of the Versailles Agreement, which contained the arguments that formed the basis of all special treaties on minorities (Rosting, 1923, p. 647).

Poland was obliged to recognize the citizenship of German, Austrian, Hungarian and Russian citizens who lived by the day of the treaty enforcement on the territory that was or should have been an integral part of the Polish sovereign territories. All such persons under the age of 18 were entitled to the option (choice) of any other nationality, the entry of which remained open to them. Moreover, for spouses, the choice of a man covered the choice of his wife and minors. Because of the existence of a Jewish community in the country, the treaty included a prohibition on forcing Jews to commit acts that violated their Saturday commandment. They could not be subject to any penalties for the failure to appear in court or for the failure to comply with legal actions on Saturday. However, this did not relieve Jews of the duties entrusted to all Polish citizens with regard to the needs of military service, state defense, or public order.

In other words, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian State, Romania and Greece agreed to give a certain amount of rights and a minimum level of protection of the ethnic identity of minorities, as well accepted the condition of control by the League of Nations as a guarantor of their compliance with international obligations in the designated sphere. Nevertheless, the question of territorial autonomy for minorities was not discussed in the treaties. The only exception was the agreement signed with Czechoslovakia, where this privilege was secured to Carpathian Ukraine (Ruthenia). The Ruthenia minority was guaranteed full self-government (Preece, 1998, p. 78). Its representatives formed the parliament, to which the Governor of Ruthenia, appointed by the President of Czechoslovakia, was accountable. The parliament of the state had a quota for the Ruthenian deputies, though, who could participate in the adoption of the decisions only concerning their minority.

Among the categories of minorities treaties, the following four bilateral agreements should be highlighted: the Polish-Danzig Convention dated November 9, 1920, the Finnish-Swedish agreement dated June 27, 1921, the German-Polish (Geneva) Convention on the Upper Silesia dated May 15, 1922, Convention on the Memel Territory dated May 8, 1924. They considered local interests, though, the League of Nations contributed in their coming into existence.

The Convention between Poland and the Free City of Danzig (now Gdansk) regulated the international legal status of the latter as a state-like entity. The Convention's norms obliged Danzig to apply the standards of their legal protection to minorities, similar to those prescribed in the Treaty of Versailles with Poland in 1919. There was no discrimination against Polish citizens and other persons of Polish origin, based either on legislation or on the behavior of the city administration.

The agreement between Finland and Sweden approved at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, concerning the protection of the Swedish language, culture, and traditions of the population of the Aland Islands. It did not fit into the criterion of classical international agreements since it was a kind of commitment of Finland to Sweden. It was important that the League just started testing this practice. Subsequently, on the proposal of the British representative to the League Assembly Herbert Fischer (Macartney, 1934, p. 260), the organization for such cases chose the form of declarations that were consistently approved by the resolutions of the Council.

In order to achieve the objectives of the treaty, the Landsting (Parliament) and the communes (municipal authorities) of the archipelago should not have financed schools other than those where education was conducted in Swedish. Swedish language learning was also preserved in public schools. The Finnish language could not be studied in elementary schools supported or subsidized by the state or local community without the consent of the community concerned. In a case of the sale of real estate to a person who did not reside on the islands, the right to preferential purchase of alienated property by local residents or authorities at the contract price of the sale was used, and in a case of a dispute – at the price set by the court. Non-resident Finnish citizens acquired the right to vote after 5 years of residence in the archipelago. The Governor of the Aland Islands was appointed by the President of Finland in agreement with the President of Landsting, and in case of disagreement with the latter, he was selected by the head of the state from five persons nominated by the island parliament.

The Geneva Convention for the development of the Versailles Peace Treaty not only finalized the Germany transfer of a part of Upper Silesia to Poland, taking into account the 1921 plebiscite, but also pursued the objective of alleviating the negative effects of such a

transfer during the transitional period to the local population (Macartney, 1934, p. 263). For a period of 15 years from the date of its signing, it established the rights of the Germans in Poland and the Poles in the German part of Upper Silesia under the Treaty of Versailles with Poland (with the exception of citizenship issues). Moreover, if, as regards the German part of the above-mentioned territory, the convention terminated with time, then the Polish part of the protection of the rights of local minorities continued to be based directly on the above-mentioned Versailles agreement.

Specific features of the Geneva Convention were as follows. A person's belonging to an ethnic, language or religious group could not be checked or questioned by the authorities. In terms of civil and political, religious and cultural and educational rights, legal and actual equality in their implementation was declared. The prohibition or blocking of the establishment of any institutions and associations to meet non-political interests was not allowed, and qualified personnel from the territory of the other contracting party could be involved in their work, as well as the import of the necessary literature, medical instruments and medical preparations, equipment, etc. was permitted. Freedom of religion included the possibility of activities of various communities, parishes, orders, congregations and other religious organizations, as well as the celebration of their holidays, religious education and upbringing. In primary and secondary education, the convention distinguished between private schools, minority schools, and public schools. Moreover, education in the educational institutions of the first two types was declared free of charge. Poles of the German part of Upper Silesia were allowed to attend private schools in the Polish part of this region, and vice versa. Minority children who were educated in private schools were not required to attend public schools. The state school education for minorities was provided in three ways: in minority schools with teaching in their mother tongue; in schools with minority classes where the state language was used; in schools with courses for minorities, where learning and religious education were conducted in their native language. A specific way of getting an education was chosen according to the applications from parents or persons substituting them. At the same time, to determine the language of a student's communication, an only oral or written message of a person responsible for the child's upbringing was taken into account. School exams were held in minority languages. The textbooks should not be offensive for national or religious feelings of their representatives. The state had to finance schools for minorities on a par with schools for the majority of the population. Similar rules were introduced in the field of higher education.

The signing of the Memel agreement was preceded by the uprising in 1923 of the minority population of the Klaipeda region (Memel land) – the Prussian Lithuanians – for reunification with Lithuania. This land was separated from Germany by the Versailles Peace Treaty and became a mandate for the League of Nations, under the control of the Provisional French Administration. After intense negotiations between Britain, France Italy, the United States, and Japan, as the first part, and Lithuania – as the other part, in 1924, a Convention on Memel was signed. It recognized the sovereignty of the Lithuanian state over this territory, which provided legislative, judicial, administrative and financial autonomy in order to preserve the rights of local residents, but with restrictions on the Memel Territory set out in the Statute (being a supplement to the Convention). Due to the fact that the population of the German origin was tacitly considered a minority in Lithuania, the agreement reflected the elements of the legal status of this social group. Memel residents were given the right to choose Lithuanian or German citizenship. Those of them who elected German citizenship had to move to this

country for two years. Lithuanian and German languages became official in the region, which made it possible for them to be equally used in power structures. Freedom of assembly and association, conscience and religion, press and media, education and the opening of schools was provided to all the residents of Memel. Traditionally, the text of the document included rules on the opportunity for the members of the Council of the League of Nations to draw its attention to the violation of the minority rights and rules on the submission disputes to Permanent Court of International Justice in case of differences between the contracting parties on the points of view on the question of law or a fact in the implementation of the convention.

Other bilateral minorities treaties of the interwar period, such as the Austrian-Czechoslovak Treaty on the Citizenship and the Protection of Minorities dated June 7, 1920 and the Protocol thereto concerning Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) dated August 23, 1920, the Greco-Italian Treaty dated August 10, 1920, concerning the Greek minorities in the Rhodes and Dodecanese Islands, which were transmitted to Italy, felt the influence of contractual practice inspired by the League of Nations, but formally were concluded outside the organization's framework. In other words, these treaties were in the context of improving good-neighborly relations (Kovács, 2013, p. 328).

Along with the treaties, a number of states assumed international obligations to ensure the rights of minorities unilaterally. At the meetings of the Council of the League of Nations, they proclaimed the relevant declarations. Similar unilateral acts were adopted by Albania (October 2, 1921), Lithuania (May 12, 1922), Latvia (July 7, 1923), Estonia (September 17, 1923), and Iraq (May 30, 1932).

The declarations were based entirely on the principles of minority protection, which had already been embodied in international treaties. Moreover, some of these acts of states largely duplicated the provisions of specific treaties of the third countries, although taking into account the specifics of their own ethnic diversity. Studying texts of the declarations and related *travaux préparatoires*, the British researcher Carlile Macartney concluded that the texts of unilateral declarations of Albania (aimed at the equalization of opportunities for the Muslim and Christian populations, especially the Greeks), Lithuania (the focus was on the protection of Jewish communities), and Iraq (the emphasis was on the status of Christians of different dominations, Jews, Yezidis, and Kurds) was built on the model of the Treaty of Versailles with Poland. Therefore, we can state that the declarations were often similar: the Estonian declaration practically duplicated the Latvian one, and the Iraqi declaration borrowed norms from the Albanian one (Macartney, 1934, p. 267–268).

As an exception, in some cases, the content of the declarations was adjusted under the influence of territorial issues, which is clearly confirmed by the Lithuanian practice. Thus, with the Klaipėda Territory's entry into Lithuania, part 4 of article 4 of the Declaration (concerning the possibility of using minority languages in the courts) was used within the region, taking into account the provisions of the Memel Convention of 1924.

Treaties and declarations secured the status of minority guarantor for the League of Nations. According to the special report of Tommaso Titton, an Italian representative to the Council of the League, approved by the Council on October 22, 1920, the guarantees of the League meant, first of all, that: first, the provisions on the protection of minorities are immutable, that is, they can not be changed in the sense of violating any of the actually recognized rights and without the consent of the majority of the Council of the League; and second, the League is to ensure the compliance with these provisions (Macartney, 1934, p. 311–312).

Based on treaties and declarations, an international mechanism for the protection of minority representatives was formed, consisting of supervisory, judicial and special procedures: the first was based on a series of resolutions of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, constantly improving, and mainly consisted of exercising the right to petition, the second assumed the activity of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the third was recorded in some treaties and could combine the features of the previous two.

In terms of the supervisory procedure, in the original version, only members of the Council had the right to bring up an issue of the state violation of its obligations to the meeting of the Council (Macartney, 1934, p. 312). However, Tittioni's proposal to provide *de facto* such an opportunity to any other country as well was supported in the League, which was adopted by the Council resolution dated October 25, 1920 (Sierpowski, 1991, p. 18). The only requirement was for a similar act-proposal for the Council to retain the character of a petition (Macartney, 1934, p. 312). Because of the expansion of initiators of the review of violations, the rules of procedure were also corrected. If petitions from members of the Council came directly to the Council, petitions from other states, minorities, as well as individuals or associations acting on behalf of minorities and covered by the League's guarantees, were submitted to the Council through the Secretariat (Mytsyk, 2004, p. 72).

The resolution of the Council dated September 5, 1923, formalized the criteria for petition appeals. Petitions: 1) should have been filed in order to protect the rights of minorities in accordance with the treaties (declarations); 2) should not contain requirements for the dissolution of political relations between the minority and the receiving state; 3) should not be anonymous or based on unconfirmed sources of information; 4) should not contain sharp expressions and statements; 5) had to contain information or referring to the facts that had not yet been subject to a petition (Macartney, 1934, p. 314).

The League Secretariat collected information on the fulfillment of current obligations of states with respect to minorities. However, it was supposed to assist the Council not only in examining complaints about violations of treaties and declarations but also in determining whether persons belonging to ethnic, religious or language minority groups were fulfilling their obligations to the state of residence. Collected materials could be made available to the Member States of the League at their request (Macartney, 1934, p. 305). In the event of a formal acceptance of the petition, the Secretariat informed the relevant government, which had the right to submit its explanations within two months (Ilinskaya, 2017, p. 104).

The Council established a subsidiary body within the Secretariat – the Minority Commission, which was vested with the right of control and technical functions in respect of treaties and declarations of minorities, and maintained regular contact with states.

To consider the essence of each specific minority issue, an *ad hoc* Committee of Three, consisting of the President of the Council and its other two members, was created (although, in exceptional circumstances, the total number could increase up to five members). The rules concerning the composition of the committees were determined by the practice of the Council, and only on December 14, 1925, they were approved by its resolution. For the purpose of impartiality, the following procedure was established: provided the President of the Council is a representative of a state of the citizenship of a minority or of a neighboring state or of the state where the corresponding ethnic (religious, linguistic) majority resides, he should transfer powers to his predecessor (Macartney, 1934, p. 325). If necessary, the committees negotiated with a state to resolve the problem that arose or they referred the matter to the Council of the League of Nations, which had the authority to issue recommendations to such

a state (Mytsyk, 2004, p. 72). In particular, the committees decided whether an issue should be put to the sessional consideration of the Council or not. If the decision was negative, the case was transferred to the Secretariat's archive, and in case of a positive decision, it was to be submitted for discussion to the next session of the Council. The discussion took place in the presence of a representative of the government concerned. The petitioner or his proxy was not involved since only the Council members had the right to initiate the case, and the petition was considered only as simple information (information *pur et simple*), the very fact of its adoption did not result in any obligations for the Council. The Council decided unanimously (Ilinskaya, 2017, p. 104).

Special procedures for the protection of minority rights were contained in the Agreement on the Protection of the Swedish Language, Culture and Traditions of the Aland Islands and the Geneva Convention on the Upper Silesia.

The Finnish-Swedish agreement provided the filing of their own complaints or complaints by Landsting of the Aland Islands to the Council of the League. The Council, in turn, could address the Permanent Court of International Justice if the issue was of a legal nature. The Council never happen to implement this procedure.

The German-Polish Convention introduced a complex procedure, subsequently amended by the resolution of the Council of the League dated September 9, 1928 and the treaty between the states dated April 6, 1929. Within this framework, there were two types of petitions: 1) individual and collective petitions concerning the compliance with the provisions of the convention; 2) individual petitions concerning the application and interpretation of the conventions by administrative bodies that received directives from higher authorities. Before filing petitions to the Council, they had to undergo a preliminary examination at the state of residence of the petitioner. A local decision was made for petitions of the first type only in case of the insignificance of the issue, and for petitions of the second type – on general terms.

In order to organize and implement additional procedures in the territory of the German and Polish parts of Upper Silesia, a minority administration was established, representing the states' governments, and there was the Mixed Commission of Upper Silesia. First, applicants had to turn to the local authorities, and if they did not receive adequate satisfaction or delays, they would go to the departments. In case of dissatisfaction with the requirements of the authorities, the complaints along with the comments of the petitioners were sent to the Mixed Commission headed by the president. The president had the right to make inquiries, to make a call for the necessary materials, to listen to the petitioner's arguments, and then a decision was made. The authorities had to report their attitude to the verdict of the Mixed Commission: the consent or disagreement with it. Only afterword the complainant was entitled to submit a petition in the order of appeal to the department for minority affairs, which organized its transfer to the Council of the League. Urgent petitions were immediately included by the reporter on the agenda of the next Council session without consideration by the Secretariat and the committees of three (Macartney, 1934, p. 340–342).

The system of the minority protection established by the League of Nations functioned for almost two decades, but the main work was done in the first twelve years (1920–1932). In historiography, this time is also marked as «Golden Twenties» (Kunz, 1945, p. 89; Fink, 1995, p. 199, 203; Horot, 2018, p. 46). The designated chronological section marks the consideration by the League Council the petitions of representatives of various minorities: the Ruthenian minority in Czechoslovakia (11th and 24th sessions of the Council); Russian – in Eastern Halychyna (12th session); Jewish – in Hungary (21st and 37th session); German – in Poland

(17, 19, 21, 23 30, 34th sessions); Greek – in Constantinople and Turkish – in East Thrace (31–35th session); Muslims of Albanian descent – in Greece (30, 32, 34, 39 41th sessions); Polish – in Lithuania (32–35 sessions); Hungarian – in Romania (34, 35, 37th sessions); German and Polish – in Upper Silesia (28, 39, 41st session); Armenian – in Turkey (37th session); the school issue of representatives of the German minority in Upper Silesia (44th session) and some others (Vishnyak, 1929, p. 119). About 30% of petitions filed in the League were from representatives of German minorities in Poland (Preece, 1998, p. 84).

The leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia submitted petitions to the League of Nations repeatedly because of violation of the rights of Ukrainians to national and educational life, to develop a cooperative movement in Galicia. Ukrainians' interests were protected by Yevhen Petrushevych, Stepan Vytvytskyi, Alexander Shulhyn, as well as Ukrainian societies which formed an International Union created for cooperation with the League (in particular, Ukrainian Society for the League of Nations and West Ukrainian Society for the League of Nations). Although petitions were usually ignored by the League, these claims contributed to the dissemination of information about the Ukrainian question on international arena in the interwar period.

Concurrently, in fact, all the issues considered by the Permanent Court of International Justice on national minorities concerned East European states: the decision in the case of German minority schools in Upper Silesia (1928); advisory opinions on German settlers in Poland (1923), schools of the German minority in Upper Silesia (1931), the treatment of citizens of Poland, other persons of Polish origin in the Danzig area (1932), schools of the Greek minority in Albania (1935).

Conclusions. The treaties and declarations on minorities in the overwhelming majority did not consider them as groups of people of the same nationality, language, religion, which significantly narrowed the rights and interests of «non-dominant» segments of the population in the states. Therefore, the international protection mechanism was primarily provided to minorities, not as social groups, but to persons who belonged to them. This can be explained by the position of the states aimed at making it impossible to create conditions for separatism, territorial changes, and interference in their internal affairs based on interethnic relations.

The Minority Protection System of the League of Nations was quite controversial. On the one hand, despite the provisions of the above-mentioned international documents, in many countries there were significant violations of the rights of people belonging to minorities, and on the other hand, the established system often opened the way for possible abuses and artificial ignition of ethnic hostility, such a way giving the possibility for the «mother» country of the national minority to influence the politics of multinational states (for example, Germany's attitude towards the German minority in newly formed Poland).

The signatories to the treaties on the protection of minorities persistently resisted the desire of the League of Nations to provide effective control over the fulfillment of the treaty obligations imposed on them by the winner-countries in the First World War. They as inequitable and inappropriate regarded the created system since it left out the attention of the rest of the multinational states that faced similar problems. It is remarkable that attempts to extend the commitment to protect the rights of minorities to all members of the League did not succeed: Poland and Romania were particularly active and were consistently acting in favor of the «generalization of the treaties» of the minority (Macartney, 1934, p. 487–488), and in 1933 – 1934, a project aimed at protecting the interests of all minorities in all member states of the League was rejected (Gevorkyan, 1955, p. 33).

With regard to the effectiveness of the League of Nations, designed to control the process of minorities' exercising of their rights, the literature noted that it did not meet the expectations of ideological associates of the organization and petitioners. According to the statistics of the receipt of petitions to the League, if in 1930 – 1932 (in the period of high activity), 153 petitions were considered by the committees of the three out of 305 filed, then in 1939, only one out of 4 petitions was accepted for discussion by the Council of the League (Thornberry, 1993, p. 46). In total, in 1920 – 1939, 883 petitions were submitted to the League of Nations. However, only 16 out of 395 petitions that met the criteria for petition requests were submitted to the Council of the League. Of these 16 petitions, the Council reluctantly condemned states for inappropriate behavior towards minority representatives in only four cases (Abashidze, 1996, p. 51; UNOG, 2016).

However, although the community of states in the interwar period succeeded in «installing» an exclusively specific human rights mechanism, which was rather limited by the subject of regulation and by the range of subjects as well as by the range of guaranteed rights, a certain progress in protecting the interests of the ethnic minority population of a number of countries should be stated. The Minority Protection System of the League of Nations did not make significant progress but paved the way for further protection of human rights.

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**UKRAINIAN ECONOMIC ACADEMY (1922 – 1935)
AS A MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT OF AGRARIAN EDUCATION
AND SCIENCE BY UKRAINIAN DIASPORA**

Summary. *The aim of research is to highlight the main stages of organization Ukrainian Economic Academy (Podebrady, Czechoslovakia), its activities, structure and contribution to the development of agricultural science. The research methodology is based on the general scientific principles of historical authenticity, objectivity, systemicity, complexity, and scientific. The author used general scientific, interdisciplinary and special historical methods. The article is based on factual material, archival documents, which reveal the history of creation of the Ukrainian Economic Academy, as the higher school of the polytechnic type, functioning on the traditions of the Ukrainian free science, culture and patriotism. The scientific novelty of the article is that the author first demonstrated a difficult period of formation, reform and development of Academy, which received a good material and technical base, qualified teaching staff, a significant number of students have achieved positive results in the preparation of highly educated professionals. Academy has become an essential element of the spiritual unity of Ukrainians, an indicator of the maturity of the Ukrainian science, education and culture. Conclusions. The representatives of Academy considered knowledge as a factor of socio-economic welfare of the people and confirmed the tendency of increased influence of scientific-educational and cultural potential for the deepening and affirmation of national consciousness, social organization and activities of Ukrainians in the deployment of the struggle for independence of their homeland. The education of future specialists was aimed at rebuilding the national economy and a new Ukrainian state, serving the interests of the nation and society. Democratic methods of the Academy's activities, the use of the latest advances in science and technology contributed to its mutually beneficial cooperation with various scientific organizations in Europe and America. This ensured the effectiveness of the Academy, in particular, the high level of teaching, which, by their knowledge and skills, did not yield to graduates of the universities of the West, successfully worked in various fields of the economy. Achievements of the educational complex increased its authority on the international arena and showed that Ukrainian science abroad occupied an honorable place.*

Key words: *Ukrainian Economic Academy, academic staff, student community, the learning process, scientific researches.*

УКРАЇНСЬКА ГОСПОДАРСЬКА АКАДЕМІЯ (1922 – 1935) ЯК МОДЕЛЬ РОЗВИТКУ АГРАРНОЇ ОСВІТИ ТА НАУКИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЮ ДІАСПОРОЮ

Анотація. Метою статті є висвітлення основних етапів організації Української господарської академії (Подєбради, Чехословаччина), її діяльності, структури та внеску в розвиток аграрної науки. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на загальнонаукових принципах історичної достовірності, об'єктивності, системності, комплексності і науковості. Автор використав загальнонаукові, міждисциплінарні та спеціальні історичні методи. Стаття базується на фактичному матеріалі, архівних документах, які розкривають історію створення Української господарської академії як вищої школи політехнічного типу, що діяла за традиціями української вільної науки, культури і патріотизму. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що автор уперше продемонстрував складний період становлення, реформування та розвитку Академії, яка, отримавши відповідну матеріально-технічну базу, кваліфікований викладацький склад, значну кількість студентів, досягла позитивного результату в підготовці високоосвічених фахівців. Академія набула значення істотного елемента духовної єдності українців, показника зрілості української науки, освіти і культури. **Висновки.** Представники Академії розглядали знання як чинник соціально-економічного благополуччя і підтвердили тенденцію посилення впливу науково-освітнього та культурного потенціалу на поглиблення й утвердження національної свідомості, соціальної організації і діяльності українців у розгортанні боротьби за незалежність своєї батьківщини. Освіта майбутніх фахівців була спрямована на відбудову національної економіки і нової української держави, служила інтересам нації і суспільства. Демократичні методи діяльності Академії, використання новітніх досягнень науки і техніки сприяли її взаємовигідній співпраці з різними науковими організаціями Європи й Америки. Це забезпечувало ефективність діяльності Академії, зокрема високий рівень підготовки кадрів, які за своїми знаннями та вміннями не поступалися випускникам університетів країн Заходу, успішно працювали в різних галузях економіки. Досягнення навчально-наукового комплексу підвищували його авторитет на міжнародній арені і засвідчували, що українська наука за кордоном займала почесне місце.

Ключові слова: Українська господарська академія, викладачі, студентська спільнота, навчальний процес, наукові дослідження

The problem statement. Ukrainian educational and scientific complex in Czechoslovakia followed the principles of democratic governance by the Academy, wide scientific training of students, promotion of self-education, studying the best world literature on various subjects, a combination of scientific and theoretical knowledge of production practices and seminars. Scientists of the Academy maintained close relations with international organizations involved in international scientific forums were recognizing the world scientific community, indicating the maturity of emigrant branch high school. The Academy has made a significant contribution to the intellectual development of human, national and cultural values of Cathedral Ukraine. The Academy's achievements in teaching, research and publishing industry reflects the opinion of the Ukrainian scientists about knowledge as a factor of social and economic welfare of the people and the deepening impact on the development of national consciousness, the struggle of Ukrainians for independence. The research of historical experience is a prerequisite for an effective search for further ways of developing Ukrainian higher education in the context of European integration.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. O. Benchak, A. Kostenko analyzed the essence of social knowledge of borders and transborder processes in socio-humanitarian sciences, identified the stages of formation of knowledge about these processes (Benchak, 2018; Kostenko, 2018). N. Polovaia investigated the peculiarities of the development of the system of higher education, which is regarded as one of the most important factors of co-production, which is closely linked with the concept of the information society (Polovaja, 2018). O. Utkin

summed up certain issues of the organization and activities of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in the Podebrady, but the researcher did not make a comprehensive analysis of the contribution of its scientists to the development of agrarian science (Utkin, 2015).

The publication's purpose is to highlight the main historical stages of organization Ukrainian Economic Academy, its activities, structure and contribution to the development of agricultural science.

Statement of the basic material. After the defeat of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the 1917 – 1920, a part of the Ukrainian population who fought for the creation of an independent state left the homeland, emigrating to the West. Having been in an overseas environment, imperfectly possessing a foreign language, without knowing the traditions and existing laws, Ukrainians united into the organization «Self-help» and other structures that served their vital needs, supported the national team, opposed denationalization.

Cultural and educational, scientific and technical institutions which had research centres and educational institutions, trained educated personnel rising on the traditions of Ukrainian free science and patriotism, contributed to the revival of the Ukrainian nation. One of such centres was the Ukrainian Economic Academy founded in 1922 in Czechoslovakia in city Podebrady. The Academy trained young, nationally conscious Ukrainians who were abroad to take an active part in the future economic rehabilitation of Ukraine, gathered together intellectuals, studied on the best examples of European science and practice (Ukrajinsjka gospodarsjka akademija v Chekhoslovacjkij respublici, 1928, pp. 5, 7).

The Academy was organized in difficult period after the First World War. The general political and economic situation in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period as a basis for the establishment of the Ukrainian Economic Academy was characterized in details by S. Vidnyanskyj, he has given a positive assessment of its activities (Vidnjanskyj, 1997, pp. 44–48).

To perform such diverse tasks of a professional, educational and national-patriotic character in a foreign country whose population participated in the First World War as part of the Austro-Hungarian Army, could only be a high school of polytechnic type. The Ukrainian National Higher School with such tasks, the teaching staff, student community and teaching language was created with the assistance of the Ukrainian Public Committee in Prague, headed by M.Yu.Shapoval. On January 17, 1922, the general meeting of this committee elected a special organizational committee, which took care of the assistance to Ukrainian scientists and cultural forces in Ukraine, the rescue of cultural forces in emigration through their use in cultural and educational work, the preparation of Ukrainian young intellectuals, and specialists in the economic and technical sectors. The beginning of the functioning of the educational establishment was April 22, 1922, when its first professorial council took place, although the statute of Academy was approved on May 16 this year. The Academy was located in the ancient castle of the Czech King Yuri Podebrady in Podebrady (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 3795, d. 1, c. 128, pp. 12–14).

In organizational matters, the Academy was subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia was involved in its financial support, and at its expense the Academy was held and scholarships were provided to students. Part of money for the acquisition of training devices was provided by the Ministry of Agriculture. The financial compensation of Czechoslovakia was provided annually by the League of Nations to help emigrants from the former Russian Empire. For the full-fledged activity of the educational institution, provision of the educational process, creation of new structures of these funds was not enough. Therefore, the administration, the teaching staff has made a lot

of effort and resourcefulness for the development of the institution, gaining authority in the emigrant environment and the civil society of the country.

From the first years of existence, the higher school had a three-year term of studying students, later – four years. According to the statute, the main role in the life of the institution was played by the professorial council, which included the rector, vice-rector and secretary of the council. This council included the right of deciding the voice of all professors and assistant professors who headed the departments. Faculty affairs were decided by the faculty's professorial council. Professors and associate professors of its faculty had the right to decisively vote in the professorial council of the faculty. Control functions in the activities of various structures of the Academy belonged to the Audit Commission, which was directly subordinated to the professorial council of the educational institution. The Academic Council chose the rector, vice rector, secretary and audit committee. The faculty council chose deans, vice deans and secretaries of the faculties. The responsible faculty members were approved by the professorial council of Academy (*Ukrajinsjka ghospodarsjka akademija v Chekhoslovacjkij respUBLICi*, 1928, pp. 22–28).

The cultural-educational and educational process consisted of the academic year, which was divided into the winter semester from September 1 to March 1 and the summer semester from March 1 to September 1. Teaching different disciplines started annually on October 1 and ended on June 30th. After the first four semesters and the implementation of the planned practical tasks, the students passed the first semicircular exam at a faculty commission, and after completing the full course and performing planned practical exercises, they passed a second semicircular exam. After each exam, the student received a certificate stating his success. Students who passed both semicircular exams and completed the diploma project or wrote a diploma work were allowed to pass the diploma exam.

Graduate examinations were passed at special commissions elected by the faculty professor councils. After the successful completion of the exam, the students received a diploma and an engineer's title with the application of the title of the specialty. All persons who received the title of engineer at Academy or another appropriate special school were allowed to pass the exam and defend the thesis on the title of doctor of the tangible field of knowledge (*CSAFU*, f. 3, d. 1, c. 48, p. 24).

The use of domestic and best foreign methods of teaching different disciplines, successfully planned practice combined with the acquired theoretical knowledge that developed and implemented the teaching staff of the Academy, formed its ranking, attracted young people to join the Ukrainian higher education and communicate with well-known professors and associate professors from Ukraine and Czechoslovakia. During the 1922 – 1932 118 teachers worked at the Ukrainian polytechnic school. The pedagogical team consisted of professors, associate professors, lecturers, assistants, auxiliary scientific and technical workers.

On the basis of the order of the Ministry of Agriculture established on April 9, 1920, the Academy consisted of three departments: Agronomic-Forestry with Agronomic and Forestry departments; Economic-Cooperative with Economic, Cooperative and Statistical departments; Engineering with departments of Hydrotechnical, Chemico-Technological. The Economic Department of the Economic-Cooperative Faculty was divided into subdivisions: banking, consular, local self-government and industry (*Vynar*, B., 1965, pp. 42–48). The Cooperative Department of the Academy was the first high-tech cooperative school in the world. The specific scientific directions, the specialization of future specialists, their positive attitude to the chosen specialty in the process of training were developed by the teachers of the departments. For this purpose, the Agronomy-Forestry Faculty had 19 departments.

The multifaceted tasks were addressed to the teachers of 20 departments of the Economic-Cooperative Faculty. Engineering Faculty consisted of 20 departments. The presence of 59 departments of the Academy, a set of educational disciplines, their filling, the term of study and its organization positively characterized the educational and scientific complex, which acted like western European higher schools (Ukrajinsjka ghospodarsjka akademija v Chekhoslovacjkij respubliki, 1928, pp. 12–14).

The Academy adhered to the principles of rigorous scientific training for students, the promotion of self-education, and the study of literature on various disciplines. First, applied science was considered as «free science», which contributed to the expansion of scientific and theoretical knowledge and practical skills of graduates. Secondly, the educational process was directed as a skilful and flexible combination of practical classes in laboratories, cabinets with industrial practices in cooperatives, agricultural and forestry enterprises, banking institutions and industrial facilities. Thirdly, curricula at all faculties were formed in such a way that there was a permanent balance between scientific disciplines and practical exercises that would contribute to humanitarian, aesthetic education, development of creative abilities. For students of all faculties there was a certain set of humanities, natural sciences and technical disciplines, which gave the opportunity to form specialists capable of performing their duties or to manage some unit or institution. An important principle of teaching the students of the Academy was a combination of theoretical knowledge at lectures with practical seminars, explanations of complex situations, specific student reports (Ukrajinsjka ghospodarsjka akademija v Chekhoslovacjkij respubliki, 1928, pp. 6–8).

On the whole, it contributed to the accumulation of scientific knowledge on the specialization of students and the formation of a human person. Programs of scientific disciplines envisaged a broad general scope of major social and special sciences. Each discipline was taught independently, separated from other scientific subjects. In most cases, training was accompanied by practice at industrial enterprises, organizations, and institutions. For each discipline, students received complete knowledge at the level of contemporary scientific achievements. In the third-fourth year, teachers focused on specialization.

The bulk of students joined the Students Community of the Ukrainian Economic Academy of and the Ukrainian Academic Community. In the statute of the Academy it was noted that the community in common efforts supports the organization of student life, raising the intellectual level of all students, the national and cultural development of Ukrainian emigrants, bringing the maximum contributions to the treasury of Ukrainian culture. An important task was to improve the material situation of students on the basis of assistance and self-help.

Organization Ukrainian Economic Academy anticipated that its students would not take an active part in the political life of the Ukrainian Diaspora, in spite of the purposeful educational process. Thus, in December 1922, the leaders of the Ukrainian Academic Community organized a general extraordinary meeting in which the students protested against the separation of the Academy from the Ukrainian Public Committee, believing this as a negative phenomenon for an educational establishment breaking national-cultural forces in a foreign country. The speech of the students of Academy in this case was pointless, since its autonomy was guaranteed by the status, and the performance without awareness of its administration was gaining political character. In the minutes of these extraordinary meetings they wrote that, wanting to eliminate all policies of academic life, we protested against attempts to involve students in political combinations that adversely affect academic life (Ukrajinsjka ghospodarsjka akademija v Chekhoslovacjkij respubliki, 1928, pp. 26–28).

Despite such statements, there were separate attempts to politicize students and therefore the leadership of the academic community openly stated that their organization is not engaged in political activities. Such requirements were the decision of the Czechoslovak government «Russian Assistance Action» (1921), in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recommended creating the necessary conditions for Russian and Ukrainian emigrants in order to engage in fruitful work and become real members of the community.

The student community of the Academy throughout its existence, feeling the influence of the Czech environment, life and livelihood of the indigenous population, developed on the basis of national spiritual and cultural values, the use of the best works of Ukrainian literature and art, folk songs, marches, symbols, traditions. Science and other manifestations of spirituality contributed to the fact that foreign Ukrainians largely preserved their national identity, their native language, culture, ceremonies and customs, and religion. All cultural-mass work was directed at the formation of national consciousness (Piskun, 2005, p. 54).

As a teaching and research structure, the Ukrainian Economic Academy is characterized by the intensive publishing activity of the teaching staff, in particular the preparation of new textbooks, monographs, scientific collections, participation in international scientific forums, congresses, conferences, symposiums. During the period of the Academy's existence, 698 scientific works were published, mainly textbooks for students. Most of them were issued in lithograph printing in the amount of 50 – 150 copies. Textbooks on narrow-branch disciplines were printed on a typewriter in the amount of 6 – 8 copies. In total, they gave over 200 new Ukrainian textbooks. «Ukrainian Publishing Society at the Ukrainian Academy of Economics», founded in 1922 by professors and students, and its various organizations have published 245 editions to the beginning of 1928 (Svjato Podebradsjkoji akademiji, 1932, pp. 26–27).

In the department of agronomy, their researches were published by P. Y. Andreevsky, K. M. Matsievich, I. P. Mazep, V. M. Chereediev, I. S. Sheremetiinsky, V. M. Domanitsky, J. O. Rusov, K. I. Osaulenko, K. I. Mihayliuk and others. Problems of forestry were considered in publications by B. G. Ivanitsky, M. S. Kosyuri, O. I. Petriv, O. Kolubaiva, V. Proud, K. Podolyana. The fourth part of Academy books was published in Czech, German, French, English, Spanish and Serbian. Achievements of Ukrainian organizations in the field of science and education showed their intellectual level, successful long-term searches and finds of ways and motives for mobilizing the scientific forces of emigration expressed in democratic forms of effective activity.

A remarkable phenomenon of scientific life of the Academy was research by the famous scientist, theorist of cooperation, Professor B. Martos «Theory of Co-operation», who has analyzed the socio-economic causes of the formation of cooperatives, its role in economic life (Martos, 1923, pp. 22–42). The formation of the idea of cooperation, its development was substantiated in the fundamental monograph by Professor S. Borodayevsky «History of Cooperation» (Borodajevskyj, 1925).

The integration of Ukrainians in the scientific, educational and social environment of foreign countries was facilitated by the preliminary international cooperation with scientist structures, the loyal attitude of government officials to the implementation of some proposals by leaders of emigrant groups, the activities of Ukrainian researchers, political figures in authoritative international associations that sympathized with the Ukrainian the community. Creative cooperation between higher educational establishments, research institutions, societies required the creation of specialized organizations to strengthen international scientific cooperation, implementation of plans for the development of education, science and culture of emigrant

communities (Vytanovych, I., 1964, pp. 224–234). First of all, such a form of cooperation was the Ukrainian Academic Committee, created in 1924 on the proposal of the Historical Philology Society at the Ukrainian University in Prague (Shuljghin, 1926, pp. 11–12).

In early 1925, the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations, at the initiative of Ukrainians at the session, discussed the issue of official recognition of the Ukrainian Academic Committee. At the League of Nations, on May 18, 1925, the Academic Society of Ukrainian Professors and Students was formed in Podebrady. As full members of the International University federation, its members disseminated the ideas of the League of Nations and maintained business contacts with international organizations (Narizhnyj, 1942, pp. 66–68).

Scientists from the Ukrainian Diaspora took an active part in the work of the International Congress of Slavic Botanists, the International Agrarian Congress, the International Crop Growing Congress and the International Congress of Foresters. The Ukrainian Academic Committee was one of the organizers of the 1st and 2nd scientific congresses. In particular, the 1st Ukrainian Scientific Congress was held on October 3–7, 1926 in Prague (Ukrajinskyj inzhener, 1932, p. 55). Its delegates were 1,400 people, including professors of the Ukrainian Economic Academy, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute, the Ukrainian University of Prague, as well as scientists from Germany, France, Poland, Romania, Belgium, Galicia (Shuljghin, 1926, pp. 11–12).

In 1928 Ukrainian foresters united the Czech Forestry Union, whose members, developing Ukrainian forestry school, studied in detail the scientific and practical issues of forestry in foreign countries, became acquainted with the latest achievements of scientists in the industry in the world. Despite the successful scientific and educational work of the Ukrainian high school, in connection with the economic crisis, a decrease in funding, the Academy gradually ceased its activities. Officially it was liquidated in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers of Czechoslovakia of December 31, 1935 and the order of the Ministry of Agriculture of January 1, 1936. The successor of the Academy became the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute in the Podebrady, which continued its activity as a correspondence higher technical school (CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 3563, d. 1, c. 117, pp. 18–22).

Conclusions. The Ukrainian Economic Academy underwent a difficult period of formation, reformation and stable development, received the appropriate material and technical base, a qualified professorial teaching staff, a significant number of students, that became a guarantee of positive results in the training of highly educated professionals, research and publishing industries. This higher polytechnic school became a significant element of the spiritual unity of Ukrainian society, an indicator of the maturity of Ukrainian science, education and culture. The professorial teaching staff considered knowledge as a factor of socio-economic growth of the welfare of the people and confirmation of the tendency to increase the influence of scientific, educational and national-cultural potential on the deepening and consolidation of national consciousness, public organization and the activity of Ukrainians in the development of the struggle for the independence of the Motherland.

The upbringing of future specialists was aimed at building a new Ukrainian state, serving for the interests of the nation and society. Democratic methods of activity of the Ukrainian higher educational institution characterized the ability of its leadership to take into account the thoughts and wishes of the members of the labour collective, use the latest achievements of science and technology, to cooperate mutually with various scientific and publishing organizations of Europe and America. It contributed to the efficiency of Academy, in particular the high level of training, which, in their knowledge and skills, did not yield to graduates of universities in the West, successfully worked in various fields of the economy. Achievements

of the educational and research complex increased his credibility in the international arena and showed that Ukrainian science abroad was an honourable place.

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**NADDNIPRYANSKA UKRAINE EMIGRANTS MUSICAL ACTIVITIES
IN VOLYN VOIVODESHIP**

Summary. *The purpose of the research* is to analyse the role and place of Ukrainian political emigrants, Naddnipryanska Ukraine (Dnieper Ukraine) natives, in the musical culture development on Volyn Voivodeship territory based on the archival sources and the interwar periodicals (1921 – 1939). **The methodology of the research** is based on the science, historicism, verification principles. In the course of study the historical science methods have been used such as search, identification and systematization of the historical material, obtained from the archival documents and the press sources and with the further criticism of the other methods have been applied the historical-comparative, the historical-typological, the historical-chronological, the historical-geographical and other research methods. **The scientific novelty** of the article is based on the introduction into the scientific circulation the Sectoral State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine deciphered archival documents, archival-criminal cases from the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, Rivne region State Archive, other archival materials, the interwar periodical, which helped to depict Naddnipryanskykh political emigrants influences on the musical culture development of the interwar Volyn, in some places to trace their fate. It is proved that, despite the everyday difficulties, the emigrants stood out from the rest in social and socio-cultural activities, their musical activity was not only a way of earning money, but also an opportunity for creative self-realization, which helped them in adaptation to the new conditions.

Conclusions. The Ukrainian Revolution figures of the 1917 – 1921, who were forced to emigrate to Poland and settled down in Volyn Voivodeship, intensified the musical life in the region. They were the folk choirs founders, moreover, they organized tours, worked as church choirs conductors, founded artistic societies, joined the search campaign for the musical and ethnographic materials for the purpose of their artistic elaboration by amateur choirs and theaters, scientific publications. At this time, the following musicians developed their talent: Mykhailo Telezhynskyi, Oleksa Kolisnichenko, Sozont Kalmutskyi, Serhiy Kozytskyi, Hanna Bilohub. The Polish authorities control was manifested in censoring the repertoire, interfering with the conductors and singers, trying to use the artistic sphere in order to spread the pro-government policy. The choral art development, the concerts and competitions organizations, the ethnographic song material collection, enriched the cultural life of the region.

Key words: Volyn Voivodeship, musical culture, folk choirs, Naddniprovska Ukraine, Ukrainian political emigrants, «Volyn experiment».

МУЗИЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ЕМІГРАНТІВ ІЗ НАДДНІПРЯНСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ У ВОЛИНСЬКОМУ ВОЄВОДСТВІ

Анотація. Мета дослідження. На основі архівних джерел та міжвоєнної періодики проаналізувати роль і місце діячів української політичної еміграції, уродженців Наддніпрянської України, у розвитку музичної культури на території Волинського воєводства (1921 – 1939). **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на принципах науковості, історизму, верифікації. У ході дослідження використовувались такі методи історичної науки, як пошук, ідентифікація і систематизація історичного матеріалу, отриманого з архівних документів і пресових джерел, з подальшою його критикою шляхом застосування історико-порівняльного, історико-типологічного, історико-хронологічного, історико-географічного та інших дослідницьких методів. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у введенні до наукового обігу розсекречених архівних документів Галузевого державного архіву Служби зовнішньої розвідки України, архівно-кримінальних справ з Галузевого державного архіву Служби безпеки України, Державного архіву Рівненської області, інших архівних матеріалів, міжвоєнної періодики, що дало можливість показати вплив наддніпрянських політичних емігрантів на розвиток музичної культури міжвоєнної Волині, подекуди прослідкувати їх подальшу долю. Доведено, що, незважаючи на побутові труднощі, емігранти вирізнялися громадською та соціокультурною активністю, їхня музична діяльність була не лише способом заробітку, а й можливістю творчої самореалізації, допомагала в адаптації до нових умов. **Висновки.** Діячі Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр., які вимушено емігрували на територію Польщі і оселилися у Волинському воєводстві, активізували музичне життя у регіоні. Вони були засновниками народних хорів, організовували гастрольні тури, працювали диригентами церковних хорів, створювали мистецькі товариства, долучалися до пошуку музично-етнографічних матеріалів з метою їхнього художнього опрацювання аматорськими хорами й театрами, наукового видання. У цей час розвинувся талант музикантів Михайла Тележинського, Олекси Колісниченка, Созонта Кальмуцького, Сергія Козицького, Ганни Білогуб. Контроль польської влади виявився у цензуруванні репертуару, втручанні у роботу диригентів і співаків, намаганні використати мистецьку сферу для поширення проурядової політики. Розвиток хорового мистецтва, проведення концертів, конкурсів, збирання пісенного етнографічного матеріалу збагачувало культурне життя краю.

Ключові слова: Волинське воєводство, музична культура, народні хори, Наддніпрянська Україна, українські політичні емігранти, «волинський експеримент».

The problem statement. After the Ukrainian National-Democratic Revolution defeat in 1917 – 1921, thousands of its members found themselves in the political exile in Poland. With their artistic experience, they became fully involved in cultural and artistic life in Volyn region. Despite the Polish authorities control, the Ukrainian emigrants initiated the folk and church choirs formation, collected and processed the musical and ethnographic materials.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the Ukrainian political emigrants contribution to the musical culture deployment in Volyn Voivodeship territory.

The analysis of recent researches. Numerous Ukrainian scientists were studying musical culture development on Volyn Voivodeship territory and they paid attention to the musical component in particular. The works of the following scientists should be highlighted: Y. Kramar (Kramar, 2015), P. Shymanskyi (Shymanskyi, 2005), N. Nykytiuk (Nykytiuk, 2008), B. Stoliarchuk (Stoliarchuk, 2002) and the others. The scientist R. Davydiuk studied the «Khaty Prosvity» («Houses of Enlightenment») activities, the Ukrainian political emigration public practices in the region (Davydiuk, 2016). The researcher A. Zhyviuk was interested in the Soviet authorities repression against the active participants in the social and cultural life (Zhyviuk, 2011). Despite the modern researchers achievements, the emigrants and the Naddnipryanska Ukraine natives contributions to the musical culture development of Volyn Voivodeship, as well as their fate, have not been studied profoundly and require the thorough analysis and in-depth reflection. In view of this, the archival documents and the materials of the periodicals became the basis for writing the article. Taking everything into consideration, the archival documents and the periodicals' materials of that time were the basis for writing the article

Statement of the basic material. During the interwar period, many Ukrainian National Democratic Revolution participants in 1917 – 1921, having become the political emigrants, found the political shelter in Poland. Despite the authority obstacles and the restrictions, some of them settled down in Volyn Voivodeship, finding themselves in a predominantly Ukrainian-Orthodox environment that greatly facilitated their creative self-realization.

The first attempts of bringing to life the musical work were made in the «Prosvita» society by the choirs creation. There were the adult and children's choirs in Ostroh «Prosvita» society, headed by the former director of the Department of Education of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), Mykola Shuhayevskiy. Raising the Ukrainian local population national consciousness, the «Prosvita» society organized holidays dedicated to T. Shevchenko traditionally, which included T. Shevchenko's poetry, poems recitation, choir songs and performances. The holiday dedicated to T. Shevchenko usually ended with the «Testament» («Zapovit») declamation and «Ukraine has not died yet» («Shche ne Vmerla Ukrayiny») the Ukrainian national anthem performance (State Archives of Rivne region (SARR), f. 33, d. 4, c. 3, p. 120). Serhiy Kozytskyi, Moscow Teachers Institute graduate, singing courses under M. Ippolitov-Ivanov guidance, played a prominent role in the musical activity of Ostroh «Prosvita» society (State Archive of the External Intelligence Service of Ukraine (SA EISU), f. 1, c. 12617, vol. 5, p. 222).

The Musical creativity, the performances and the concerts had a dual nature, they were not only a way of spending leisure time, but also a means of earning the living for the military emigrants needs, who in late 1923 founded the labour colonies in Babyn, Shpanov, Tsuman and the others. At Babyn sugar factory, the emigrants organized a theatrical group, a string orchestra (mandolinists and guitarists), a secular and sacred choir (Wiszka, 2004, p. 594). In Tsuman labour colony, a choir was formed under Oleksa Tantsyra, the UNR Army khorunzhyi (cornet) officer supervision (Samoohanizatsiia, 1926, p. 14–15).

The numerous UNR Army former soldiers worked as the church choirs conductors. In particular, Yakym Bartko, having experience of creating a choir during the revolution in Vinnytsia region, organized the Svyatoblahovishchennya Church choir (Annunciation Church) in Kovel, Vasyl Babichenko – in Mlyn, and Volodymyr Sviderskyi – in Pokrov Church in Kosareve village, Dubenskyi district, Semen Leshchuk – in Mykulychi village, Volodymyrskyi district. Oleksander Ditkevych, Nemesis village teacher, Sarnenskyi district,

the UNR Army khorunzhyi (cornet) officer headed the «Prosvita» choir and later on served as a priest (Davydiuk, 2016, p. 538–539).

Dmytro Kotko, in the past UNR Army wind orchestras (brass bands) curator, the choir leader in the internment camp, has organized the Ukrainian choir tours in Volyn. The first choir staff was selected from the gifted Naddniprovska Ukraine music schools former students and graduates. Since 1925, the collective was called «Ukrainian Naddniprovskyi Choir». The choir had a mixed composition (originally males) and grew to 40 people according to the Polish officials request (Dilo, 1925, p. 2). In autumn 1928, Kotka choir gave several concerts in the Kremenets districts: on the 1st October – in Vyshnivtsi, on the 2nd – 3rd October – in Kremenets, on the 5th October the choir performed in Smyzi, Dubenskyi district (State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk Region (SAIFR), f 2, d. 1, c. 597, p. 38). Subsequently, the choir collective went through a split up, a difficult period, due to the reorganization the choir raised from ashes and was updated (1935 – 1939).

The bandurist Kost Misevych (a member of the Central Council of Ukraine (Ukrayin'ska Tsentralna Rada), Podilsk Railway commissioner in 1918) toured Poland and performed with his student Dmytryi Gonta and Danylo Shcherbyna. In 1929 K. Misevich settled down in Kremenets region and got married with the singer Margarita Bono (Bzheskyi, 2015, p. 112). He taught his wife how to play bandura, after that they performed in duets in the voivodeship villages, promoting a Ukrainian song. D. Shcherbyna, the former «synyozhupnyk», later on returned to the USSR, where he was arrested. Back in 1924, in a letter to General Y. Tyutyunnyk, he wrote the following: «Here in Volyn the Poles do not give the opportunity not only to work or even live. I crossed the Zbruch river in 1920 as the member of the administrative staff in the Ministry of roads... Accompanied by bandura, I was singing our historical and modern dumy and songs. Of course, most of all Lyakhy (the Poles) suffer from our songs context for the Ukraine's neighbour life. That is why I am not surprised that the «power possessors» hate me (Verstiuk, Skalskyi, Faizulin, 2011, p. 383–384).

After «Prosvita» prohibition during «Volyn experiment» period brought in by Henryk Józewski and, considering the urgent need to fill the created cultural and educational vacuum, the emigrants, along with the voivodeship administration support, initiated the establishment of new, loyal to the authorities, Ukrainian cultural organizations. The musical culture development was an important activity area for these institutions. In 1930, the Ukrainian song amateur society «Rivnenskyi Boyan» appeared in Rivne, which, according to the charter, united the admirers of the secular and ecclesiastical Ukrainian choral art, solo singing. The amateur society planned to organize concerts, vechornytsi (Slavic traditional gatherings with music, songs, jokes and rituals), art evenings, start up the choral courses, etc. (SARR, f. 479, d. 1, c. 1, p. 2), but could not deploy dynamic activity.

In the 30-ies the musical creativity development was accumulated in the «Khaty of Prosvita» («Houses of Enlightenment») in the villages, in cities – in «Ridni Khaty» («Native Home»). The Ukrainian choir performed the rehearsals under Mykhailo Telezhynskyi supervision (a member of the Central Council of Ukraine (Ukrayin'ska Tsentralna Rada), the UNR troops state inspector, the First Ukrainian National Choir conductor), Holy Cross society church choir, Volyn Ukrainian Theatre performed, some courses were conducted for the conductors in «Ridna Khata» («Native Home»), Lutsk (Ridna, 1934, p. 6).

Every single concert or any national feast was initiated by the emigrants and accompanied by music. For instance, the academy in Rivne, dedicated to the memory of those shot near Bazar village, consisted of the memorial service, the special essay, the poems recitation

the gymnasium choir performance conducted by the UNR Army centurion, S. Kalmutskyi. The Kremenetskyi Ukrainian private gymnasium choir performed Ukrainian songs, the students acted out a fragment of the story «Motrya» written by B. Lepkyi, recited the poems about the hetman, completing the academy in honour of Ivan Mazepa on June 2, 1935. (Akademiia, 1935, p. 6).

In Lutsk Ukrainian Gymnasium, a bandurist group was organized by Modest Levytskyi, the doctor of the institution (the Ukrainian Railways chief sanitary doctor during 1917 – 1918, of the UNR State Center (SC) Health Minister, a writer), who accomplished bandura courses in Czechoslovakia. Hanna Bilohub, the teacher of Lutsk Ukrainian Gymnasium, the UNR Army colonel Dmitry Bilogub's wife, together with whom she was in the internment camp in Wadowice, was Modest Levytskyi's student and follower. H. Bilohub promoted the musical culture, heralded various speeches («Some sketches on bandura and bandura players history»), (Bandura, 1939, p. 5), toured 29 regions of the voivodeship, performed at 70 events (Zahalni, 1939, p. 5).

Volyn Ukrainian Theatre Society (VUTS) united the Ukrainian intelligentsia representatives, who were not indifferent to the theatrical and musical arts in the 1930ies, the meeting of which were held in Lutsk on January 3, 1932 on the statute basis approved in 1931. (State Archive of Volyn region (SAVR), f. 200, d. 1, c. 2, p. 53). It was stated that the society was national and was aimed at «Ukrainian cinema support, arranging performances, concerts, lectures, establishing the drama studios, the music schools, the film studios, the amateur circles support», etc. (Volynske, 1932, p. 1). The Board of Directors consisted mainly of Naddniproianshchyna Ukraine (the Dnieper Ukraine) natives members: Chairman – Mykola Maslov, Deputy – Oleksandr Kovalevskyi, Treasurer – General Oleksa Almazov (SAVR, f. 200, d. 1, c. 1, p. 7, 16). There was an art and drama section in the society, which consisted of two commissions: the studio commission (prepared performances for different holidays) and the regulative (rehulaminova) commission (worked out the rules of the society). In the future, the VUTS Board included S. Tymoshenko, O. Kovalevskyi, N. Lototskyi, O. Kolisnychenko and the others (Zahalni, 1939, p. 5), four sections appeared: the artistic and dramatic section, the choreography section, the literary-theatrical section, the musical-vocal section (Teatralne, 1939, p. 2). The VUTS branch functioned in Ostroh under Senator Inokentiy Glovatskyi supervision (Filiia, 1932, p. 4). The VUTS authorized representative in Rivne district was Simon Petliura's nephew, Ambassador Stepan Skrypnyk (SARR, f. 479, d. 1, c. 2, p. 7).

With the help and efforts of the following emigrants: Mykola Bahrynivskyi, Danyl Kovpanenko, Ivan Kornoukhov the «Lesya Ukrainka Literary and Art Society» in Rivne was created, registered by the Voivodeship Government in 1927 (December 2) (SARR, f. 30, d. 20, c. 840, p. 52). The secretary of the company was Serhiy Polikhshaya, Vasyl Pavlovskyi was the board of producers member, Petro Zinchenko, an artist was a member of the board, Andriy Dubynovskyi was the director. (SARR, f. 30, d. 18, c. 2125, p. 14). All these figures in the past were the Ukrainian Revolution members and Naddniproianska Ukraine (Dnieper Ukraine) natives. According to the statute, the «Lesya Ukrainka Literary and Art Society» had to «study and popularize the literature and art among Ukrainian society, to establish the libraries and reading rooms, to organize choirs, orchestras, drama groups, to manage public academies, arrange lectures, drama, music, conducting courses» (SARR, f. 30, d. 20, c. 840, pp. 47–51). However, without the authorities support, it was difficult to implement the outlined plans, so the society work was limited by the performances, evenings that were

often held in the private premises (SARR, f. 30, d. 20, c. 840, p. 17, 18). In some places there were organized concerts, which protested the «Bilshovyk oppression» against Ukrainians in the USSR» (SARR, f. 33, d. 4, c. 45, p. 26).

According to the correspondence between St. Lyudkevych and S. Skrypnyk, the issue concerning the music school grand opening in Rivne as Lysenko Higher Music Institute branch in Lviv (the last one had 10 branches in Halychyna (Galicia) in 1932), was triggered in 1932 (SARR, f. 479, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 13–14). However, the information on such music school emergence was not found. It is possible that the above-mentioned projects implementation was made impossible because of the «Sokal borderline» policy.

During the interwar period Mykhailo Telezhynskyi's talent developed. He settled down in Volodymyr and headed «Prosvita» society musical and theatrical section, he was also studying the Ukrainian musical folklore history, theory, practice. M. Telezhynskyi's composer work began in 1922 with «Zamochoch» Chorus organization, the Liturgy creation continued with the publication in Stanyslaviv «Songs and Entertainment Collections for Children». Volodymyr's «Prosvita» choir founded with his participation, reflected the best church and folk choral performances.

In the second half of the XXth century M. Telezhynskyi's work as a critic publicist was in the prime of life. He prepared an article commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian folk songs collection publication, written by M. Maksymovych (1927), the book «K. Stetsenko – Ukrainian Composer (relating to the Ukrainian song history)», an essay dedicated to M. Leontovych (Ukrainska, 1927, p. 3), edited «Volyn Ukrainian Folk Songs Collection» (Ukrainska, 1934, p. 4). In 1929 he held the position of Holy Cross Choir Regent in Lutsk, and the following year became the Ukrainian folk choirs inspector at the school curatorium. The composer developed the theory of the choral affairs and began conducting the regular conductor courses.

M. Telezhynskyi prepared the Ukrainian «People's Choirs and Orchestras» Charter, which was intended to spread the pro-government ideology, to cooperate with the «Prosvita» society and «Ridni Khaty» («Native Homes»). According to the charter, the choirs were divided into mixed choirs (soprano, viola, tenor, bass), male choirs (the 1st and the 2nd tenors and the 1st and the 2nd bass), female choirs (the 1st and the 2nd soprano and the 1 – 2nd and the 2nd alt) or 3 voices. Although the programme document emphasized that the competence of «folk choirs did not include matters of a political nature», only the members of the pro-government party Volyn Ukrainian Association (VUA) could join the choir (Ukrainski, 1931, p. 4). Therefore, it is apparent that the artistic sphere was influenced by the pro-government ideology and the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation idea, which was tolerated by the authorities.

In February 1930 a three-day course which dealt with the Ukrainian folk song staging for Volyn «People's Choirs» conductors was held in the «Ridna Khata» («Native Home») premises, and was attended by 48 listeners. M. Telezhynskyi conducted lectures in Ukrainian language at the courses, provided people with some folk songs, vesnyanky (Ukrainian folk song dedicated to spring and springtime work), and dancing (tanok) staging samples (Kursy, 1930, p. 4). On May 13, 1934, Volodymyr district choirs contest began with M. Telezhynskyi's report on the Ukrainian songs, 5 groups and 150 singers wearing national Ukrainian costumes took part in the above-mentioned contest (Konkurs, 1934, p. 2). On February 15, 1938, Lutsk district «Prosvita Khaty» («Houses of Enlightenment») choirs contest took place. The choirs performed Ukrainian songs by M. Lysenko, O. Koshytsya, M. Leontovych. According to the researchers, there were 250 singers performing in the national costumes, who filled up the

stage and all stairs in the hall, which created Ukrainian cultural life elevation atmosphere, later on called the «Volyn Renaissance» (Shymanskyi, 2005, p. 3). In the 30-ies the composer's achievements were supplemented with the dozens of choral arrangements, a collection of 160 Ukrainian folk songs.

Oleksa Kolisnichenko, VUT conductor and Sozont Kalmutskyi, Rivne High School Choir Head were the renowned musicians and popularizers of the Ukrainian culture. The choir, headed by O. Kolisnichenko, participated in the funeral services and events held by the Ukrainian public in Lutsk. In 1927 – 1928, the choir, under S. Kalmutskyi's conductor supervision, toured Germany (Ukrainskyi, 1927, p. 3). In 1934, the School District Curatorium of Extracurricular Education Department announced a competition for the Ukrainian folk songs collection in Volyn Voivodeship territory, which was aimed at finding the musical and ethnographic materials for their further artistic elaboration by amateur choirs and theaters, as well as the scientific publication. There were collected 305 folk songs with the help of local teachers and choirmasters, in particular S. Kalmutskyi recorded and submitted 24 songs for the competition (Lukaniuk (ed.), 2015, p. 14).

Serhiy Kozytskyi, a church choir conductor, collected the song folklore, the carols. During the musical processing of the folk songs of Volyn, Polissya, Kholmshchyna, the musician maintained the authenticity of their performance. The composer recorded and decoded more than 100 songs of the winter cycle, put works of T. Shevchenko on the music, founded the ensemble of folk instruments and the secular semi-professional choir. The Church and Enlightenment Choirs, founded by S. Kozytskyi, promoted the folklore, the works by Ukrainian classics (Stoliarchuk, 2002, p. 92).

The famous musicians did not stand apart from the public life. Yakym Bartko was the secretary of the branch of the Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) in Kovel, Oleksa Tantsyrya headed the branch of the UCC in Tsuman, Mykhailo Telyezhynskyi worked as a commissioner of the UCC in Volodymyr-Volynskyi, Sozont Kalmutskyi belonged to Rivne branch of UCC, Oleksa Kolisnichenko – to Lutsk branch of UCC. Those three personalities were actively involved in the work of the VUO (Davydyuk, 2016, p. 245, 248).

The Ambassador to the Polish Sejm Sergei Kozytskyi, who lived in the village of Mykhalkivtsi, had other political interests: he was a supporter of the «Selsouz» Union, later the «Selrob», and after the split he became one of the leaders of the «Selrob-Right Faction» (SA EISU, f. 1, c. 12617, vol. 3, p. 105). His wife's family lived in the Soviet territory, and the ambassador himself was in orbit of the interests of the Bilshovyk special services, who characterized him as an «intelligent and wise man, competent, politically active» (SA EISU, f. 1, c. 12617, vol. 6, p. 34). The Counselor of the USSR in Warsaw M. Lebedynets involved S. Kozytskyi in collecting the materials on the state of Ukrainian schooling in Poland (Soliar, 2009, p. 64). The ambassador was arrested several times by the Polish police for his political and public activities. In 1924, he was sentenced to a year in prison, only on the appeal, he was released on bail. In 1928 and 1930, he was imprisoned for the electoral campaigning. After his last arrest, S. Kozytskyi stopped practicing politics (SA EISU, f. 1, c. 12617, vol. 7, p. 199). He gave up teaching and served as a cantor in the villages of Zdolbuniv Povit. It should be noted that in 1922 he passed the exams at Volyn Consistory as a priest (SARR, f. 485, d. 1, c. 101, p. 275 v.).

In general, the interwar period is marked by the development of the choral art, the foundation of choirs, the concerts, the contests, and the collection of the ethnographic material that positively influenced the cultural life of the region. Against the background of

such changes, the Polish authorities controlled the repertoire, the work of conductors and singers, trying to use the artistic sphere to realize the plans to spread the pro-governmental ideology (SARR, f. 30, d. 20, c. 309, pp. 13–15).

After the establishment of the Bilshovyk power in Western Volyn in September 1939, the political expatriates, such as «the Petliurivtsi», «the enemies of the people», came under the control of the bodies of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Further their fate was different: some were able to leave the territory, which allowed them to save the lives (D. Kovpanenko, S. Poliksha, M. Bahrynivskyi, etc.), the others – were subjected to repression. (Zhyviuk, 2011, p. 29). In 1939, M. Telezhnyskyi was arrested: according to some documents, he was killed while trying to escape during the convoy, and according to the others, he was shot in prison. There were arrested the Board members of WUTT: M. Maslov died in exile in Kazakhstan in 1942, the fate of O. Kovalevskyi and I. Hlovatskyi remains unknown, they are likely to have died in Bykivnia (SARR, f. P-2771, d. 2, c. 4253, p. 34; SARR, f. P-2771, d. 2, c. 3662, p. 17; Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU, Kyiv), f. 13, d. 55, c. 305, p. 30, 71). S. Kozytskyi died in January 1941 at Ostroh Hospital (Denysiuk, 2000, p. 267). Dmytro, the bandurist's husband, Hanna Bilohub, was captured by the NKVD in 1945 as a soldier in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Hanna, after the Second World War, changed her name, worked as a teacher, founded a bandura band in Ternopil region (Zheplynskyi). O. Tantsura was arrested in 1945 (SSA SSU, Lutsk), f. II., c. 7291, p. 45).

Conclusions. Thus, the political emigrants, being in the territory of Volyn Voivodeship, fully joined the cultural life in its various forms, participated in the creation of the choirs, the amateur circles, the organized contests, the concerts, the courses, thus uniting the scattered masses in a conscious public collective. Initially, they realized their artistic talents and skills in the «Enlightenment», which was the driving force behind the development of the region. After its ban, they worked in «Enlightenment Houses», «Native Houses», spread the Ukrainian song, developed the choral art. The foundation and the spread of the folk choirs in the villages and towns of Western Volyn was called the «Volyn Renaissance». In the 30-ies the development of the artistic life was taken care of by the emigrants of VUTT, «Lesya Ukrainka Literary and Art Society». Despite the control of the Polish authorities over the repertoire, the involvement of the conductors and singers, the efforts to use the artistic sphere to implement the plans for promoting the pro-government policy, the Ukrainian political emigrants contributed to the development of music, song and ethnographic creativity in the interwar Volyn. With the advent of the Soviet power, many cultural figures were subjected to repression; a further investigation is needed to find out the fate of some of them.

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**MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY'S «HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE»
IN ASSESSMENTS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES**

Summary. *The purpose of the study is to reconstruct the process of understanding of M. Hrushevsky's historical and literary heritage in the scientific thought of his time. The methodological basis for the work is an interdisciplinary approach. The biographical method plays an important role, which involves the study of historical phenomena and processes through the prism of life and creative heritage of certain outstanding representatives of the era. In addition, the study implements methods of philosophical, general scientific and specific historical character. Particular emphasis is put on the structural and functional system analysis of historiographical facts, the comparative-historical method and the method of critical analysis of documentary material, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. The study also used methods of periodization, classification and typology. The scientific novelty of the article is to comprehensively analyse the historiographical reception of «The History of Ukrainian Literature» during the 1920 – 1930's. Conclusions.* *The lively discussion of «History*

of Ukrainian Literature» during the 20–30s demonstrated that this work has become an important phenomenon of Ukrainian humanism during the times of national revival. Alongside with the «History of Ukraine-Rus», it was recognized as the greatest creative achievement of M. Hrushevsky and the evidence of a powerful upsurge of national science. The criticisms and suggestions of a methodological nature expressed during the critical discussion contributed to the modernization of Ukrainian literary criticism and its emergence on new conceptual and thematic horizons. Polemic observations around the ideas expressed in the «History of Ukrainian Literature» during the interwar period, laid the traditions of the historical and literary Hrushevsky studies, and not during the post-war years only. As a source for further interpretations of the literary heritage of M. Hrushevsky, they are recognized by the researchers of our time.

Key words: M. Hrushevsky, «History of Ukrainian Literature», perception, review, historiography.

«ІСТОРІЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЛІТЕРАТУРИ» МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО В ОЦІНКАХ СУЧАСНИКІВ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у реконструкції процесу осмислення історико-літературної спадщини М. Грушевського в науці його доби. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Важливу роль відіграв біографічний метод, що передбачає вивчення історичних явищ і процесів через призму життя та творчості окремих помітних представників епохи. Також у роботі використано методи філософського, загальнонаукового і конкретно-історичного характеру. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів, порівняльно-історичному методі та методі критичного аналізу документального матеріалу, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності й історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу історіографічної рецепції «Історії української літератури» протягом 1920 – 1930-х рр. **Висновки.** Жваве обговорення «Історія української літератури» протягом 20–30-х рр., засвідчило, що ця праця стала важливим явищем української гуманістичної доби національного відродження. Поряд з «Історією України-Руси», вона була визнана найбільшим творчим досягненням М. Грушевського та свідченням потужного злету вітчизняної науки. Висловлені у ході критичного обговорення зауваження та пропозиції методологічного характеру сприяли модернізації українського літературознавства, виходу його на нові концептуально-тематичні обрії. Полемічні спостереження довкола висловлених в «Історії української літератури» ідей, котрі прозвучали у міжвоєнний час, заклали традиції історико-літературної грушевськіани не лише у повоєнні роки. Як вихідні для подальших інтерпретацій літературознавчої спадщини М. Грушевського, вони визнаються й дослідниками нашого часу.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський, «Історія української літератури», рецепція, рецензія, історіографія.

The problem statement. The historical memory of our society associates Mykhailo Hrushevsky with creation of two main works – «History of Ukraine-Rus'» and «History of Ukrainian Literature». However, in fact, the later often appears in the shadow of its ten-volume counterpart and seems to be perceived as its peculiar satellite. The explanation lies in the fact that it is «History of Ukraine-Rus» that formulated ground-breaking theoretical-methodological principles, which later became the foundation of Ukrainian Humanities and all scientific works of Hrushevsky. Such imbalance leaves the peculiar perceptions of «History of Ukrainian Literature» of that time practically unknown. This knowledge gap hinders the comprehensive understanding of work's importance for Ukrainian science of 20–30-ies, as well as makes tracking of modern Hrushevsky Studies historical-literary concepts vividly incomplete.

The analysis of previous research. Hrushevsky Studies researchers have analysed historical-literary works of Mykhailo Hrushevsky quite often. However, the peculiarities

of their perception were only slightly highlighted in studies of Sergiy Bilokin (Bilokin, 1991 – 1992) and Vitaliy Telvak (Telvak, 2008, pp. 261–267). As an independent object of research this issue has not been represented yet, which constitutes the topicality of our article.

The purpose of the article is to reconstruct the process of perception of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's historical-literary works in the scientific context of his times.

Statement of the basic material. «History of Ukrainian Literature» had a unique destiny. According to scientist's autobiographical notes, an idea appeared at the beginning of XX ct., and first lines were written in exile in Symbirsk and Kazan, when Hrushevsky did not have the possibility to work on his «History of Ukraine-Rus» (Hrushevsky, 1992, p. 216). The «Foreword» to the first volume of «History of Ukrainian Literature» states the following: «When my work on my historical course came to a halt, due to the war outbreak, I started thinking about publishing a review on Ukrainian literature. While being in prison in winter 1914/15, I prepared lecture notes of such a course and I began preparatory work. It was not easy, since neither Symbirsk, nor Kazan, nor Moscow where I finally stopped, had a good Ukrainian printing. And eventually, everything I managed to do vanished into the thin air in the fire of my home at the beginning of 1918. All in all, I went abroad having nothing but ideas in my mind».

Hrushevsky had to recreate his work again literary from scratch. The unfavourable circumstances of his life in exile adversely «assisted» his work, as Hrushevsky did not have full unlimited access to archives and thus, he could not continue the «main» work of his life. The Viennese period of his life gave access to some literary sources and allowed the scientist to use materials of first volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus» and finally begin his work on «History of Ukrainian Literature». Describing the purpose of his literature study in broader context of Ukrainian spirituality, Hrushevsky wrote the following: «...By this work I wanted to include the broadest circles of Ukrainians to the circle of my and not only my observations and studies on the development of our spiritual life and one of its dimensions – the literary art. I wanted them to feel all the richness of emotions and feelings, this power and beauty that is preserved in our literary heritage» (Hrushevsky, 1993, pp. 39–40).

As «History of Ukrainian Literature» appeared just before Hrushevsky's return to the Motherland, the discussion of his work in Ukrainian and Western literature lasted during the Soviet period of his life. Lviv edition «Dilo» was the first to react on the first 3 volumes with the short note of Volodymyr Doroshenko. Characterising the progress of Ukrainian Literary studies of last decades of XIX – beginning of XX ct., reviewer confidently stated that M. Hrushevsky's new study «is definitely the best compilation of the history of Ukrainian literature». Doroshenko substantiates his opinion not only by the authority of Ukrainian humanitarian, but also by the content of the first volumes. Doroshenko noted that original approach was skilfully combined with incredible erudition and professionalism (Doroshenko, 1923). We would like to mention that alongside with appreciation of the ground-breaking approach, Ukrainian intellectual circles noted that M. Hrushevsky excessively used social-economical approach while explaining phenomena of spiritual culture (In mid-century struggle, 1993, pp. 384–385).

Soviet Ukraine noticed the appearance of the first volumes of «History of Ukrainian Literature» as well. While analysing Hrushevsky's new work, V. Koriak stated its belonging to the vivid representative of «bourgeois» science, who hid his class interests under the cover of proclaimed objectivity. At the same time, he positively evaluated methodological pages of first volumes, appreciating the consistent application of sociological approach in the

research of prominent phenomena of historical-literary process. In this respect, as V. Koriak states, «'History of Ukrainian Literature' is closer to some extent to our understanding» (Koriak, 1923, p. 85).

Shortly after M. Hrushevsky returned to Kyiv in 1924, a famous researcher of literature Volodymyr Peretz was one of the first to publish a review on three volumes. After characterising the achievements of Hrushevsky's predecessors, reviewer states that the concept of the work under study considerably differs from the present schematic researches of Ukrainian literary process. «This work [«History of Ukrainian literature»] researches from the different angle the path of the ancient Ukrainian-Rus literature and oral literary works, which naturally triggers a great interest and pleasure of a reader. And a reader seeks not for biographical data, not for «dry» list of facts, but for ideas that highlight the past of the literature» (Peretz, 1925, p. 158).

An essential part of this critical review is devoted to analysis of a broad circle of methodological reflexions that M. Hrushevsky provided in the introduction to the first volume. While expressing his agreement with the need to establish the range of conceptual and terminological stages of historical-literary studies that the author offered, V. Peretz yet polemizes with their vision, often referring to his own works. «With these remarks concerning introductory paragraphs, – as reviewer notices, – I do not wish to lessen or devalue the importance of the new «History of Ukrainian Literature». All its main, principal part is written very skillfully» (Peretz, 1925, p. 161). Later Peretz discusses content and ideas of the work, especially noting its first volume that was «compiled following a completely new scheme». Reviewer mentions numerous innovative moments in Hrushevsky's study, concerning problematic, thematic and theoretical issues. While emphasizing on his objectivity in discussing dubious issues, V. Peretz drew readers' attention to some debatable points of first volume «History of Ukrainian Literature», but at the same time he expressed his excitement by author's work and wished him to continue the research on the literary process of the last centuries.

Mykhailo Markovskyy reviewed the following – fourth volume – of «History of Ukrainian Literature» on the pages of bibliographical entry of restored by Hrushevsky journal «Ukraine». He underlined that it is a rare «team work» of the experienced historian, source researcher and literature researcher that makes his study interesting, first of all methodologically: «The works of M. S. Hrushevsky always use this sociological approach, that at the end appears to be the only possible one to highlight literary phenomena truthfully» (Markovskyy, 1926, p. 145). The reviewer also highlights the originality of Hrushevsky's contemplations, his attempts to re-think the established facts from a new point of view, while using modern methodological tools.

M. Markovskyy concentrated on the analysis of extremely interesting (in his opinion) conclusions of the author, comparing them with already established concepts in science. He also appreciated the exhaustive analysis of scientific literature. The reviewer states that the majority of issues, tackled by the author, «need a closure, and even the narrowest in his/her outlook researcher should get rid of any doubts». Summarising his review, M. Markovskyy highly appreciated the professional level of the study by calling it «a valuable contribution into our scientific literature». Apart from this, he noted that the fourth volume is easy and approachable to read, and it can interest broader reader circles. «What makes the work of Hrushevsky truly important, – as summarizes Markovskyy, – is that the author managed to come closer to the ordinary reader and stick to the scientific-popular method; his book can attract any reader and can be a pleasant reading» (Markovskyy, 1926, p. 147).

First four volumes of «History of Ukrainian Literature» were also reviewed by Vyacheslav Kaminskyi on the pages of «Ethnografichnyi vistnyk» («Ethnographical Herald»). Professional specification of the journal, where the review appeared, left an imprint on his review: the author concentrated on the ethnographical questions in Hrushevsky's works. Like V. Peretz, V. Kaminskyi dwells upon the innovative essence of «History of Ukrainian Literature» in methodological and problematic aspect as well as in relation with source material involved.

The reviewer appreciates the consistent application of sociological method, which allowed to link phenomena of literary process with historical context of their emergence and functioning, as well as to demonstrate the mutual connection of literary, social-political, and economical factors in Ukrainian intellectual culture (Kaminskyi, 1926, p. 146). Such versatility of author's analysis, according to reviewer, allowed Hrushevsky to largely enrich traditional research of ethnographical element and to show its importance, which is especially important in the first and fourth volume. The mentioned volumes were in the spotlight of V. Kaminskyi, as he thoroughly analysed the ideas and conclusions, often polemizing with them. Summarizing historical-ethnographical issues, expressed in «History of Ukrainian Literature», the reviewer emphasized that: «Ethnographical work of academician Hrushevsky impresses us with this immense quantity of Ukrainian folklore material details, as well as with scientific literature on folklore in connection with folklore of other peoples, countries, referring to rich foreign literature» (Kaminskyi, 1926, p. 148). Highlighting thoroughness and exhaustiveness of issues studied, the reviewer wished the author to «finish his project of the history of literature».

Galician colleagues of Hrushevsky continued to reflect on his work in the middle of 20-ies. The first three volumes of «History of Ukrainian Literature» were reviewed by V. Doroshenko on the pages of Lviv journal «Stara Ukraina» («The Old Ukraine»). Continuing the already launched discussion of the work on the pages of Lviv print media, the reviewer contemplated on the lack of comprehensive research on the history of Ukrainian historical-literary process from the angle of national historiography. Having admitted that the scientific authority of Hrushevsky guarantees the highly professional level of the work, V. Doroshenko appreciated its scientific and national-upbringing value. The reviewer pointed at the peculiarity of the author's approach to determining of the task of the historical-literary research and he consequently noted: «The style is grand, but at the same time easy to read and exciting. The work in general interestingly approaches the question of the language as well as its interpretation. In this respect, Hrushevsky's work is truly prominent phenomenon of scientific literature» (Doroshenko, 1924, pp. 190–191).

Author's originality, as Doroshenko insists, is based on the focus on the folk art, since researchers of the XIX-XX centuries paid little or no attention to the issue. Briefly summarizing the content of the first three volumes, the researcher eagerly remarks the impressive volume «of the fascinatingly interesting material, views and notes». V. Doroshenko finds the first volume the most interesting, as there Hrushevsky reconstructed the beginning of the national literary process and put forward various hypotheses, using the sociological method. These hypotheses, though being disputable, conceptually enrich Ukrainian literary studies. Explicitly expressing admiration for Hrushevsky's professionalism, V. Doroshenko again emphasized that «History of Ukrainian literature» is «a true masterpiece, worth its best counterparts from French scientific literature» (Doroshenko, 1924, p. 191). Thus, as concludes V. Doroshenko, educated Ukrainians would impatiently wait for the continuation of Hrushevsky's «epochal work».

Iharion Svientsitskyi made a comparative characterization of the first three volumes of «History of the Ukrainian Literature» on the background of historical-literary works belonging to an afterwar period. The reviewer compared theoretical-methodological basis of the work of three authors: M. Voznyak, C. Yefremov and M. Hrushevsky. The conclusion stated that the huge advantage of «History of Ukrainian Literature» of the latter is the skilful application of sociological approach. This method linked the Ukrainian literary art with socio-economic conditions of the people and integrated it into broader Eastern-European context. On the other hand, as reviewer claims, the desire of Hrushevsky to enrich the palette of the Ukrainian medieval culture development led to exceeding categoricalness of his conclusions in defining authenticity (e.g. «Slovo o polku Ihorevim» («The Tale of Irog's Campaign» and origin of some literary monuments (e.g. «Molynnya Danyla Zatochnyka» (Praying of Danylo Zatochnyk)). I. Svientsitskyi argued with the general scheme of work, that is based on the author's defending of his Anti-Normanist convictions. While defining the place of the study among other historical-literary works, the reviewer noted, that «Hrushevsky linked the folk national literature with international one, and in general, he united the whole literature up to XIV ct. with the historical destiny of a nation» (Svientsitskyi, 1925, p. 101).

Hrushevsky's intensive elaboration of «History of Ukrainian literature» was also highlighted during the celebration of his anniversary in 1926. For the first time different speakers on events devoted to this remarkable date attributed an important place to this new synthesis («History of Ukrainian Literature») next to his famous «History of Ukraine-Rus», emphasizing that these two studies are the most important achievements of Ukrainian humanities of that time (Telvak, 2008, pp. 275–304). The creation of «History of Ukrainian Literature» was regarded as an evidence of universality of Hrushevsky's genius and his leading role in the national science. Thus, Volodymyr Lypskyi, the president of All-Ukrainian Academy of Science, in his congratulating speech made an important remark: «Your History of Ukraine is an enormous work, originally written, including an impressive multitude of sources. This is the first comprehensive, scientific, and detailed History of our land [...]. Even if it was your only work, even then it would be an eternal monument. So, when we regard the History of Ukrainian Literature [...], we vividly understand that Hrushevsky is the best connoisseur of Ukraine and one of her most prominent sons» (Anniversary of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, 1927, p. 8). The head of SSS Kyrylo Studinsky expressed a similar idea: «You managed to take a careful look at spiritual treasure of Ukrainian people, at its past, and then you laid the foundation with your literary and philological works, the top of them being «History of Ukrainian Literature» (Anniversary of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, 1927, p. 10).

The critical reflection on the historical-literary works of Mykhailo Hrushevsky continued in the second half of 20-ies. However, due to «the growing struggle on the historical front» it became harder and harder to continue this struggle in the Motherland. Only «Ukraina» and other rare collections edited by AUAS abstained from obligatory condemning rhetoric in discussion of Hrushevsky's works. Thus, they continued further contemplation on new parts of «History of Ukrainian Literature».

M. Markovskyyii reviewed the first part of the fifth volume. Continuing his review on the previous volumes, the reviewer characterised in few sentences the whole complexity of the literature period under study. Markovskyyii again emphasized that it was Hrushevsky who was the first to comprehensively study Ukrainian literary art of XV – the beginning of XVII centuries and he concentrated on his creative findings. While summarizing the content of its chapters, the reviewer demonstrates Hrushevsky's skilfulness in using source materials

and original interpretations, as well as the issues raised. «...The work of Hrushevsky is a valuable contribution to our science, – as Markovskyyi claims, – referring to works of his predecessors, but exposing them to his sharp criticism, Hrushevsky definitely resolves certain questions, often from a new point of view, [...] and in general, he provides such a wide picture of this previously obscure part of Ukrainian cultural past, that any literate person would read it with interest» (Markovskyyi, 1927, p. 187).

Dmytro Abramovych reviewed two parts of the fifth volume of «History of Ukrainian Literature», also on the pages of «Ukraina». Summarizing its ideas and content, as well as highlighting the originality of its concept, the reviewer underlined a crucial influence of Hrushevsky on Ukrainian Literary Studies. At the same time, he outlined the range of debatable and weak points, which are caused by the general scarcity of other studies on this period of Ukrainian culture. However, these weaknesses considerably concede to the advantages to this work, as, to Abramovych's convictions, «it is useful not only by its scientific methods, new studies and research, but by its methodological and pedagogical contemplations» (Abramovych, 1929, p. 99).

Kost Koperzhynsky put forward an attempt of comprehensive regard on the historical-literary heritage on the pages of «Studii z istorii Ukrainy» («Studies on the history of Ukraine»). According to his views, this monumental work of Kyiv academician appears to be the only research where the history, sociology and literary studies combine» (Koperzhynsky, 1929, p. XLV). After characterising the innovative approach of Hrushevsky in researching Ukrainian literary process, K. Koperzhynsky noted, that the researcher often had to «wander the unknown paths».

The author of the article concentrated on the sociological method of the scientist, as he underlined the growing intensity of his historical-sociological researches from the beginning of the XX century. While illustrating the consistency of the method's application, K. Koperzhynsky drew reader's attention to the problem of general periodization of Ukrainian literature as the important theoretical issue of «History of Ukrainian literature». The author concluded with noting the originality of Hrushevsky's interpretation of the majority of the researched issues and underlined a highly professional level of his historical-literary works, evidenced by general appreciation of the work in academical environment.

Moscow «Literary Encyclopaedia» expressed an official party vision of the historical-literary heritage of M. Hrushevsky on the verge of 20–30-ies. Following the general tendencies, Kyiv academician was called «a short-sighted, little bourgeois politician», though noting his revision of previous political preferences and choosing the side of Soviet authority». K. Burevoi in his encyclopaedical entry contrasted weaknesses of Hrushevsky's style in his own literary works to the solid professional level of his historical-literary works, in particular – his «History of Ukrainian Literature», as the reviewer called it – «the essential source in researching Old Ukrainian literature» (Burevoi, 1930, p. 73). While criticizing the methodology of the main historical-literary study of Ukrainian researcher, the author noted: «being the follower of the French sociologist Durkheim, Hrushevsky failed to understand the great law of the class struggle, and thus, his works are quite eclectic» (Burevoi, 1930, p. 74).

In the second half of 20-ies «History of Ukrainian Literature» was also noted abroad. All five volumes at once attracted attention of Hrushevsky's long-standing opponent, famous Polish Literary studies scientist and professor of Berlin University – Alexander Brükner. His thorough review in German first of all noted an incredible Hrushevsky's hard work, that continued despite unfavourable conditions. The reviewer underlined that «author's knowledge

and aspirations deserve nothing but respect» (Brükner, 1927, pp. 462–463). He characterized «History of Ukrainian Literature» as a fundamental work, written with incredible erudition and researcher's talent. Brükner also appreciated the study of certain issues, as for example pages of Volynian chronicle. The reviewer regarded it as «the most perfect evaluation, that was truly needed» (Brükner, 1927, p. 465). However, he completely disagreed upon authorial concept and criticized the interpretation of a range of historical-literary phenomena.

As a continuation of the discussion from the beginning of XX century, A. Brükner criticized Antinormanist views of his Ukrainian colleague, claiming, that patriotic feelings often guide the logic of scientific research. As an illustration for these claims, the Polish scientist pointed at Hrushevsky's attempts to artificially make the Ukrainian literature older and by false arguments prove Ukrainian origin of some Polish and Russian written artefacts. A. Brükner wrote about the attempts of Hrushevsky «to make» some Polish writers Ukrainians, with explicit irony offering to consider himself, native of Ternopil, to be Ukrainian. Despite the polemical tone of the entire review, The Polish scientist in general appreciated the work of his colleague, noting its propaedeutic character.

After the tragic death of Hrushevsky in 1934, in order to define the place of the scientist in the humanitarian science of that time, the research of author's enormous heritage gained a new impetus. Different obituarial publications established a tradition of considering «History of Ukraine-Rus» and «History of Ukrainian Literature» to be the greatest works of Hrushevsky. These multivolume studies are also labelled as the greatest achievements of Ukrainian humanitarian science at the period of national revival.

Unbridled criticism of Hrushevsky slowed down a bit in Soviet Social studies during the second half of 30-ies. At that time, the party publications were mainly writing about him to provide information, and not to criticize. Modern researcher Sergiy Bilokin noted the «paradoxical presence of favourable situation for Hrushevsky precisely at the end of 1930-s» (Bilokin, 1991 – 1992, p. 257). For example, the daughter of Hrushevsky managed to prepare 10th volume of «History of Ukraine-Rus» in 1936, as well as the 6th volume of «History of Ukrainian Literature» was planned to be published in the second half of 30-s.

Oleksander Biletskyi wrote an editorial review on this volume, which is available nowadays (Bilokin, 1991 – 1992, pp. 261–264). While sticking to evaluating Hrushevsky as a representor of «bourgeois science», the reviewer noted that «such a systemic and thorough layout of facts as in 6th volume, has never been seen before in Ukrainian Literary historiography. Not that many historical-literary works can be compared to the work of Hrushevsky» (Bilokin, 1991 – 1992, p. 263). Regarding a considerable erudition of the author, his involving of the wide text base, originality of the introduced historical-literary concepts, O. Biletskyi emphasized that «its publication would be truly desirable, as well as the history of its continuation, that brings the history of Ukrainian literature to the last decades of XVIII century» (Bilokin, 1991 – 1992, p. 264).

Galician and emigrated scientists studied Hrushevsky's works more objectively and thoroughly. His literary studies research was analysed in detail on the pages of «Novyi Chas» («New Times»). The author of the notes – Yevgen Pelenskyi emphasized, that obituary publications while glorifying Hrushevsky as a prominent historian, pedagogue, organizer of public and scientific life, a bit out shadowed Hrushevsky's achievements in elaboration of the history of literary process. Apart from his literary scientific research, Hrushevsky created favourable circumstances for talented people on the field of literature as they could publish their works on the pages of different journals, as «Literary and

Scientific Herald» (Pelenskyi, 1934). Ye. Pelenskyi also highlighted an under-explored issue of Hrushevsky's fiction works, despite the fact, that the scientist wanted to devote himself to this genre when he was young. The reviewer draws a distinct line between Hrushevsky's literary works, written in the framework of Ukrainian Romanticism school, from ones, written during the «mature» period with distinctive historical «colouring» resembling style of Kostomarov (Pelenskyi, 1935).

D. Skytskyi analyzed theoretical and methodological foundations of historical-theoretical works of Hrushevsky. He pointed out that like all other works of the scientist, «History of Ukrainian Literature» has «visible traces of a prominent personality of the author: the energy of the word, a profound thinking culture, daring conclusions and alongside it all – an outstanding erudition» – those are the features that attract most the reader and motivate him/her for work (Skytskyi, 1935, p. 25). D. Skytskyi is convinced that analytical, synthetical and intuitive talents are fully applied in this research. Despite the immense volume of the material engaged as well as the originality of its methodological processing, the researcher also notes a certain controversy in Hrushevsky's attempts to focus on prominent phenomena of the historical-literary life and on its common routine manifestations simultaneously.

In literary studies discourse of the author D. Skytskyi notes the prevalence of ideological and sociological interpretations: «A historian in him, who observes the development of spiritual life diachronically, noticing the influence of foreign factors, is complemented by a sociologist, who observes the social life synchronically and explores society's functions, connection of spiritual functions with forms of social order and its economical welfare» (Skytskyi, 1935, pp. 26–27). Sociological method gave the possibility to comprehensively observe Ukrainian historical-literary process, starting from Early Middle Ages and also track the mutual interinfluence with literatures of other nations. As a consequence, Hrushevsky involved national oral literature, that lacked attention from his predecessors. In general, as a researcher noted, the multitude of ideas in «History of Ukrainian Literature» would define the directions of the further research in future.

Leonid Biletskyi made another attempt of generalising of Hrushevsky's historical-literary researches. He emphasized that Hrushevsky's interest in the past of the national literature is as traditional as his historical works. Even while creating his «History of Ukraine-Rus» the researcher referred to solely literary sources, attributing them the same importance and informativity as to traditional sources. These researches alongside with Literary studies works explain rapid breakthrough in his «History of Ukrainian Literature». After characterizing the scheme of the work and accentuating at the proclaimed by Hrushevsky tasks in the introduction to the first volume, L. Biletskyi analysed innovative features of the work in detail. The most original, in his view, were the establishing of the strong connection between oral and written literature, and revelation of the dialectics of Ukrainian literary process, when the decline in one aspect was compensated by thriving in another one. Hrushevsky managed to do this with the help of his scheme and sociological method (Biletskyi, 1935, pp. 129–130).

While characterising the work, L. Biletskyi was especially excited by its first volume, that re-considered the study of the oral literary works, and also by some parts of the fourth volume, dedicated to the study of Ukrainian «bylyny». However, even long-studied problems that were covered in the research, carry the «imprint» of Hrushevsky's talent as he would offer an unusual view on the established points in science. «This is an extremely rich in opinions work, truly original, never repeating anyone's opinion [...], – as finishes Biletskyi. – Each page of this work stimulates our own thinking, raises a range of questions and motivates

to continue the elaboration of his original concept further, follow his track to the top of his creative ideas and long-lasting creative process» (Biletskyi, 1935, pp. 134–135).

Conclusions. Therefore, «History of Ukrainian Literature», as its active discussing during 20–30-ies testifies, became an important phenomenon of Ukrainian humanities at times of national revival. Alongside with «History of Ukraine-Rus» it was recognised as the greatest creative achievement of Hrushevsky and the evidence of a vivid improvement of Ukrainian science. The critical discussion with remarks and methodological suggestions contributed to the modernization of Ukrainian Literary studies and opened new conceptual-methodological horizons. These polemical remarks expressed at interwar period concerning the ideas in «History of Ukrainian Literature» laid the foundation of historical-literary Hrushevsky Studies, and not during afterwar period only. As an input for further interpretations of Literary Studies heritage of M. Hrushevsky, they are still recognized by researches of our time.

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**ACTIVITY OF THE ODESSA OPERA AND BALLET THEATRE
IN AUGUST 1941 – 1942**

Summary. The purpose of the study. It is pointed out, that the cultural life of Ukrainian citizens during the German and Romanian occupation of 1941 – 1942 is an important historical page of the Second World War. The activity of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, which has always been in the spotlight of historical science, is being revealed. **The research methodology.** The research methodology is based on the principles of historicity, objectivity and scientific capacity. In the article analyzed the scientific development of the problem in the national and foreign historiography. The basic conceptual approaches for studying the problem are defined. This work has a scientific novelty in the context of foreign historiography. The activity of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater are an important part of the heritage of the national and world theater art. The identified period of study – August 1941 – 1942 is explained by the most favorable conditions of occupation time, when the cultural and theatrical life of Odessa was actively developing. Changes in theatrical life and work of actors began when the situation on the fronts for the German and Romanian troops deteriorated. Despite the above, this period has become important in the history of Ukrainian theaters: the achievements and complexities that they have experienced. Special attention in the process of research was found in the materials of the periodical «Odessa newspaper». During the work and analysis at the material, special historical methods of research were used, such as: the historical and comparative method, that made it possible to reveal the characteristic features of the activity of Ukrainian theaters during the occupation and the historical-system, by which it was possible to reveal the activities of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater changes of the theatrical staff attitude and repertoire. **The scientific novelty.** Important in this context was the activity of the theater staff during the Romanian occupation of Odessa in August 1941 – August 1942. is to reveal the peculiarities of the activities of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater under conditions of the Romanian occupation regime in August 1941 – August 1942, based on the materials of the periodical «Odessa newspaper» and archival materials. **Conclusions.** It is underlined the reasons for which the theatrical staff of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater could not move deep into the Soviet Union before occupation. Actors in the difficult conditions of the occupation regime turned their creativity into a true theatrical art, which kept domestic traditions and borrowed the experience of the luminaries of the world-class opera and ballet. The theater became an artistic center, where famous European actors and singers came. The role of the periodicals in the coverage of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater was determined. Establishment of the occupation regime the activities of the

Romanian occupation administration the conditions in which actors worked; the study of memoirs and local periodicals shows the interest and support of the inhabitants of the city of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater and the interaction of the theatrical collective with the actors of foreign theaters of world importance and the preservation of its national artistic traditions.

Key words: Transnistrian governorate, Romanian occupation regime, Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, opera, ballet, actors, artistic theater heritage, periodicals.

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ОДЕСЬКОГО ТЕАТРУ ОПЕРИ ТА БАЛЕТУ В СЕРПНІ 1941 – 1942 рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Показано, що культурне життя Українських громадян у період німецької та румунської окупації 1941 – 1942 рр. є важливою сторінкою історії Другої світової війни. Розкривається діяльність Одеського театру опери та балету, яка завжди була у колі уваги історичної науки. Важливою у цьому контексті стала діяльність колективу театру в період румунської окупації Одеси у серпні 1941 – серпні 1942 рр. **Методологія дослідження.** В основі методології дослідження лежать принципи історизму, об'єктивності та наукової спроможності. У статті проаналізовано стан наукової розробленості проблеми у вітчизняній та зарубіжній історіографії. Визначено основні концептуальні підходи до вивчення проблеми. Представлена наукова робота має наукову новизну в контексті зарубіжної історіографії. Діяльність Одеського театру опери та балету є важливою складовою у спадщині вітчизняного та світового театрального мистецтва. Визначений нами період дослідження – серпень 1941 – 1942 рр. пояснюється найсприятливішим за умов окупації часом, коли культурне та театральне життя Одеси активно розвивалося. Зміни у театральному житті і творчості акторів почалися, коли ситуація на фронтах для німецьких та румунських військ погіршилася. Незважаючи на вищезазначене, цей період став важливим в історії діяльності українських театрів. Особлива увага у процесі дослідження виявилася до матеріалів періодичного видання «Одеська газета». Під час їх збирання й аналізу використовувалися спеціально-історичні методи дослідження, а саме: історично-порівняльний метод, який дав можливість виявити характерні риси діяльності українських театрів в умовах окупації та історико-системний, за допомогою якого вдалося розкрити діяльність Одеського театру опери та балету, зміни в настроях колективу театру і репертуару. **Наукова новизна** полягає у розкритті особливостей діяльності колективу Одеського театру опери та балету в умовах румунського окупаційного режиму у серпні 1941 – серпні 1942 років за матеріалами періодичного видання «Одеська газета» та архівними матеріалами. **Висновки.** Показано причини, за яких творчий колектив Одеського театру опери та балету не зміг виїхати углиб Радянського Союзу перед окупацією міста. Актори в складних умовах окупаційного режиму перетворили свою творчість на справжнє театральне мистецтво, яке зберігало вітчизняні традиції та запозичувало досвід корифеїв опери та балету світового рівня. Театр став мистецьким центром, куди приїздили відомі європейській актори і співаки. Визначено роль періодичних видань у висвітленні діяльності Одеського театру опери та балету. Встановлення окупаційного режиму, діяльність румунської окупаційної адміністрації, умови, в яких готував і показував вистави колектив театру; через дослідження спогадів та місцевих періодичних видань показано інтерес і підтримку жителями міста діяльності Одеського театру опери та балету, взаємодію театрального колективу з акторами зарубіжних театрів світового значення, збереження ним національних мистецьких традицій.

Ключові слова: губернаторство «Транснїстрія», румунський окупаційний режим, Одеський театр опери та балету, опера, балет, актори, мистецька театральна спадщина, періодична преса.

The problem statement. In order to reproduce the complete historical picture of the events of the Second World War, it is necessary to study all the components of this global event. Particularly important, in our opinion, is the cultural life of Ukrainian citizens during the German and Romanian occupation of 1941 – 1944. In view of this, the activities of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater require in-depth study. An important aspect of this

problem is the life and activity of the theater actor in the difficult conditions of the Romanian occupation of Odessa and its interaction with world masters.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The cultural life of the inhabitants of the Transnistrian governorate and the history of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater was studied by some national and foreign scholars in particular the activities of the theatrical staff and its individual actors during the interwar period and during the Second World War were discussed by M. Poisner (Poisoner, 2004, pp. 136–137), F. Samoilov (Samoilov, 2010, p. 547). The place of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater among the famous theaters of the world and the popularity of his plays were researched by A. Artyomov and I. Ignatkin (Ignatkin, 1969). The role of theatrical art in the life of Odessa was shown in researches by Maksymenko V. C. (Maksymenko). Important to the study were the memories of the famous Irish scientist Michael Forsyth, a designer of concert halls, an architect and violinist, who explored the influence of musical taste and style on architecture and the mutual influence of buildings and their acoustics on musical performance and composition. His attention in this context attracted the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater (Forsythe, 1985). The role of spectacular art and its research in domestic and foreign historiography in the context of attracting theaters to the propaganda activities of the occupation administration was considered by Salata O. In her work, she showed that most historians in their studies paid little attention to the study of the reasons for involving theaters in public life during the occupation period 1941 – 1942 (Salata, p. 56).

The article's purpose. Disclosure of the peculiarities of the activities of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater under the conditions of the Romanian occupation regime in August 1941 – August 1942, based on the materials of the periodical «Odessa newspaper» and archival materials.

The statement of the basic material. During the troubles of this terrible war of the twentieth century theaters continued to work as in occupation and in the deep rear. Theatrical teams that did not have time to go deep into the Soviet Union were forced to adapt to the new conditions and continue their activities in the territory occupied by the Romanian troops. This period also became important in the history of Ukrainian theaters. We have no right to ignore these achievements and difficulties. It's significant to recreate an objective picture of the theater team's activities during the Romanian occupation regime in August 1941 – June 1942, in particular the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater.

In August 1941, Odessa was occupied by the German-Romanian troops. When the troops reached the city the military command of the Odessa defense district appointed a special anti-aircraft unit. A special order was given to defend the theater building from bombing as a valuable architectural monument. On the roofs of the houses near the theater were installed guns that did not silent all 73 days and nights - from August 5 to October 16, 1941, while the city's defense was continued. However, despite these actions one of the enemy high-explosive bombs still hit the lobby of the western facade and partially damaged the portico.

The director of the theater Snebrowsky (from August 5 to October 16, 1941), while the Odessa defense operation lasted, did not leave the theater for a minute.

In fact that the Odessa Opera House was considered to be of great value not only for society, but also as part of the world's historical heritage. Describing the interior of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, Kateryna Astafyeva, on the pages of the historic Dilettant magazine, says: «The interior is not inferior to the exterior of the theater. The audience room is designed in the late French rococo style. Ornaments, gilding, stucco molding – all this,

combined with a large crystal chandelier and a sufficient number of chandeliers and fixtures, creates a tremendous effect». She also notes that on the ceiling of the ceiling depicted scenes from four works of Shakespeare: «The Sleep of the Summer Night», «Hamlet», «Winter Tale» and «How Do You Like It» (Astafeva).

The elegance of the front and the interior of the theater was also noted by well-known Russian bassist Fedir Chaliapin. For the first time, having visited the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, he wrote to his wife: «I was in the theater and came to the wild delight of the beauty of the theater. I've never seen anything more beautiful in my life». And Olena Obraztsova once said that she considered the Odessa Theater the best, in comparison with the Vienna Opera itself! (Astafeva, 2018).

Thus during the whole period of the Romanian occupation the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater continued to operate uninterrupted. The peculiarity of the theater's activity during this period is defined by the realities of the occupation regime. The works of the German and Romanian authors were necessarily included in the repertoire. But despite this fact there were Russian and Ukrainian classics performances. The theater hall was never empty due to the fact that the ticket prices were low (Theater during the Great Patriotic War).

In the first months of the war the theater was forced to suspend its activities. Some actors went to the front, others stayed in the city confused waiting for what would happen to them and their families.

It lasted several months, and on December 13, 1941, the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, despite the war and occupation resumed its work again. The decision was made by the general meeting of the theater's collective, which was about a hundred people as in the pre-war period. The director of the theater was the tenor D. Seliavin.

In Transnistria governor Romanian Army Commander Ion Antonescu brought civil administration. Head of Administration was appointed civilian governor who had control. The Transnistria Territory was divided into 13 administrative districts, which were guided by district prefectures headed by heads of administrations – prefects. The owls were divided into areas where the organs of management were called district pretorias headed by the praetors. Pretors of districts were subordinated to the county prefect (State archive of Odessa region, f. 2249, d. 3, c. 97, p. 4). The districts, in turn, were divided into communes consisting of one large or several small settlements. At the head of the commune there was a village council – a pryamar, led by a pryamar (Dizanova, 2016, p. 49).

With the formation of Transnistria – an administrative and political unit in the southwest of modern Ukraine, which the German leadership, under the Treaty in Bendery of August 30, 1941, granted the temporary Romanian civilian administration (Bolovan), Odessa and the Odessa region began to be considered Romanian territory.

On behalf of the Romanian government Commander of the 4th Romanian Army, General I. Yakobich, referring to Odessa citizens, said: «Citizens of Odessa! Be calm! No one will bring evil to the peaceful people, who can continue to work quietly and which will adhere to all published orders. All sacred rights will be granted to you and all temples will be opened. Measures will be taken to provide food, preserve your health, and those that will ensure the preservation of your life and property. We advise you not to carry out unfriendly acts in relation to the army and officials who will control the city» (Istoriya Bessarabii i Yuga Ukrainyi, 2016).

Odessa was a very important city in the plans of the Romanian government. Therefore, the Marshal of the Kingdom of Romania, Ion Antonescu, appointed Odessa Mayor Hermann

Pintou, a man who knew Russian and was well-informed in Russian traditions and knew the mentality of the local population.

The situation was complicated: on the eve of the winter, the city remains 300 thousand without water, electricity, transport, products, telephone communications. From the hospitals all equipment was taken out. Before Pintia and the 16 officials whom he brought, there was a difficult task – in the shortest possible time to establish life in the city. Amazingly, they succeeded. By July-August 1942, living standards in Odessa, at many points (and perhaps for all) exceeded the pre-war period. How it was done.

Competent management played an important role. The Romanians immediately rewrote all who could do something with their hands – engineers, doctors, technicians, and attracted them (for money) to set up city functioning systems. Then they included green light for private entrepreneurship. Private shops, restaurants, cafes, hairdressers, repair companies began to open hundreds. From the moment of the communist coup, it has been 24 years, since the NEP – 12–13 years. There were many people who knew what a private business was. Moreover, Romanians spent restitution if he documented confirmed that it belonged to the revolution or production department store – they returned. It is absolutely clear that if communist authorities could be overthrown at this time, the standard of living would rise very fast. There were still a lot of people there.

Under the conditions of the occupation regime and the new procedures introduced by the Romanian administration theaters became a breath of air for the people who remained (often not at their own will) in the occupied city, since not all could be evacuated – it was accessible primarily to the party elite, and not simple city residents. Eyewitnesses of events mention the queues to the port, which began from Pushkin Street. People stood along the Customs downhill. In occupied Odessa there were about two hundred and fifty thousand people. All of these people had to survive somehow and the cultural life which did not stop helped them to live in another conditions. The contemporary would be surprised that in the newspapers of that period along with the reports and orders of the occupation commanding intended to instill a general fear of a new regime, in particular those that concerned the destruction of Jews, one could also see announcements of performances, photographs of smiling citizens, information about their daily worries and everyday life. Literary evenings, exhibitions, premieres, productions, reviews, celebrity performances – these news stories created the illusion of peaceful life.

It is noteworthy that nobody forced the Romanian language artists. All works of world classics were shown in Russian translations. But the posters were printed in Romanian: «Corsarul», «Lacul lebedelor» (ballet «Corsar» and «Swan Lake»), «Mireasa tarului» (opera «Tsar's Bride»).

On October 27, 1941, the the first daily newspaper «Odesskaya Gazeta» was published. Later the newspapers «Our Days», «Bell», «The Voice», which covered the glamorous life of the city, began to be published. During the war, even some poetry books by S. Yesenin, M. Gumilev, Odesa poet Zhdanovich, and some others were even published in Odessa.

There was also a spectacular art. In particular in the occupied Odessa thirteen theaters were opened including small creative associations. There were also those that combined different musical genres (opera included), drama, circus art. However, Odessa's opera and ballet theater won the greatest honor among the residents of Odessa at that time and the guests of the city.

In the occupation press it was reported that in the occupied Odessa the first production was the opera «Eugene Onegin». During the premiere of the hall was filled up with a blanket. In addition to it later the audience saw the well-known operas «Aida», «Tosca», «Rigoletto». The Romanians and Germans came to Odessa to listen to the operas «Boris Godunov», «Faust», «Eugene Onegin», to watch ballets «Swan Lake», «Sleeping beauty». But the opera «Dream at the Winter Night» by T. Mushahescu and the ballet «Wedding in the Carpathians» by P. Konstantinescu had no success (Informatsionnyiy gorodskoy portal «Odesskaya jizn»).

In opinion of the well-known Odessa citizen Machayne Poizner the Romanians avoided of frank propaganda performances. This was proved by the shows permitted to put on. The occupation authorities dictated their rules. There were several performances in the theater a day usually at thirteen o'clock and sixteen o'clock. At the same time the first show had to be the performance of the German or Romanian authors. After that - Russian or Ukrainian performances. All theater teams, scenery and costumes have remained since pre-war times (Poizner, p. 137).

In summer of 1942 guest artists flooded in occupied city. There were mainly Romanian and German ones. The Bucharest theater «Kerebush», under the direction of Tudor Mushatec, established a unique record: only in 1942, its theater troupe visited Odessa four times. The famous conductor B. Molinari came from Italy.

During the specified period the Odessa Conservatory restored its work. The director was the former singer of the Mariinsky Imperial Opera Lydia Lipkovska (Iz istorii Odessyi, 2018).

The artists forced to live abroad returned to occupied Odessa. Except the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater the Theater of Pop, Theater of Chamber Operetta «Grotešk» began to work in the city. In April 1942, on the street. Greek, 48 famous artist Vasyly Vronsky opened the Theater of Russian Drama and Comedy with the production of «Auditor» Gogol. A local actor Ancharov opened the Russian operetta. The Romantic Theater was opened by a group of actors who moved from occupied Kiev. The Children's Garden Theater was founded, it was led by R. Ranevskaya from Munich (Iz istorii Odessyi, 2018).

In general the life of the occupied Odessa is an ambiguous and controversial period that has been studied little. Especially it concerns the cultural life of the city. It should be noted that in the period under study theater's repertoire was often changed. The posters were full of premieres being visited by Romanian and German officers. As far as an intelligent Odessa public it was the most numerous (Iz istorii Odessyi, 2018).

Theater's tickets were not very expensive. Many city's residents could buy the cheapest theater places. In the conditions of the occupation regime in theaters of Odessa leading European artists performed shows by well-known opera singers. There were the famous Italian tenor Luigi Magistretti, soloist of the Milan opera Neonila Balioz, Peter Leschenko. Odessa artists and theater teams also traveled on tour with permission of the occupation authorities. This is evidenced by articles and messages on the pages of the «Odessa newspaper» (Informatsionnyiy gorodskoy portal «Odesskaya jizn», 2018).

The Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater was attended by prominent European figures and representatives of the Romanian occupation authorities.

Thus during the whole period of the Romanian occupation the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater continued to operate uninterruptedly. During that period the peculiarity of the theater's activities was that the team worked continuously. The theater's team had to take into account the realities of the occupation regime (Teatr v period Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny, 2018).

The activities of the Odessa Opera House were described by articles posted on the pages of occupation newspapers in July 1941 – August 1942.

In the edition of «Odesskaya Gazeta» on January 20, 1942, the performance «Toska» played at the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater was rated as a big event. The author of the article reported on the premiere of «Toska» held in a special setting: conducted by the first guest from the Romanian artistic world Professor K. Lazar. He was greeted by the audience and artists. He performed the show with temperament and enthusiasm (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 32, p. 3). The authors of the articles of «Odessa newspaper» have always adhered to the style of the submission of this or that information because the censorship could not give permission to publish the article.

In the same way another newsboy reported on P. Tchaikovsky's «Swan Lake» ballet. It was held on January 27th of that year on the top artistic level. In the opinion of the author of the newspaper reports the performance was the result of the serious, thoughtful work of the actor's team. The ballet master A. Terekhov, referred to further, was able to rally talented ballet actors in a friendly ensemble. The main parties were performed by V. Lesnevsky and A. Pershchov. It is significant that the premiere of «Swan Lake» took place on January 27th – on the day of the great national holiday of the Romanian people (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 29, p. 3).

In the period of occupation the work of theater gave a significant profit to the budget of the city.

Besides this fact there was introduced a special tax at the rate of 3% of the ticket price by the Odessa city occupation municipality from January 25, 1942. It concerned theaters and other entertainment facilities such as exhibitions, museums, the Theater of Opera and Ballet, drama theaters, symphony concerts, lectures, folk festivals and public gardens and parks. The same tax on the ticket price there was set in cinemas, theaters of miniatures, comedies and operettas, circus, at literary and musical evenings, in zoological gardens and animals. On pop performances, dance venues, dancing evenings, various sports, racing, boating, roundabouts and other entertainment the tax was 10% of the ticket price. Fees were paid free of charge: Visitors to scientific and art museums, exhibitions, lectures and evenings, performances, cinema sessions and other entertainments arranged with a charitable purpose or a closed type of military command, educational institutions, resorts, sanatoria, rest homes for their patients exempted from paying taxes.

The administrators of the theaters and other institutions were required to pay the collected tax to the financial management of the municipality within a three-day period (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 34, p. 3).

Despite the difficulties encountered in the occupied city the artists tried to depart from reality and plunge into the world of art in presenting for spectators the best models of domestic and world opera and ballet.

In one of the Odesa's newspaper issues the play «Traviata» was dealt with a historian who researched theatrical activities in the USSR Prof. B. Varneka. He expressed his thoughts about the theater past of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater and about its prospects. He said that the theater had been on the right way because its scene masters knew and understood their tasks. Undoubtedly it allowed to create a truly, highly cultured business putting your soul (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 43, p. 3).

As state above the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater had weight among Romanian artists and intellectuals. So Romanian artists visited for theater tour too.

To win the support of city's intellectuals the Romanian occupation authorities directed the Odessa residents to learn the traditions of Romanian musical art and culture the Romanian. On February 22, 1942, there was a message in the «Odessa newspaper» on behalf of Transnistria's Governor Professor Georges Alexisyan in Odessa where it was reported about wish of the Governor in Odessa to introduce the public with samples of Romanian music, as well as the skills of European musicians of performers. There were planned a number of tours. The concerts of the famous pianist Mr. Ion Filionescu and the symphony conductor, Paul Constantinescu took place in March. It was reported, that «...the program of this concert will be devoted exclusively to the works of Romanian composers. The director of the Musical Academy in Bucharest, the conductor, Mr. Michael Zhora, will perform in front of the Odessa audience» (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 43, p. 3). In addition, it was announced that Fliria Kansari, the choreographer of the Romanian Opera in Bucharest, should arrive in Odessa, who will perform the two-act ballet «Wedding in the Carpathians» by composer P. Konstantinescu, whose music is «an example of Romanian folk folklore». Also, in this newspaper there was information that in May Odessa well-known violinist George Enescu will visit Odessa. All of these concerts will be held in the premises of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 43, p. 3).

In March 1942, the activities of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater increased. In studying the reports of the Odessa newspaper we got historical information that on March 25 and 29, 1942, the opera «Traviata» (for J. Verdi's music) was being planned to be shown in this theater. The role of Violetta in the performance was performed by Lydia Lipkovska, a Ukrainian drama singer, «one of the most outstanding artistic figures» (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 56, p. 3).

In the same newspaper it was reported that on March 30, 1942, the ensemble of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater in the amount of 70 people will go on tour to the city of Kherson with the operas «Rigoletto», «Traviata» and «Madame Butterfly». As part of the ensemble of the artist T. Yegunova, N. Savchenko, N. Topciy and others conducted by N. Chernatyany as well as a part of the choir, orchestra and ballet. The ensemble of the theater intended to stage performances until April 4th (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 56, p. 3).

In April 1942 in spite of the difficult conditions of the occupation regime the theater team prepared and played a series of performances. It should be noted that Ukrainian artists participated in plays On April 5, 1942, of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater. On April 5, 1942 the play «Traviata» took place with the participation of L. Lipkovskaya. She gave two performances The newspaper reported on her talent and of the artistry of its performance (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 61, p. 3).

In the middle of April 1942 it was reported that in Odesa there was a «peculiar, melodious» performance of the opera «Demon» during which the actors were able to show themselves fully. It was stressed Tamara's party by actress V. Hubert in this performance: «It was pure and musical, and she led the party and produced a lot more artistic style in it». The author of article expressed opinion that Demon's party «performed well and stylishly by N. Savchenko is demonstrating one of the best samples of expressive singing filled of bright and compact sound (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 64, p. 3).

There were another some opera soloists came to the occupied Odessa. Odessa residents remembered the performances of the Italian tenor L. Magistratti and the soloists of the Milan opera N. Balioz, accept the București opera solist M. Chebotaru, the singer V. Popova and L. Lipkovskaya who was the former partner of Fedor Shalyapin. L. Lipkivska came from

Romania and after her concerts he stayed in Odessa to live and work. As was reported in occupational press the performances of Petr Leshchenko had the greatest success among the inhabitants of the city.

There was the information that on April 8, 1942, that a new ballet «Wedding in the Carpathians» had been staged by the theater. It was reported that the choreographer of this ballet was Ms. F. Kansari. From the Bucharest Opera. In October 1941 the show of this performance was failed but in April, 1942, it took place with success. Moreover, Ms. F. Kansari «showed in her work a delicate taste and great skill, beautiful knowledge of the choreographic folklore of Romania, the rituals and customs of the Romanian peasants and the life of the Carpathian village. The ballet was also attended by: the premiere ballet by G. Leshnikov, the stories by A. Terekhov and A. Karsavina» (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 64, p. 3).

From press we know about the «cultural life» of the invaders. In May, at the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, there were the concerts with the participation of artists from the German Army. The executives were officers and soldiers: Fritz Gallen-tenor (Berlin), Edgard Daubits – conductor (Leipzig), Otto Fricke – radio conductor (Berlin), Werner Lieb – drama artist (Dusseldorf), military choir part number 36 952 and orchestra under the direction Chief Conductor of the Theater N. Chernyatynsky. There was two-part theater concert program. Overtures to the opera «Magic Arrow» (an orchestra under the direction of O. Fryke) was the first and then an organ prelude by S. Prokofiev was performed by E. Daubitsa (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 72, p. 3).

A great interest among city's intelligentsia was aroused by the premiere of a mosaic of two ballet fragments and the third act of Borodin's opera «Prince Igor («Polovtsian State»), which was held at the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater. In a peculiar style the author of the show described the one-act ballet «Clock» (music by A. Ponkeilli). It was reported that the ballet «on a fairly primitive dragonfly canvas with a great taste embroidered with a very diverse dance pattern». The writer of article pointed out that the choreographer A. Terekhov had achieved undoubted success in working with the corps de ballet. «It is particularly evident in the dances of the «Polovets state» «as» high ballet qualities are combined with temperamental and expressive mimic scenes where the fast paced and bright, mottled oriental costumes are sustained (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 78, p. 4).

Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater and the Lady Charity Committee of the city municipality periodically arranged joint charity concerts. One of these concerts took place on May 22, 1942. The concert was held in a large concert hall of the municipality. The money funds from that concert were directed to the poor families of Odessa. The next actors took part in the concert: V. Hubert, T. Egunova, T. Murzayeva, V. Popova, L. Malia, A. Ayarov, N. Dynaard, N. Savchenko, N. Topchiy. The ballet soloists: R. Kaidanova, O. Krasnoshchok, V. Pershchova, N. Poppandopoulos, O. Terentieva, L. Gont, P. Karsavin, V. Lesnevsky danced. The quartet was played by O. Kaversnova (violin), I. Pokrovsky (violin), N. Poppel (cello), G. Khramova (alto). There were involved drama artists: V. Vronsky, A. Otashevsky, B. Dikansky, I. Lopatnikov. Musical accompaniment was provided by the concertmaster of the opera P. Silkina, R. Kovalchuk, I. Kirpotina, the program was led by N. Bagryantsev (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 84, p. 3).

At the end of May in the Odessa newspaper it was reported that it should be acquainted the German army with the works of Russian composers. The administration of the Reichskommissariat «Ukraine» had entered into an agreement with the directorate of

the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater to do two tours in the city of Nikolaev where those shows were to take place on 4 and 5 August 1942. The ballet «Swan Lake» (music by P. Tchaikovsky) and a collective performance were planned to play: The Act of the «Tsar's Bride» opera (music by M. Rimsky-Korsakov), Act II from the opera «Eugene Onegin» (music by P. Tchaikovsky), III act «Polovtsy the state from the opera «Prince Igor» (A. Borodin's music). The participants of the tour were planned to be: conductor N. Chernyatynsky, choreographer A. Terekhova, 7 representatives of the artistic management of the theater, 12 soloists, including V. Hubert, N. Popova, N. Savchenko, N. Topciy, 50 ballet actors, among them B. Pervschova, R. Kaidanova, O. Krasnoshchok, V. Lesnevsky, L. Gont, P. Karsavin, 20 artists of the choir (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 137, p. 3).

In summer of 1942 a set of young singers has been announced on the initiative of the Governor of Transnistria G. Alexeyny to form a new theater team of young artists to add the leading team. It was supposed to interested citizens of Odessa to take participation in that competition too. Young artists who found vocal data were given the opportunity to work with experienced directors and conductors.

In the summer of the same year in the life of occupied Odessa there was another event, which was covered on the pages of the occupation press. It was reported that on Tuesday, June 21, at 16:00. 30 minutes, in the Odessa theater of opera and ballet in a solemn atmosphere there was the hundredth performance (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 104, p. 3).

Governor of Transnistria G. Alexeyan attended the event. At the opening of the ceremonial the chorus was accompanied by the orchestra performed Romanian, German and Italian hymns. After that a brief report on the work of the theater was made by his director and artistic director prof. V. Seliavin. There were staged two ballet scenes from ballet «Wedding in the Carpathians» by F. Kansar. The author of the ballet composer Paul Constantinescu conducted himself (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 104, p. 3).

By creating conditions for theater activities the Romanian occupation authorities used them to propagate among the population their aims and ideas. For example, the local section of the Ministry for the Promotion of the Occupation Authority used theater posters to disseminate that information or propaganda material. There were several places where people gathered in droves on the street near the Opera and Ballet Theater to read posters. In April 1942 one of the issues of newspaper described a crowd of people who looked at something on a large board on the wall of the theater. It was often possible to see glued photographs. Each of them was accompanied by a literal signature. The photos were extremely convincing. For example, on one of them – «the mountain of corpses ... The bodies are bombarded on each other ... People are not just killed, they are cruelly tortured...». The inscription said that these were the corpses of people shot by the Bolsheviks in certain places. That's no doubt that in this way the Ministry of Public Procuratoration extended its anti-Soviet military propaganda (Odesskaya gazeta, 1942, № 64, p. 3).

Conclusions. So, analyzing the activities of the creative team of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater during the Romanian occupation regime of 1941 – 1942, it should be noted that part of the theatrical intelligentsia, for various reasons and circumstances, could not be evacuated to the depths of the USSR. To survive in the difficult conditions of the occupation regime, the actors were forced to continue to set performances. It was a real theatrical art, which kept domestic traditions and borrowed the experience of the leading luminaries of opera and ballet of world level.

This period of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater is an important part of the heritage of the national and world theater art. Of course, it is possible to evaluate differently the actions

of those who remained in the occupied territory. But despite all, the work of the collective of the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, whose performances were attended by many people during the war and occupation, testified of the level of contemporary national art and culture in general.

The activities of the Odessa Opera Theatre during the marked period are just a fragment of the city's theatrical life. In order to complete the full picture of the cultural life of Odessa during the Romanian occupation, it is necessary to continue the research of the Theater of Chamber Operetta Grotesque, the Theater of Russian Drama and Comedy, the Russian Operetta Theater, the Romantic Theater, the Children's Theater Garden and others.

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**STRUGGLE FOR PROVISIONS BETWEEN SOVIET PARTISANS
AND UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS IN 1943 – 1944 IN VOLYN REGION**

Summary. *The aim of the research – on the basis of the source base and the historiographic work to highlight the reasons the struggle process for provisions between the Soviet partisans and Ukrainian insurgents in 1943 – 1944 in Volyn region. The principles of a scientific objectivity and historicism are the methodological basis of the study. The scientific novelty of the obtained results is determined by the fact that for the first time in a domestic and foreign historiography the struggle for provisions between the Soviet partisans and the Ukrainian insurgents in Volyn during the specified period has been analyzed, as well as the unpublished archival documents and the materials have been introduced into the scientific circulation. Conclusions.* *The struggle for the provisions between the Soviet partisans and the units of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army was the result of their confrontation aggravation over the*

range of influence. The unsettled rear support of the Soviet partisans pushed them into carrying out the preplanned «provisions» («food») operations of the peaceful and armed character, a forced alienation of food from the population, loyal to the Ukrainian nationalists. Acting this way, the Soviet partisans tried to deprive the latter of their food supplies and level off the Ukrainian insurgents' main advantage in Volyn region – the support from a part of the local residents, who became the members of Ukrainian Insurgents Army (UPA), and to cause the significant economic losses to the insurgent rear. An effective way of depriving the UPA and the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) underground of the provisions and property was the requisition of their food warehouses. The Soviet Union partisans had a significant distribution of the provisions in this way since the end of 1943, and especially in the first half of 1944, when the number of the partisan associations increased in connection with the approaching of the front in Volyn. Under such conditions, the Ukrainian nationalist underground lowered its activity, and the insurgents divisions, in order to avoid losses, crashed into the smaller groups.

Thus, the local population turned out to be the hostage of the situation, having fallen under the pressure of both «the forest armies», since both the Soviet partisans and the members of UPA put their back and food on it. The replenishment of the food stocks by the hostile forces often turned into the military operations.

Key words: the Soviet partisans, Ukrainian nationalists, insurgents, UPA, struggle, provisions, local population, Volyn.

БОРОТЬБА ЗА ПРОДОВОЛЬСТВО МІЖ РАДЯНСЬКИМИ ПАРТИЗАНАМИ Й УКРАЇНСЬКИМИ ПОВСТАНЦЯМИ НА ВОЛИНІ У 1943 – 1944 рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на основі джерельної бази та історіографічного доробку висвітлити причини і перебіг боротьби за продовольство між радянськими партизанами і українським повстансько-підпільним рухом на Волині в 1943 – 1944 рр. **Методологічною основою** дослідження стали принципи наукової об'єктивності та історизму. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів визначається тим, що вперше у вітчизняній і зарубіжній історіографії проаналізовано боротьбу за продовольство між радянськими партизанами й українськими повстанцями на Волині зазначеного періоду, а також упроваджено до наукового обігу неопубліковані архівні документи та матеріали. **Висновки.** Боротьба за продовольство між радянськими партизанами та відділами Української повстанської армії була наслідком загострення їхнього протистояння за терени впливу. Невирішеність тилового забезпечення радянських партизанів штовхала їх до проведення спланованих «господарських» («продовольчих») операцій мирного та збройного характерів, примусового відчуження продуктів харчування і майна у лояльного до українських націоналістів населення. Тим самим вони намагалися позбавити продовольчих запасів останніх і нівелювати їх головну перевагу на Волині – підтримку з боку частини місцевих жителів, за рахунок яких поповнювала свої лави УПА, а також завдати значних економічних втрат повстанському запіллю. Дієвим способом позбавлення упівців й оунівського підпілля продовольства та майна були реквізиції їх продовольчих складів. Значного поширення заготівля харчів радянськими партизанами набула з кінця 1943-го й особливо у першій половині 1944-го рр., коли у зв'язку з наближенням фронту на Волині збільшилася кількість партизанських з'єднань. У таких умовах українське націоналістичне підпілля знижувало свою активність, а повстанські відділи, щоб уникнути втрат, розбивалися на менші групи.

Таким чином, місцеве населення виявилось заручником ситуації, потрапивши під тиск обох «лісових армій», оскільки і радянські партизани, і упівці покладали на нього своє тилове та продовольче забезпечення. Поповнення продовольчих запасів протидіями силами нерідко перетворювалося на військові операції.

Ключові слова: радянські партизани, українські націоналісти, повстанці, УПА, боротьба, продовольство, місцеве населення, Волинь.

The problem statement. The confrontation between the Soviet partisans and the Ukrainian rebel-underground movement caused a considerable interest of Ukrainian and foreign scholars. However, the struggle for provisions between the hostile armies remains unstudied, as the researchers mostly analyzed the military confrontation, which, among other

areas of the interaction between the Soviet partisans and the Ukrainian insurgents, most affected the overall course of the confrontation.

A complex study of the struggle for the provisions will determine the impact of the confrontation on the lives of the local population, the additional factors in shaping its socio-political sentiment, deepen understanding of the inter-partisan conflict and the general situation in Volyn during the German occupation.

The analysis of recent researches and publications. In the historiography of the Soviet era, the attention was paid to the study of the partisan movement, controlled by the state party bodies, but the solution to the provisions issue was considered incidentally, since the authors adhered to the concept of the «all people» support in the rear of the enemy. The Soviet era historians, who covered the partisan movement in Volyn (V. Zamlynskyi (Zamlynskyi, 1965), L. Kyzia (Kyzia, 1960), L. Stepanov (Stepanov, 1966)), noted that the Soviet partisans had to fight with the Ukrainian nationalists, but they did not mention that there was also the struggle for the provisions.

In American historiography, the activity of the Soviet partisans was actively studied by the scientist J. Armstrong, who, unlike the historians of the USSR, drew attention to the conflict situations in the relations between the Soviet partisans and the local population, which became the cause of products and equipment requisition (Armstrong, 1980; Armstrong, 2007). However, the situation, which existed in Ukraine during the war and, moreover, in Volyn, was poorly reflected in J. Armstrong's works.

Since the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, the historians-archaeologists A. Kentii and V. Lozytskyi have the most accomplished researches on the theme of the local Soviet partisan movement. Despite their significant contribution to the study of this problem, the struggle issue for the provisions between the Soviet partisans and the rebel underground was not specifically developed by them (Kentii & Lozytskyi, 2005; Kentii, 2008; Kentii & Lozytskyi, 2010; Kentii, Lozytskyi & Slobodianiuk, 2010). O. Gogun, a famous Russian-German researcher of the partisan movement, also only noted that the struggle for the provisions between the above-mentioned hostile armies took place (Gogun, 2012). In addition, it is worth mentioning the works of H. Starodubets, who, studying the Ukrainian insurgent movement, argued that the Soviet partisans pose a serious danger to the Ukrainian insurgents, although she did not analyze it in details (Starodubets, 2006; Starodubets, 2008). O. Perekhrest, investigating the Ukrainian peasantry from 1941 to 1945, analyzed it in the context of supporting the Soviet partisan and Ukrainian liberation movements, omitting the struggle for the provisions between the hostile forces in Volyn (Perekhrest, 2011).

As we see, the struggle for the provisions between the Soviet partisans and the Ukrainian rebel-underground movement in Volyn during the German occupation has hardly been developed in historiography, therefore, this topic requires a thorough study and the formation of the relevant conclusions.

Statement of the basic material. The Soviet partisan units and the Ukrainian insurgents divisions should be classified as the paramilitary formations of the «Small War», for whom the relations with the local population played an important role. The aggravation of the relations with the latter posed a danger to the disclosure by the occupiers or the hostile partisans of the forest camps locations, as well as the complexity of the food supply, which, to a large extent, affected the tactics of the partisan forces.

For the Ukrainian insurgents in Volyn, the issue of the proper products supply during the German occupation, in fact, had never been acute. Since they were mostly local, they could rely on the material support of the peasantry, and the economic references of the rear,

the core of which was the organizational network of the OUN (b), regularly provided their departments with the provisions, provided by the population.

The Soviet partisans, in this regard, were in the worst conditions, because they hoped to be supported by the local population only in the areas of the stable dislocation of their own units, which, as a rule, were removed far from the locations with favourable conditions for agriculture and livestock farming. In addition, as the archival materials run, the partisans received supplies, from time to time, from the «Great Earth», which consisted mainly of weapons, ammunition, clothes, medicines. But those from time to time supplies didn't solve the urgent issue of the provisions (Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine – CSAPAU, f. 69, d. 1, c. 1, p. 27; CSAPAU, f. 70, d. 1, c. 1, p. 176; CSAPAU, f. 78, d. 1, c. 1, p. 151; CSAPAU, f. 88, d. 1, c. 1, p. 347).

The food situation in the partisan detachments worsened as a result of the punitive and repressive measures of the German occupiers. For example, in Horodnytskyi district of Zhytomyr region, most of the villages were burned for the cooperation with the Soviet partisans, creating there the so-called «dead zone», which, in particular, was noted by the commander of the union of the cavalry partisan detachments M. Naumov and, on the other side, by the commandant of the Kostopil district of the OUN (b) «Dolyna (Valley)» (Kovalchuk, 2007, p. 349; Bazhan, Vlasenko, Kentii, Legasova & Lozitskii, 2010, p. 288). Since in the above-mentioned village, some of the locals remained without farms or died, the Soviet partisans, who were deployed there, lost their food supply and therefore repeatedly carried out operations on the adjacent villages of Korecchyna, Ludwypilshchyna, and Bereznenshchyna, which were located west of the Sluch river, where Banderivtsi had some support (Sukhykh, 2014, p. 373).

In the areas, controlled by the Soviet partisans, the peasants were mostly forced to provide food support to the extent that they could provide. However, the partisans violated the discipline repeatedly, appropriating the food and property of villagers by force. Often, such «operations» took place without the authority commands of the detachments, on the initiative of the partisans themselves, who took not only the food, but also personal belongings from the locals. H. Balitskyi, the commander of the detachment named after J. Stalin of Chernihiv-Volyn Partisan Unit (CHVPU), analyzing the consequences of the uncontrolled preparations, noted in his diary reasonably: «We will behave properly among the peasants, then the enemy will never have sympathizers; but if the partisans forget about the correct behaviour of the party's policy and the Soviet regime among the civilian population, then the enemy will necessarily use all this [...]. It is better not to get rid of 10 nationalists or policemen than to take those or other things from one honest citizen» (Bazhan, Vlasenko, Kentii, Legasova & Lozitskii, 2010, p. 481).

During the implementation of the provisions requisites, the Soviet partisans were guided with a class approach, when selecting the persons, who should be deprived of their property. In Volyn, the Ukrainian nationalists were also referred to the «Kurkul» group by the Soviet partisans. In particular, F. Bokalchuk, the political head of the artillery division of Rivne Partisan Unit (RPU) No. 1, noted: «Some partisans allowed looting, believing that the nationalists and their sympathizers could be deprived of their property, especially since winter conditions require warm clothes and not all partisans have it» (CSAPAU, f. 69, d. 1, c. 7, p. 27).

The uncontrolled requisitions prompted the partisans' authorities to issue the orders on the prohibition to leave the partisan camps unilaterally and to stop looting, drinking, and the inappropriate relations with the local population. For example, such an order was issued by Rivne Regional Headquarters of the Partisan Movement (RRHPM) on July 15, 1943 (CSAPAU, f. 70, d. 1, c. 6, p. 28). His chief, V. Behma, justified the the partisans behaviour,

noting that «the commanders and commissars of the units did not take into account the specific conditions in Western Ukraine, where the national hostility was greatly developed» (CSAPAU, f. 70, d. 1, c. 6, p. 36, p. 38).

There were frequent misunderstandings among the partisans of different units when the issue concerned the choice of the village, planned for the provisions operations. In the letter dated December 19, 1943, I. Fedorov, the commander of RPU No. 2, suggested O. Fedorov, the commander of ChVPU, a division of the area, since «the people are offended» of the so called double «taxation» (Kentii, Lozytskyi & Slobodianiuk, 2010, p. 38). It is worth mentioning the conflict situation between the partisans of O. Fedorov and the partisans of Brest region, which arose for the right to procure the provisions in the villages of Svaryn, Radoslav and surrounding farms. On November 20, 1943, the Belarusian partisans issued the order, in which they warned of the ban on requisitions in the mentioned villages, where «all movable and non-movable property as well as all food and feed resources [...] are intact and under the control of the command p[artisan] units of Brest region» (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 92, pp. 2–3). In response, O. Fedorov sent a radiogram to S. Hryhorenko, the head of the headquarters of V. Chapayev detachment, in which he was allowed to carry out harvesting of the agricultural products and warm clothes, noting that «if such silly ones would hinder, disarm and fight» (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 92, p. 1).

Thus, looting and the chaotic requisitions made by the Soviet partisans in the territories under their control occurred as a result of the disorganization of the provisions supply in the units, the lack of discipline, and were the result of a significant change in the moral attitudes under the influence of hostilities.

The UPA, without the external sources of supply, depended on the stability of the insurgent rear. In the latter, the mandatory food tax for the population was established on the principle of a social justice, spreading not on the amount of farms, but depending on the amount of land (Starodubets, 2008, p. 149). At the same time, as H. Starodubets noted, the expediency of the tax introduction on the population in the rear was decided unevenly in different regions, and in the autumn of 1943, its establishment was not a widespread practice (Starodubets, 2008, pp. 155–156).

In the end, as a result of the optimal way of the provisions harvesting by the UPA, the local population more easily tolerated the provisions harvesting as compared to the provisions harvesting operations by the Soviet partisans. In addition, in Volyn the insurgents managed to interfere with the majority of the planned requisition of the German invaders, preserving the provisions to replenish their departments. Therefore, the economic situation in the area where the UPA «managed» to succeed was much better than the dislocation areas of the partisan forces of the Ukrainian Partisan Movement (UPM).

The places of the provisions operations, especially after the intensification of the confrontation over the influence range between the Soviet partisans and the Ukrainian insurgents, were determined both in the aspect of the local population loyalty and the economic situation in the region. Often, the provisions requisites of the Soviet partisans in Volyn occurred in areas under the control of the UPA, which aimed at not only replenishing food, but also the implementation of the peculiar anti-rebellious measures or «repaid actions» that, according to O. Gogun, may be considered as an economic repressions or economic terror. The obtained provisions, as a result of such operations, was used not for the personal purposes, but for the purpose of the warfare (Gogun, 2012, p. 392). It is worth noting that during such «operations» the villages, where rebel units were located or the locals were loyal to the nationalists, the Soviet partisans considered those villages as the provisions storehouse

or the occupiers' enterprises. The Soviet partisans often attacked those kind of villages. For example, on October 10, 1943, O. Fedorov, the ChVPU commander, authorized P. Markov, the commander of K. Voroshylov detachment «at the expense of the nationalists and their families to dress warriors for the winter by confiscation» (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 17, p. 113).

The Soviet partisans of S. Kirov detachment also planned to provide themselves with the provisions, using the Ukrainian nationalists. On November 14 the partisans of the above-mentioned detachment went to the village of Volochynsk with the task of killing 40 nationalists and carrying out provisions and clothes operations in the families, who grew potatoes. However, they failed to do this because the occupants almost completely burnt the village, and so the Soviet partisans went to the village of Troyanivka, Manevytskyi district, where they organized the provisions requisition of the «enemy people» (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 85, p. 27). I. Shyshko's detachment from the Kamyanets-Podilskyunit also succeeded in the practice of providing the partisans with clothes and food by requisitioning them from the nationalists. On October 22 the above-mentioned detachment realized requisitioning in Chermyn (CSAPAU, f. 102, d. 1, c. 1. p. 31). Thus, the Soviet partisans of V. Behma unit also took the provisions and clothing from the village of Yasynets, Dubrovytskyi district on December, 22 (CSAPAU, f. 69, d. 1, c. 6, p. 123).

Since the summer of 1943, between the UPA and the red partisans the struggle for food intensified, since at that time in Volyn there already operated several Soviet units, requiring the additional food supplies. Of course, the first information on the property appropriation of a disloyal local population can be found in the reports and messages of the hostile armies during the previous months, but the frequency of such cases was low at that time.

The struggle of the Soviet partisans against the Ukrainian insurgents for food was, firstly, the result of the escalation of the confrontation over the influence areas between them, since the frequent clashes and intermittent losses of the «forest armies» only raised the degree of hostility that resulted in the unrepresentative actions of both partisan forces; secondly, in 1943 the Bolshevik partisans were deployed in the areas with very unfavourable economic conditions; thirdly, their coercive and ill-conceived procurement campaigns exhausted the food supply potential of the local population; fourthly, during the entire period of the Nazi occupation the Soviet partisans units were constantly increasing numerically. It required the additional food and arms support for the full-fledged military activities. One should also take into account the opinion of USSR State Security organ H. Sannykov, a veteran, who believed that the reason was also rather trivial: «The local population suffered from both sides – there were the provisions requisites, organized by both hostile forces. The partisans, both Soviet and Bandera, wanted to eat –that's why the provisions were confiscated: cattle, lard, bread, potatoes and hay. All that was needed for hungry people and horses. Banderivtsi did give the peasants paper, instead of money, printed on a hectograph with a picture of a rebel with a machine gun, raised in his right hand and a sum of money – 5, 10, 15, 25 karbovantsiv, which, as they claimed, could be exchanged for the money of the new Ukraine after the victory. The Soviet partisans gave at best a receipt» (Sannykov, 2002, p. 300).

Before conducting the provisions operations in the territory, which was under the UPA control, the Soviet partisans were given a correspondent command, order. Thus, according to the order of RPU (Rivne Partisan Unit) № 1 of September 3, 1943, 70 partisans of F. Dzerzhynskyi, H. Kotovskyi and T. Shevchenko units were sent for conducting the operation against the nationalists in Dubrovytsia and the confiscation of their farms (CSAPAU, f. 69, d. 1, c. 5, p. 11). Before the procurement, the red (Soviet) partisans conducted intelligence to find out whether the insurgents' units could interfere with them (Vovk & Pavlenko, 1999,

p. 244). Meanwhile, in order not to arouse suspicion and early panic among the peasants, they could disguise themselves as Bandera insurgents. For example, in November 1943, the representative of Koretskyi district Secret Service «Winter» «Knee» noted that the Soviet partisans guerrillas, under the guise of nationalists, had robbed the village of Koseniv, Yarun district, taking away the oats from the peasants and those who did not want to give the grain were beaten (State Archives of Rivne Region – SARR, f. R-30, d. 1, c. 15, p. 27).

The Bolshevyk partisans, being aware of the presence of their hostile troops, went to take supplies in Volyn villages as the combat operations. On April 10, 1944 V. Behma, the Secretary of Rivne Regional Committee of the Communist Party (b)U stated: «For the provisions operations the partisans were forced to leave the units with numbers from 50 to 100 fighters, armed with machine guns and guns» (Kentii & Lozytskyi, 2005, p. 375). In July 1943 the Chief of the headquarters of K. Voroshylov CHPU unit, F. Martynov reported to the headquarters that due to the resistance of the UPA, the partisans were forced to fight during the normal procurement of provisions (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 25, p. 93). The secretary of the underground district committee of the KP(b)U in the Volodymyrets'kyi district, P. Tkachuk shared the same opinion (CSAPAU, f. 166, d. 2, p. 95, p. 10). In February 1944, the commander of the 2nd Moldavian partisan unit, Ya. Shkryabach, analyzing the behaviour of V. Andreev and M. Shukaev partisan units, which functioned in the neighborhood in the south of Volyn, noted: «They carry out the procurement of provisions even by bandit methods. My The villages, in which Bandera supporters live, are under my control. So the villages are surrounded, fired upon, and then the V. Andreev and M. Shukaev partisans take whatever comes in hand. This dishonour needs to be eradicated» (Kovalchuk, 2014, p. 72).

During the successful military operations or battles against the insurgent divisions, the Soviet partisans seized the property and food from the peasants, who sympathized with the insurgents. Such a practice of the provisions requisitioning was used in the areas, where the Bandera supports opposed the Bolshevyk partisans actively. For example, on April 14, 1943, the 24th Anniversary of the Red Army detachment (RA) of the Zhytomyr Partisan Union (ZhPU) appropriated 23 heads of cattle, 16 pigs and 160 kg of cereals as the result of the operation to defeat the nationalist party in the village of Yelne of Rokytne district (CSAPAU, f. 65, d. 1, c. 26, p. 233). A week later, the soldiers of V. Chapayev detachment, after the battle with the nationalists in the villages of Berezhky and Lyubykovychi of Dubrovytskyi district, appropriated the following «product trophies»: 2 oxen, 3 pigs, 20 kg of lard, 20 pounds of rye, 10 pounds of flour and 3 pounds of oats (CSAPAU, f. 65, d. 1, p. 26, pp. 228–229). In early June, Olevskiy detachment of Zhytomyr partisan unit appropriated 6 oxen, 2 horses and 18 poods of grain, in addition to weapons, after a similar battle in the village of Sekhy, Tomashhorod Rokytne district (CSAPAU, f. 65, d. 1, c. 17, p. 66).

Being located in Volyn region, the partisans of J. Stalin detachment, under the command of H. Balytskyi, having a low support of the local population, constantly needed replenishment of food supplies. The area, in which a hostile attitude toward the red partisans dominated, the latter carried out the economic and combat operations, as the Ukrainian insurgents had a much better food base. In this regard, H. Balytskyi wrote in his diary: «We need food. Where to get, if not from the nationalists, who have plundered a lot» (Bazhan, Vlasenko, Kentii, Legasova & Lozitskii, 2010, p. 513). The practice of procuring products in this way, his partisans first implemented as a result of the battle with Bandera insurgents on July 17, 1943 in the village of Zhuravychi, Kiverts'ki district, where, in addition to the military trophies, they appropriated 200 poods of flour, 10 poods of salt, 8 poods of sugar, 150 loaves of bread, 17 pigs and 15 horses (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 11, p. 19; CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 25, p. 89).

Due to the defeat of the UPA department on July 28 in the village of Lypne July of the same district, J. Stalin detachment appropriated 400 pounds of flour, 15 pounds of sausage, 49 pigs, 57 cattle heads and a motorcycle (CSAPAU, f. 62, d. 1, c. 1382, p. 129; Bazhan, Vlasenko, Kentii, Legasova & Lozitskii, 2010, pp. 513–514). On August 2, M. Shchors partisan unit appropriated 14 horses, 34 heads of cattle and 15 pounds of bread in the battle with the UPA insurgents in the village of Derevok, Lyubeshiv district (CSAPAU, f. 62, d. 1, c. 1382, p. 121). On September 5, the soldiers of J. Stalin and the NKVDB of the USSR «*Hunters*» conducted the economic-combat operation in the «*nationalist*» village of Sylne, Kivertsi district, having with task of «*breaking the nationalist bastard and appropriating food*» (Bazhan, Vlasenko, Kentii, Legasova & Lozitskii, 2010, p. 556).

The UPA divisions, like the Soviet insurgents, also replenished their food supplies by using their enemy. For example, as mentioned by the insurgent F. Kondrat, in the spring of 1943, as a result of the attack of the Vorona Division on the headquarters of M. Mysyura red partisans, located in the village of Vychivka, Vysotskyi district, managed to appropriate «*the warehouse with robbed peasants' goods*». Those robbed the goods were transported on 17 carts to their location in Terebizhiv forest (Kondrat, 2002, pp. 20–22).

In the areas, where the insurgents constantly had to fight against the armed partisans, the above-mentioned method of providing provisions was practiced quite often.

Often, the economic operations conducting in the areas with the strong positions of the Ukrainian nationalists ended in the confrontation with them, as the latter used the tactics of attacking the small sabotage groups or the procurement partisans groups. So, on July 10, 2 platoons of partisans of S. Kirov detachment ChVPU went on the economic operation in the village of Lyubokhyn, Starovyzhiv district, where they encountered the UPA hundred. As a result of the fight, the latter lost 9 people, including the leader of the hundred. (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 85, p. 12). On December 9, V. Chapayev detachment of Ternopil partisan unit, during the economic operation in the village of Khotyn, Bereznivskyi district killed 38 insurgents and requisitioned 95 cattle heads, 47 sheep, 30 pigs and 4 horses from the peasants (CSAPAU, f. 105, d. 1, c. 20, p. 82).

In order to avoid the loss of personnel, in July 1943 S. Kirov detachment ChVPU was forced to send the procurement groups to the remote areas, in particular, the territory behind the Western Buh River, because their dislocation area was «*clogged with nationalists in the villages, who dug in, and when approaching the village they fired from all corners, attics, etc. And where [...] they are not found, they have ordered the civilians to give nothing to the red partisans, and whoever gives something will be slaughtered and burned*» (CSAPAU, f. 64, d. 1, c. 25, p. 15).

According to the documents of the Soviet partisans, for them, along with the requisition of the provisions, which belonged to the nationalists and the sympathetic population, it was a priority to destroy the households of the latter. Thus, they caused a significant damage to the Ukrainian insurgents provisions. The report on fighting in June 1943 of Sarny partisan unit stated that during the operations in the villages of Selets, Maryanivka and Strelsk of Rivne region, there were destroyed 14 nationalist households and killed 6 people (CSAPAU, f. 65, d. 1, c. 23, p. 20). At the end of August, 10 fighters of V. Molotov RPP # 1 detachment had the task to destroy the «*nationalist households*» in Krushynne, Rakivka, Mokre, Dubne (CSAPAU, f. 69, d. 1, c. 41, p. 21). A security officer of the OUN «*Zahrava*» «*Nemo*» (I. Trejko (Terejko)) noted in his report that on December 24 to the village of Rudka Podluzhanska there came the partisans detachment, which, despite the resistance of the villagers' self-defense, robbed the village, and that what «*they did not have time to take with them, was destroyed*» (Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine – CSAPAU, f. 3833, d. 1, c. 234, p. 10).

The requisitions of food in the villages loyal to the UPA caused a great damage to the local population and the Ukrainian insurgent underground in general. Because, as a rule, those villages were the links of the economic register of the underground, which provided food for the insurgent units, the Soviet partisans, plundering them, inflicted the considerable economic losses on the insurgent movement, thereby creating problems for its activity. It is worth agreeing with H. Starodubets that the red partisans caused a deadly danger to the rear and were objectively regarded by the insurgent movement as the most dangerous enemies. (Starodubets, 2005, p. 292).

Conclusions. Thus, the struggle for provisions between the Soviet partisans and the Ukrainian insurgents was the result of an armed confrontation between them. At the absence of food supplies, the first ones procured it, using the Ukrainian nationalists, carrying out the preplanned operations, or obtaining the provisions as a result of the battles with the UPA units. By requisitioning the products and property from the peasants, loyal to the Ukrainian nationalists, the Soviet partisans inflicted a considerable economic damage to the insurgent rear. In addition, such actions against the Ukrainian peasantry should be considered as an economic repression or a kind of the punitive operations.

The Bilshovyk partisans' attention to the villages, which were under control of the Ukrainian insurgent movement was also attracted by the fact that the latter were in a much better economic situation than the area of the partisans' dislocation. This was also the result of the fact that the insurgents managed to disrupt most of the requisitions of the German occupiers; they were replenishing their food mainly by means of the optimal and socially fair taxes, or by conducting voluntary givings by the locals of various kinds, as well as by organizing their own production on the territory of the underground (rear). The tangible support of the local population also helped the Ukrainian insurgent movement to have a much better provisions base than the Soviet partisans had.

Among the perspectives for further study of this topic, it is worth mentioning, firstly, the study of the process of identifying and requisitioning of the Ukrainian nationalist food bins by the Soviet partisans, and secondly, establishing the quantitative indicators of the appropriated provisions from those warehouses.

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TERRITORIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE SPACE OF DROHOBYCHYNA IN THE 40-ies – 50-ies OF THE XXth CENTURY

Summary. *The purpose of the research – to trace the establishment and changes in the administrative and territorial structure of Drohobychyna in the 1940-ies and 1950-ies, when the Soviet system was established, restored and approved in the region; to determine the factors and the consequences of the territorial transformations. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, the author's objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and the special historical (historicalgenetic, historicaltypological, historicalsystemic) methods. The scientific novelty – for the first time a comprehensive study of the transformation of the administrative, territorial space of Drohobych region in the Soviet time has been investigated. It has been illustrated that the administrative, territorial space of Drohobych region was a manifestation of the socio-political systems that were established in the region. The decisive factor was the status of the Western Ukrainian lands. The entry of Drohobychyna into the UkrSSR and the USSR caused the change in the administrative, territorial structure, which was the Second Commonwealth and the establishment of the Soviet model. Conclusions.* *The administrative-territorial space of Drohobych region was the manifestation of the*

socio-political systems that were established in the region. The defining status of the Ukrainian lands was decisive. The entry of Drohobych region into the UkrSSR and the USSR led to the change in the administrativeterritorial structure of the region, which was during the Second Commonwealth and the establishment of the Soviet model. The administrativeterritorial transformations began in 1939–1941, when the first Sovietization of the region took place, and continued during the postwar years. The region lost some of its historic territory, and the local population was subject to a forced resettlement. The local traditions, aspirations and hopes of the people were not taken into account, which not only changed the face of the border area but also caused the numerous human tragedies. The next transformations coincide with the era of M. Khrushchov's reforms. The consolidation of the individual administrative units, which lacked the sufficient scientific justification, led to the elimination of some districts initially and later of Drohobych region itself. Soviet Drohobych region became the part of Lviv region.

Key words: Drohobychyna, region, district, administrative, territorial structure, resettlement, the Soviet system.

ТЕРИТОРІАЛЬНО-АДМІНІСТРАТИВНИЙ ПРОСТІР ДРОГОБИЧЧИНИ В 40-ві – 50-ті рр. ХХ ст.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – прослідкувати встановлення та зміни в адміністративно-територіальному устрої Дрогобищини в 40-ві – 50-ті рр. ХХ ст., коли у краї встановлювалася, відновлювалася та утверджувалася радянська система, визначити чинники і наслідки територіальних трансформацій. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше комплексно досліджується трансформація адміністративно-територіального простору Дрогобицької області за радянських часів. Показано, що адміністративно-територіальний простір Дрогобищини був проявом суспільно-політичних систем, які встановлювалися в регіоні. Визначальним був бездержавний статус західноукраїнських земель. Вхідження Дрогобищини до складу УРСР і СРСР, зумовило зміну адміністративно-територіального устрою часів II Речі Посполитої і встановлення моделі радянського зразка. **Висновки.** Адміністративно-територіальні трансформації на Дрогобищині розпочалися в 1939 – 1941 рр., коли відбувалася перша радянська реформа регіону, і продовжувалися у повоєнні роки. Регіон втратив частину своєї історичної території, населення піддавалося примусовим переселенням. Не враховувалися місцеві традиції, прагнення та сподівання людей, що не тільки змінило обличчя прикордонної зони, але й призвело до численних людських трагедій. Чергові трансформації збігаються з ерою реформ хрущовської доби. Укрупнення окремих адміністративних одиниць, яке не мало достатнього наукового обґрунтування, спричинило ліквідацію спочатку окремих районів, а пізніше і самої Дрогобицької області. Дрогобищина стала частиною Львівської області.

Ключові слова: Дрогобищина, область, район, адміністративно-територіальний устрій, переселення, радянська система.

The problem statement. Nowadays a local history is becoming increasingly relevant. Covering the issues on regionalism, it is important to determine the features of the administrative, territorial space. After all, it reflects the essence of the socio-political, economic and social realities at the certain historical stages. Without taking into account the historical experience, it is impossible to carry out the administrative and territorial reform successfully in modern Ukraine. We must get rid of the legacy of the Soviet era. The analysis of the historical lessons will allow us to take into account as many as possible local features, interests of the individual communities and people.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The issues of administrative and territorial structure are dealt with by the scientists of different directions. Among the historical studies

we'd like to elucidate the works of Ya. Vermenych, in which the administrative territorial system in Ukraine is substantiated as a scientific problem, the practice of reforming the administrative territorial system is analysed in Ukraine in the twentieth century (Vermenych, 2001, 2014). The territorial changes that took place as the result of the Ukrainian-Polish border, being established in the first post-war years, are considered in the works of I. Kozlovskiy, Yu. Soroka (Kozlovskiy, 1998; Soroka, 2011). V. Kyslyi and R. Melnyk analyses the scale of the resettlement actions in the context of the changes in the borders and territories (Kyslyi, 2009; Melnyk, 2010). There is no separate study on the transformation of the administrative territorial space of Drohobych region during the Soviet time.

The purpose of the research – to trace the establishment and changes in the administrative and territorial structure of Drohobych region in the 1940-ies and 1950-ies, when the Soviet system was established, restored and approved; to determine the factors and consequences of the territorial transformations.

Statement of the basic material. In Drohobych region the territorial space of the Soviet model began to form with the establishment of the Soviet system in 1939 – 1941. In December 1939, a new administrative territorial division was introduced, which envisaged the creation of six regions in Western Ukraine instead of four provinces: Lviv, Drohobych, Volyn, Stanislav, Ternopil, and Rivne. The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, issued on December 27, 1939, stated that Drohobych became the center of Drohobych region. It consisted of Drohobych, Zhydachiv, Stryi, Rudky, Mostyska, Peremyshl, Liskiv, Turka, Sambir, and Dobromyl county (povit). The Liskivskiy district included the villages of Dobryanka, Rustykalna, Dobroshlyakhetska, Volia-Kretsovska, Tyryava Voloska, Semushova, Tyryava Solna, Holuchkiv, Rakova, Lyshnya, Mezhybrod, Vilkhivtsi, Vuiske, Bykivtsi and Zaluzh of the former Sianotskiy county (povit). The villages of Bartkivka, Pavlokoma, Dibrovka-Stara, Dyltsoav, Siedlyska, Volodz, Poremby, Hrushuvka, Yablonytsa-Ruska and Ulluch of the former Bzozovskiy county joined Dobromylskiy county (Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of December 4, 1939 «On the formation of Volyn, Drohobych, Lviv, Rivne, Stanislav and Tarnopol regions within the Ukrainian SSR»).

Drohobychyna becomes a border zone. To the new state border between the USSR and Germany, which was defined by the treaty of friendship and the border between these states, signed in Moscow on September 28, 1939, adjoined Liskiv and Dobromil districts of Drohobych region (Serhiichuk, 2001, p. 147). Although the treaty stated that «after the collapse of the former Polish state, the Government of the USSR and the German Government have the task of restoring peace and order in this territory and providing the peoples living there with a peaceful existence that is in accordance with their national peculiarities» (German-Soviet treaty on friendship and the border between the USSR and Germany). This was not true; only the geopolitical interests of these states were taken into account, not the hopes and aspirations of the population.

At the beginning of January, the next stage of unification of the administrative territorial division of the newly created territories took place. On January 17, 1940, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the resolution on the abolition of counties and the division into districts. There were 30 districts in Drohobych region: Birchanskyy, Boryslavskyy, it existed until August 15, 1940, Vysotskiy, since 1940 it was named Borynskyy, Dobromylskyy, Drohobychskyy, Dublianskiy, Zhydachivskyy, Zhuravenskyy, Komarnivskyy, Krukenytskiy, Lavochnyanskiy, since 1940 its name is Slavskyy, Liskivskyy, Medenytskiy, Medykivskyy, Mykolaivskyy, Mostyskiy, Novo-Strilchanskyy, Peremyshlskyy,

Pidbuzhskiy, Rudkivskiy, Sambirskiy, Skolivskiy, Staro-Sambirskiy, Stryiskiy, Strilkivskiy, Sudovo-Vyshnianskiy, Turkivskiy, Ustryk-Dolnyvskiy (Nyzhno-Ustrytskyi), Khyrivskyy, Khodorivskyy. The cities of Boryslav, Drohobych, Lviv, Przemysl, Sambir, Stryi were subordinated directly to Drohobych Regional Executive Committee (This day in recent history...).

Within the new administrative territorial units the party-state, repressive power structures were created. The territorial administrative system and its redevelopment were connected with the needs of management, the implementation of *radnyanskyi* in the region. But any change at that time, which had, first and foremost, to have a significant propaganda effect, to convince of the advantages of the Soviet system. In the newspaper «The Free Ukraine» it was emphasized: «The administrative territorial organization, the region in our country plays a very important role in all socialist construction ... The experience of the existence of the regions in the Soviet Union has shown that they contribute to the cultivation and promotion of thousands of new people, without any help to the great cause of communism» (New regions of the USSR). In fact, the people were directed to the party-state work from the whole territory of the USSR. In the autumn of 1939 597 people were sent to Drohobych for the party-state work (Popp, 2005, p. 177).

The German occupation of Drohobychyna, which lasted from June 1941 till August-September 1944, changed the territorial administrative status of the region.

The reconstruction, the establishment and the refinement of the post-war borders between the USSR and Poland, which resulted from the diplomatic negotiations and the conclusion of the Soviet-Polish treaties, caused the new territorial and administrative transformations in the region. In March 1945 Poland departed: Birchany district with the district center Bircha, Liskivskiy district with the district center Lisko, the western part of Przemysl district with the town of Przemysl. Instead of Przemysl district Nyzhankovychi district was formed. The territorial area of Drohobych region was defined by the administrative centres, the urban and rural settlements. The urban settlements included cities and towns, the rural settlements – the villages, farms and small villages. But this space was filled by people. During all the territorial changes the desire and hopes of the ordinary citizens, and the personal factor were not taken into account. There was a forced resettlement of the population. Most people did not accept the changes, they were indignant and did not want to leave their native lands, to leave their property, earned by hard work. There were even cases of resistance. But the repressive actions of the authorities did not give a chance to the ordinary people. The entire families had to settle in the unknown places, which radically changed their living space. According to Kyslyi's estimates from Liskivskiy district 8681 families (32211 people) were resettled, from Peremyshl'skiy district – 16222 families (64506 people) in 1944 – 1946 (Kyslyi, 2009, p. 382).

At the beginning of October 1945, 27 districts, 672 village councils, 17 cities, 1,100 villages, 7 farm villages were established in the territory of Drohobych region. The work of a large number of small districts and village councils were driven by the Soviet system's struggle against the OUN and the UPA, which was active in this territory. After all, the Soviet punitive and repressive bodies were formed according to the administrative territorial principle; at that time 27 chiefs of the RV NKVS and 27 chiefs of the RV NKDB worked in the region, and in 17 cities there were the corresponding city departments (Il'nytskyi, 2015, p. 25).

By the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR of May 5, 1946, the farm village of Shotustvo of Bitlyanska village council, was renamed into Dibrova;

the village of Botelka Vizhnya was renamed into Verkhnya and Botelko-Vyzhnyanska village council was renamed into of Verkhnyanska, etc. In general, the changes in the names were both fundamental and insignificant. In particular, the village of Anberg became Nahirne, and the village of Baranchytsi became –Baranivtsi (Reiestr naselenykh punktiv Lvivshchyny, 2003, p. 8). Officially, this was done «in order to preserve the historical names and to clarify and streamline the existing names of the village councils and settlements» (Decree of the Presidium of Verkhovna Rada of the UkrSSR on the preservation of historical names and clarification of the existing names of the village councils and settlements in Drohobych region).

On September 1, 1946, Drohobych region had an area of 10.4 thousand square km, there were 4 towns of the regional subordination: Drohobych, Boryslav, Sambir, Stryi; there were 13 cities of the district subordination: Dobromyl, Zhydachiv, Komarne, Mykolaiv, Mostyska, Nyzhni-Ustryky, Rudky, Skole, Staryi Sambir, SudovaVyshnya, Turka, Khyriv, Khodoriv; there were 27 rural districts: Borynskyi, Dobromylskyi, Drohobytskyi, Dublyanskyi, Zhydachivskyi, Zhuravnenskyi, Krukenytskyi, Komarnivskyi, Medykivskyi, Medenytskyi, Mykolayivskyi, Mostyskyi, Nyzhankovytskyi, Novostrilyshchanskyi, Nyzhnyo-Ustritskyi, Pidbuzskyi, Rudkivskyi, Sambirskyi, Starosambirskyi, Skolivskyi, Slavskyi, Stryiskyi, Strilkivskyi, Sudovovyshnyaskyi, Turkivskyi, Khyrivskyi, Khodorivskyi, 7 urban settlements: Medenytsa, Nyzhankovychi, Novi Strilyshcha, Rozdil, StaraSil, Skhidnytsya, Truskavets; 672 village councils functioned. In total, there were 1139 settlements (Ukrainska RSR. Administratyvno-terytorialnyi podil na 1 veresnia 1946 roku, 1947, pp. 133–156). In April 1947, by the Decree of the Presidium of Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, Sokolivskavillage council was eliminated with the inclusion of its territory to Lano-Sokolivska village council, Stryiskyi district (Reiestr naselenykh punktiv Lvivshchyny, 2003, p. 6).

Since the early 50-ies of the XXth century the Soviet government began the consolidation of the collective farms and the resettlement of the farms villages, which led to the disappearance of such farm villages settlements in Drohobych region (up to 50 people lived in the farm villages) and again the traditional settlement structure and the occupation of the rural population of the region were changed, which caused the mode of life problems (Lysak, 2009, p. 85).

After signing the agreement on the demarcation of the state border between the USSR and the Polish Republic in April 1947, the Ukrainian population was forced to move out of Poland again in May 1948. According to Yu. Soroka, 2658 families were evicted at that time from 15 villages of different districts of Drohobych region, in particular: Kvasko, Paporotne and Viisko (Dobromyl district), Medyka, Yasmanychi and Selysko (Medykivskyi district), Staryava and Kovalyky (Nyzhankovychi district), Syrokiztsi Malhovychi and Rozhubovychi (Mostyskyi district), Solyna, Lobizva, Ustianovo and Volia-Matskova (Nyzhnyo-Ustrytskyi district), of which 2298, or 86.4%, were engaged in agriculture (Soroka, 2011, pp. 5–6). According to V. Kysly's estimates, the residents of 17 villages were supposed to be resettled, the villages of Obshary and Liskuvate and 2293 families (8736 people) were resettled (Кислий, 2009: 388). There are some differences in the names of the settlements. We name them according to the settlements register of Lviv region, which was concluded by M. Horbal (Reiestr naselenykh punktiv Lvivshchyny, 2003). In the Soviet documents (written predominantly in Russian) of that time, some distortions are found in Ukrainian names of the administratively territorial units.

The total land area, which began to belong to Poland was 4223 hectares, 2124 hectares of forests. There were: two railway stations – Medyka, and Ustianovo, the sections of the

railway near Nyzhankovychi and Rava-Ruska stations, anelectric power station and two mills, eleven churches, two cathedrals, nine schools, five clubs, and etc. All residents, who lived in Poland, had to be registered. The right to remain had the representatives of a Polish nationality, the mixed families, whose heads were the Poles by nationality. The citizens of a Ukrainian nationality could remain because of an old age, illness, disability, and those who were dependent on the relatives, who lived in Poland or were on a military service in the Polish army (Soroka, 2011, p. 6).

During the period 1944 – 1954, when the administrative system of the USSR was changed, the Soviet special services carefully collected the data on each region, carried out the so-called certification of the Soviet Ukraine. The information collected was kept under the name «completely confidential» and was declassified only in 2009. The information contained in the passport of Drohobych region gives an opportunity to show the administrativeterritorial space of Drohobych region in 1950. On January 1, 1950 there was the area 10153 square km, 26 districts, which included 660 village councils. Most of the population lived in the countryside: 220 600 people, the urban population – 699 158 people (Chekistske dosie okupovanoi Ukrainy, 2014, pp. 730–731).

The next changes in the territorial organization of Drohobych region took place in 1951. Under the terms of the treaty, which was signed in Moscow on February 15, 1951, 480 square km of the territory of Drohobych region were allocated to Poland, namely, the Nyzhnyo-Ustrykivskyi district with Nyzhni Ustryky and 27 village councils, as well as Bystryanska, Lypetska, Mikhnovetska village councils of Strilkivskyi district and Korostenkivska, Liskuvatenska, Nanivska, Stebnytska village councils of Khyriv district. Officially, the Soviet-Polish exchange of the territories was explained by the «economic gravity of these areas to the adjacent regions of the USSR and Poland» (Pron, 2009, p. 265). The economic characteristics of the transferred territory are evaluated differently in Ukrainian and Polish historiography. Poland received the land with functioning enterprises, the set up infrastructure. This time, all the residents had to leave the territory, which started to belong to Poland (Pron, 2009, p. 265).

Due to the administrativeterritorial changes of the first post-war years, the part of the historical territorial space of Drohobych region was outside of its official borders, without its inhabitants it changed its face. From these lands virtually disappeared the characteristic features of any border – multiculturalism, multi-ethnicity, multilingualism, the presence of several denominations.

The administrativeterritorial division of Drohobych region at the end of 1957 is illustrated by the table data.

As we can see in comparison with 1946 its territory decreased by 0.7 thousand km, decreased by three districts and by 281 village councils (Narodne gospodarstvo Drohobyt'skoi oblasti, 1956, p. 7).

The administrativeterritorial structure in the Soviet period was based on the production priorities, facilitating the system of leadership and management of the regions. Their natural climatic, geographical, demographic and socio-cultural features were not taken into account sufficiently. The new transformations were driven by another attempt of M. Khrushchov's reforms. Their goal was the attempt to decentralize the industry management, which required the change in the system of the territorial organization and planning – instead of the old system of a sectoral, vertical management should be a horizontal system of radnarhospiv (Vermenych & Androshchuk, 2014, pp. 99–100).

	The territory of thousand square meters. kilometers	Towns	Workers' Towns	Villages Councils
The total amount in the region	9,7	17	14	391
Boryslav	0,04	1	1	–
Drohobych	0,03	1	–	–
Sambir	0,01	1	–	–
Stryi	0,01	1	–	–
Truskavets	0,01	1	–	–
Ditriacts:				
Borynskyi	0,6	–	23	–
Dobromylskyi	0,4	2	–	20
Drohobyttskyi	0,5	–	1	17
Dublaynskyi	0,3	–	1	17
Zhydachivskyi	0,3	1	1	14
Zhuravninskyi	0,3	–	1	12
Komarnivskyi	0,3	1	–	12
Krukenytskyi	0,2	–	–	15
Medenytskyi	0,4	–	1	15
Mykolayivkyi	0,3	1	1	13
Mostyskyi	0,3	1	–	15
Nyzhankovytskyi	0,2	–	1	10
N. Strilishchanskyi'	0,2	–	1	20
Pidbuzkyi	0,5	–	1	13
Rudkivskyi	0,4	1	–	13
Sambirskyi	0,4	–	–	17
Skolivskyi	0,8	1	1	14
Slavskyi.	0,7	–	–	20
Starosambirskyi	0,3	1	1	15
Strilkivskyi	0,4	–	–	15
Stryiskyi	0,6	–	2	20
S. Vyshnyanskyi	0,3	1	–	20
Turkivskyi	0,7	1	–	22
Khodorivskyi	0,2	1	–	15

In order to consolidate the individual administrative units, the Decree of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the UkrSSR of January 21, 1959 eliminated five districts of Drohobych region: Dublyanskyi, its territory was transferred to Drohobych, Medenytskyi and Sambirskyi districts; Zhuravnivskyi – its territories joined Zhydachiv district; Krukenytskyi district – its territories were included into Mostyskyi, Nyzhankovychi and Sudovo-Vishnyanskyi districts; Novostrilishchanskyi district – its territory was included into Khodorivskyi district; Strilkivskyi district with the transfer of the territories to Staryi Sambir district (Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR No. 55/20 of May 21, 1959 «On the liquidation of Drohobych region»).

On June 21, 1959, Drohobych region, which at that time included 20 districts and four towns of aregional subordination, became the southern part of Lviv region. The industrial enterprises of Drohobych region proceeded from the subordination of the state farm of

Stanislav economic administrative district to the subordination of the state farm of Lviv economic administrative district and the affairs of Drohobych region (Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR No. 55/20 of May 21, 1959 «On the liquidation of Drohobych region»). Nowadays, it is difficult to say how expedient was the elimination of Drohobych region. After all, Drohobych region was a self-sufficient region with a developed industry and administrative structure, it was not justified on the economic calculations of the need. Drohobych region disappeared from the map most likely because of the inconsistent approach of the Soviet leadership to the problems of a regional development. On the other hand, this led to a significant reduction of the administrative and bureaucratic apparatus. 3700 workers of the regional organizations were fired (Narysy z istorii Drohobycha, 2009, p. 219). The premises of the closed regional institutions were transferred to schools, hospitals, kindergartens. The former «obkom» premises started to belong to schools and hospitals. Those premises needed to be repaired (SALR, f. 5001, d. 40, c. 40. p. 8). With the change of the administrative status, Drohobych became a city of a regional subordination and a district center; it retained some of the attributes of the regional center of the Soviet model, here functioned the higher and secondary schools, a philharmonic society, a drama theater.

Conclusions. The administrative-territorial space of Drohobych region was the manifestation of the socio-political systems that were established in the region. The defining status of the Ukrainian lands was decisive. The entry of Drohobych region into the UkrSSR and the USSR led to the change in the administrativeterritorial structure of the region, which was during the Second Commonwealth and the establishment of the Soviet model. The administrativeterritorial transformations began in 1939–1941, when the first Sovietization of the region took place, and continued during the postwar years. The region lost some of its historic territory, and the local population was subject to a forced resettlement. The local traditions, aspirations and hopes of the people were not taken into account, which not only changed the face of the border area but also caused the numerous human tragedies. The next transformations coincide with the era of M. Khrushchov's reforms. The consolidation of the individual administrative units, which lacked the sufficient scientific justification, led to the elimination of some districts initially and later of Drohobych region itself. Soviet Drohobych region became the part of Lviv region.

A perspective direction of the research is the need to illustrate the influence of Drohobych region liquidation on the further development of the region.

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**OIL WAR IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION IN 50-ies – 60-ies
OF THE XXth CENTURY**

Summary. *The purpose of the research* is to study the policies of Great Britain, the United States and the USSR in the Persian Gulf region in the 1950-ies and 1960-ies in the context of the struggle for oil power. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of systemicity, authenticity, historicism, logics. General scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-typological, historical-system) methods have been used. The events are considered according to their interrelation and in the totality of the revealed historical facts. **The scientific novelty** of the research is based on the fact that for the first time in the modern national historiography, based on the specific actual material, the policy features of the great countries in the Persian Gulf in the 50-ies and 60-ies of the XXth century have been analyzed. It has been proved that the present time oil industry had been establishing during 1950-ies and 1960-ies of the XXth century. **Conclusions.** In the 50-ies and 60-ies of the XXth century the oil industry underwent the profound changes: the energy ambitions growth of the major Western oil companies, such as Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Standard

Oil of California, Texas Oil Company, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil, British Petroleum, the Royal Dutch-Shell Group, and the political and economic independence movement expanding in the oil-exporting countries (Iran, the Persian Gulf countries) led to a deepening of the crisis between the two sides. At the same time, the political struggle between the superpowers, which broke out with renewed vigor after the end of the Second World War, was used, including the energy control levers by means of a direct or indirect pressure on the oil-producing countries. During this period, the old oil production system and the oil exports, laid in the colonial era, collapsed, the agreements between the exporting countries and the extractive oil companies become more transparent, the pricing is carried out under conditions of the equal competitive relations within the framework of a market economy.

Key words: oil industry, world politics, Persian Gulf, oil mining companies, oil policy.

БОРОТЬБА ЗА НАФТУ В РАЙОНІ ПЕРСЬКОЇ ЗАТОКИ У 50 – 60-х рр. XX ст.

Анотація. Мета статті – дослідити політику Великобританії, США та СРСР у районі Перської затоки в 50 – 60-х рр. XX ст. у контексті боротьби за нафтову могутність. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах системності, достовірності, історизму, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. Події розглядаються в їх взаємозв'язку та в сукупності виявлених історичних фактів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше у сучасній вітчизняній історіографії на конкретному фактичному матеріалі проаналізовано особливості політики великих держав у районі Перської затоки в 50 – 60-х рр. XX ст. у контексті боротьби за нафтову могутність. Доведено, що саме в цей час закладається нафтова індустрія у тому вигляді, в якому маємо її зараз. **Висновки.** У 50 – 60-ті рр. XX ст. в нафтовій індустрії відбуваються глибокі зміни: зростання енергетичних амбіцій найбільших західних нафтових компаній таких як Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Standard Oil of California, Texas Oil Company, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil, British Petroleum, Royal Dutch-Shell Group і розширення руху за політичну і економічну незалежність в країнах – експортерах нафти (Іран, країни Перської затоки) призводять до поглиблення кризи між цими двома сторонами. Водночас політична боротьба між супердержавами, що з новою силою спалахнула після закінчення Другої світової війни, ведеться з використанням, з-поміж іншого, важелів енергетичного контролю засобами прямого або непрямого тиску на країни – виробники нафти. У цей період остаточно руйнується стара, закладена ще в колоніальну епоху, система нафтовидобутку і нафтового експорту, угоди між країнами-експортерами та видобувними нафтовими компаніями стають більш прозорими, ціноутворення проводиться в умовах рівних конкурентних відносин у рамках ринкової економіки.

Ключові слова: нафтова індустрія, світова політика, Перська затока, нафтовидобувні компанії, нафтова політика.

The problem statement. The history of the world oil industry is about 150 years old. Over the years, the oil factor has become the most influential factor in a human society development and its role will be only further strengthened.

The American renowned researcher Daniel Yergin in his work «The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power» argues that oil as a commodity is directly related to the national strategy and the world politics and power. The consequences of the First World War confirmed the importance of oil as an element of the national power during the internal combustion engines era and oil became the basis for the development of the events and consequences of the Second World War (Yergin, 1991, p. 35). Therefore, as the researchers put an emphasis, the struggle of the great powers for energy, including oil, has become a distinctive feature of the history of the XXth century and will be fateful for many countries in the first half of the XXIst century. At the same time, the struggle for oil and gas reserves in the Gulf region, with the active participants among which are the United States, Great Britain and Russia, has not

yet ended. Consequently, the problems of the international relations related to the struggle for energy sources are becoming bigger and their sources are almost not studied (Laskavyi, 2007, p. 1). That is why the study of the abovementioned topic is relevant.

The analysis of recent researches. The history impartially and objectively testifies to the fact that over the past century and a half the importance of oil, its influence on everyone has steadily increased and continues to grow a year after a year, as well as the number of publications about the international struggle for this strategic raw material. Among the national authors dealing with oil and gas international relations, we should mention O. Volovych (Volovych, 2016), O. Koppel (Koppel, 1998), V. Shved (Shved, 2006) and one of the co-authors of this publication (Svyaschenko, 2017; Svyashchenko, 2018). As for the works of the Russian scholars, some of them deserve attention, in particular, A. Bereznoy (Bereznoy, 1985), L. Martynova (Martynova, 2010), L. Medvedko (Medvedko, 1980), E. Primakov (Primakov, 1983), and the others. It is worth mentioning the foreign researchers works such as L. Elwell-Sutton (Elwell-Sutton, 1958), S. Richman (Richman, 1985), D. Yergin (Yergin, 1991), S. Telhami (Telhami, 2002), E. Laurent (Laurent, 2007), R. Owen (Owen, 2008), and the others.

The purpose of the article. The authors aim at investigating the policies of Great Britain, the United States and the USSR in the Persian Gulf region in the 50-ies and the 60-ies of the XXth century in the context of the struggle for oil power.

Statement of the basic material. Until 1950, the United States remained the only country in the world where the oil industry was well developed. At the same time, the demand for oil increased each year, and by 1970 it was already 57 million barrels a day compared to 11 million in 1950 (Martynova, 2010, p. 232). The world economy was developing by leaps and bounds, the European countries gradually emerged from the ensuing economic and political crisis, and the seventh largest western oil companies (the so-called seven sisters) continued to rule in the oil industry, acting as the only cartel, concessionaire and consortium. These included: Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Standard Oil of California, Texas Oil Company, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil – American corporations; British Petroleum – British Concern and Royal Dutch-Shell Group – British-Dutch Enterprise (Turchyn, 2016, p. 56).

Until the middle of the XXth century Britain had about 1/3 of all oil production in the Persian Gulf, it extracted about 60% of the crude oil volume it needed, of course, that the country thus protected its economy from the excessive outflow of foreign currency abroad (Primakov, 1983, p. 38).

Nevertheless, the political and economic situation in the region began to worsen, the paramount reason for this was that the profits from oil extraction were distributed mainly in favour of the above-mentioned Western companies, as a result, the political elite representatives of the oil-producing countries were dissatisfied with the situation

Iran became the pioneer considering the entire package of the economic agreements. In 1951, the Iranian oil crisis broke out, which led to the oil reserves nationalization and the nationalization of the entire oil industry of the country by the Prime Minister Mohammed Mossaddic. He transferred the oil resources management to the specially created for this duties Iranian oil company, as well as sacked all the British officials who worked in Iran. London accused Iran of exporting the «stolen» oil, refused to buy it and threatened to sue those companies that continued to cooperate with the Iranian government. Unsatisfied with these measures, the British navy detained tankers with nationalized oil, and the cruiser «Mauritius» entered the Persian Gulf and became anchored in the territorial waters of Iran opposite to Abadan (Medvedko, 1980, p. 45).

In the long run, in 1953, a coup d'état took place in Tehran, during which the M. Mosaddik's government was overthrown. Nevertheless, the M. Mosaddik's revolutionary activity for the oil industry in the Middle East and subsequent events have led to significant changes in the British regional policy.

By setting the new rules for its policies in the Middle East, the British companies owners realized that the failure connected with the Iranian oil nationalization in 1951 was embedded in the context of the regional competition, since by increasing the oil production in other Arab countries, the Western superpowers were able to avoid the oil famine and related to this energy crisis (Elvell-Satton, 1958, p. 124).

The development of the Arab-Israeli War in 1967 could be the another example of the artificial competition effectiveness. During the war, the Arab countries boycotted the West using the oil levers. The British troops could not prevent the above-mentioned situation. However, the energy resources shortage was eliminated by increasing Iran's oil supplies. At the same time, the British decided to focus on the theoretical development and came into the so-called «embedded» conflicts – the policy principle of «the tension balance and the contradictory requirements» (Loran, 2007, p. 106).

Iran emerged from the crisis in the complete socio-economic disorientation state. The failure of the attempts to reorganize the oil industry, initiated by M. Mosaddikh, is explained by the researchers as follows. The oil production, produced in the Persian Gulf, is known to be almost 100% controlled by foreign companies. The property itself was an important factor in oil resources control. The decisive factor determining the effectiveness of achieving surplus volume was, above all, the property organization way. Finally, the oil industry in the Persian Gulf was in common ownership and had different geography. Each oil tycoon individual was to some extent in partnership with the other oil tycoons, each of them having at least two sources of supply in not less than two countries in the Gulf region (Martynova, 2010, p. 234). The Western companies, in order to avoid the dependence on a limited number of the supply sources, were guided not only by the economic interests but also by the security considerations. This was due to the geographical supply sources variety. Different geography, along with the surplus achieved with the increasing oil production, gave companies the opportunity, regardless of the producer countries wishes to decide where and in what amount to extract the oil volumes they need. As a result, it was possible, on condition of dissatisfaction with one producer country, to increase the oil volume supplies at the expense of any other of its neighbors and thereby force the rejection of an over-zealous ruler from their demands immediately.

As far as we are concerned, the oil fields development and exploitation in Iran was actually under the full control of the seven major oil companies. Iran has made the considerable efforts to create a favourable basis for the entry into the oil industry of the independent companies. But, despite this, the oil production here by 90% was carried out by the consortium's efforts.

In 1970, the oil extraction volume conducted by the Consortium was 3.5 million b / d against the average volume of 3.8 million b / d of the final production in the same year. Accordingly, the government revenues consisted of the payments made by the Consortium, which accounted for most of the foreign currency received by Iran. In 1968, the Consortium paid £ 338 million, while the total payments of all independent companies for the same year were only £ 17 million (Bereznoy, 1985, p. 53).

The similar situation was observed in Iraq. All oil operations in the country were virtually and completely controlled by the Iraq Petroleum Company concern and its subsidiaries – Basra Petroleum Company and Mosul Petroleum Company (Gerasimov, 1969, p. 144). The

oil extraction volume in 1970 was estimated at 75 million tons. The government's net income during 1969 – 1970 was £ 408 million, the half of the sum, £ 200 million, consisted of the axes paid by the oil companies (Martynova, 2010, p. 235).

The Kuwait's oil development and extraction reserves was entirely carried out by Kuwait Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corporation and British Petroleum. The concern Kuwait Petroleum Company has produced 87% of its oil, which in 1969 reached a total of 139 million barrels. In 1970 the government's revenues was £ 335 million, among of which £ 326.9 million, or 93%, were their revenues from the oil industry (Medvedko, 1980, p. 96).

In Saudi Arabia the American Corporation Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) was controlled by four leading oil companies. In 1967 among the 1,024 million barrels of produced oil, Aramco accounted for 948 million barrels, or 93% of all oil extracted in Saudi Arabia. Similarly, in 1969, Aramco Corporation paid the Saudi Arabia government \$ 895 million compared to \$ 52 million received by the government in the form of taxes on the development and the oil extraction from the other oil companies in aggregate. According to the researcher Vasylyev, the country's revenues from oil operations in the 1970/71 budget year reached 87% at the same time (Vasilev, 1999, p. 196). A number of other Gulf countries – the oil producers, in fact, had no other source of income, and therefore they were completely under control of the «seven sisters» (Bereznoy, 1985, p. 83).

Iran's hopes related to the oil industry nationalization have fully justified themselves. At the same time, the Western oil companies did not receive the crude oil at 650,000 b / d, which was offset by the increased oil production in Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. During the years 1950 – 1953, the oil production in Iraq increased from 136,200 b / d to 576,000; in Kuwait – from 345,000 b / d to 861,700; and Saudi Arabia – from 546,700 b / d to 844,000 (Martynova, 2010, p. 235).

The oil boycott effects of the Arab countries on some Western powers, caused by the results of the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, when Iran has increased the volume of production and export of its oil unexpectedly, has been mitigated. Due to this, the Western Consortium has neutralized the oil famine caused by the introduction of the Arab oil embargo. In 1967, the Iranian oil production and export increased dramatically at 20%. In 1966 the Iranian oil extraction by the Consortium increased from 98.8 million tons to 120.9 million tons in 1967 (Martynova, 2010, p. 235).

Due to an unprecedented increase in the Iranian oil extraction, the boycott of Arab countries did not have virtually any effect. By the way, owing to the rise in the oil prices in the 1970's, Iran's oil exports gave three-fourths of government revenue to 1975 – 1977 (Owen, 2008, p. 8).

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned events which took place under the conditions of the Cold War, one should pay attention to the policy of the two superpowers in the Persian Gulf region – the USSR and the United States.

In 1948 the White House leadership was concerned that the Soviet Union could establish its control over the oil supply from the Middle East. It was not accidental, given the Soviet presence in Iran after the end of the Second World War. G. Truman's, the United States President Administration repeatedly expressed concern about the possible Soviet troops' oil fields seizure. According to S. Telehami, it was strange that G. Truman's administration built their strategy not so much on the oil fields protection in the conditions of possible Soviet Union invasion, but they were more focused on the USSR oil fields prevention use (Telhami, 2002).

The Administration developed a detailed plan quite quickly, signed by President Truman in 1949 as NSC 26/2 and later on were supplemented by a number of additional NSC directives. The plan, developed in agreement with the British and the American governments along with the British oil companies, without the knowledge of the governments of the region, has called for the explosives transfer to the Middle East, where they will be stored for further use. In case of the Soviet invasion, and in the extreme case, the oil installations and refineries were supposed to be undermined, and the oil deposits were blocked in order to avoid using the USSR's oil resources (Telhami, 2002). The plan was implemented and the explosives were moved to the region. Although the State Department has obviously expressed reservations that the plan may eventually signal that the United States is not ready to defend the local authorities, but the state of being under the Soviet control outweighed such fears. In 1957, the anxieties intensified further, which led D. Eisenhower's administration to intensify the plan, as fears of regional instability increased after the Suez crisis. The evidence suggests that this plan was maintained at least until the early 1960ies (Telhami, 2002). But the above-mentioned plan was not put into effect, as at that time the USSR changed the format of relations with the countries of the region.

While the US interests in the Gulf region were outlined during the Second World War, the immediate impact on the affairs of this region began to be started only in 1971 (Bradley, 1982, p. 11). By the way, the researchers note that in 1977 the United States received an average of 28% of its oil imports from the Gulf (Richman, 1985). By this time, responsibility for the security in the region lay in the UK, whose military contingent was present here since the end of the XIXth century. However, on January 18, 1968, British Prime Minister G. Wilson announced in the House of Commons the troops provision from the Persian Gulf until the end of 1971 (Pavliuk, 2016, p. 64).

Taking into consideration the extent of the US economic participation in the region, the Indian Ocean's trade flows vivacity, the origin and the importance of the goods transported from the region, and its direct impact on the payments balance, the Western countries prosperity and security, many politicians were taken aback unpleasantly with the made decision to withdraw the Western troops from the Persian Gulf region and the Indian Ocean as a whole. As a result, a vacuum of forces was formed in the region along with the troops withdrawal, the Soviet Union was ready to take advantage of this situation.

According to the versatile estimates, the Indian Ocean was patrolled by 15 – 30 Soviet military ships, including the rocket carriers, the aircraft carriers and the submarines. The USSR made an agreement with Mauritius concerning the right to build on its island the military air base and the port for mooring trawlers beforehand. The similar attempts were made to obtain Ceylon's written consent for the construction of the port in Trincomale and at the same time some negotiations were held with the Indian government on mutual support in the event of hostilities (Nezhinskiy, 1995, p. 221). Despite the Soviet's Union tangible successes in the Western countries great economic interests region, and especially the United States. The USA did not take any measures to increase their military presence in the Middle East. The issue of spheres influence distribution was in the limelight: at what level should the economic and the political activities of the rivals be differentiated, since, despite the established balance of power, the country tends to expand this sphere, as a rule, in order to ensure its security. Thus, in just 15 years, the Soviet Union was able to exert its influence on the Middle East region, which traditionally was part of the West. By the mid-1960-ies, the Soviet influence was firmly established in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and South

Yemen. The USSR provided the economic assistance to Iran, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, directly or indirectly reducing the dependence of the oil industry of these countries on Western companies (Martynova, 2010, p. 236).

Three different directions could be distinguished during this period in the field of the USSR's oil policy. First of all, the USSR took over the oil producing countries control or, alternatively, the opened up the new opportunities for the Arab countries by helping them to eliminate the Western control by the «sabotage» policy implementation. Second of all, the USSR was in struggle with the American and the British companies in order to predominate in the Western Europe's energy market, thus the USSR was ensuring the foreign exchange incomes, hence, weakening the American influence in Europe. Third of all, the USSR strengthened the influence in the Eastern Europe through the energy supplies control in their territory. Finally, the Soviet expansion policy strengthening and the ability to have an influence on the political situation in the region were also key factors.

The Soviet Union put more effort into achieving the long-term cooperation with the oil-producing countries in the Persian Gulf. The USSR began an active construction of the oil and gas pipelines, the oil fields development and the crude oil transportation and its products to the eastern and western energy markets. Eventually, the reached success, first of all in the economic sphere, gave the Soviet government the expected management levers of the political situation in the Middle East.

In January 1966, Iran and the Soviet Union made an agreement, according to which, Iran granted the USSR the right to extract natural gas from its territory for 15 years from 1970, based on the permissible annual norm of 10 billion cubic meters. The terms of the deal also included the construction of a 750-mile long pipeline in order to pump gas from the Persian Gulf to the city of Astara, located on the Caspian-Soviet-Iranian border. The formation of the Soviet-Iranian gas company Iranian Gas Trunkline (IGAT) was finished by 1970 and the massive natural gas production began. The second agreement was signed by the USSR and Iran governments in October 1970 for 15 years. The agreement was intended to help increase the gas production on the territory of Iran, provided for the second gas pipeline construction and the steel mill expansion in Isfahan. It was also announced that the USSR provides Iran with a \$ 44 million loan in order to encourage the Soviet means of production import (Gorbatov & Cherkasskiy, 1973, p. 287; Martynova, 2010, p. 237).

The Soviet expansion in the Persian Gulf was limited exclusively to Iran. At the same time, the USSR made an agreement with Iraq, which conditions were described by the Soviet political observers as extremely beneficial, which allowed the Arab producing countries to «develop their oil policy in accordance with their national interests» (Gerasimov, 1969, p. 123). The agreement signed in December 1967, which included £ 28 million payments, contributed to the development of the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC) oil field in northern Rumayl, further explored by the Iraq Petroleum Groups (Gerasimov, 1969, p. 123).

In October 1970, a similar treaty was signed between the USSR and Kuwait. According to the agreement, Kuwait was obliged to provide the Soviet customers with the high-quality refined petroleum in the Asian market in exchange for providing the Soviet Union with supplies of the same quality raw materials to customers from Kuwait in Europe. The treaty was regarded by the Kuwaiti authorities as «the first step towards expanding oil cooperation» (Gorbatov & Cherkasskiy, 1973, p. 326). It is clear that the signing of the above-mentioned treaties was the part of the Soviet expansion policy in the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet Union presence in the Suez Canal region was another subject of fears to the Western countries. Many western researchers and politicians of that time considered the USSR presence in the Suez Canal as a direct reflection of its oil interests (Loran, 2007, p. 249).

As far as we are concerned, the USSR was making increasing efforts in trying to win the European markets using Siberia oil at that time. But the Siberian deposits development was associated with major economic and technical difficulties.

It has become increasingly difficult for the Soviet Union to meet not only the oil ever-increasing demand in Western and Eastern Europe, but also the internal energy needs. Therefore, increasingly, the USSR encouraged the conclusion of barter agreements between the Soviet bloc states in Eastern Europe and the countries exporting oil in the Persian Gulf. In early 1968, the governments of Hungary and Czechoslovakia were taking measures to conclude barter deals with Iran in exchange for its oil. However, after the crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet Union completely changed its position on this issue in order to establish more rigorous control.

Conclusions. Consequently, In the 50-ies and 60-ies of the XXth century the oil industry underwent the profound changes: the energy ambitions growth of the major Western oil companies, such as Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Standard Oil of California, Texas Oil Company, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil, British Petroleum, the Royal Dutch-Shell Group, and the political and economic independence movement expanding in the oil-exporting countries (Iran, the Persian Gulf countries) led to a deepening of the crisis between the two sides. At the same time, the political struggle between the superpowers, which broke out with renewed vigor after the end of World War II, was used, including the energy control levers by means of a direct or indirect pressure on the oil-producing countries.

During this period, the old oil production system and the oil exports, laid in the colonial era, collapsed, the agreements between the exporting countries and the extractive oil companies become more transparent, the pricing is carried out under conditions of the equal competitive relations within the framework of a market economy.

Taking into consideration that the Ukraine's foreign policy has the Middle East direction and is extremely promising both in political and economic terms, the proposed issue in this article needs to be further developed through the new documentary sources involvement and expanding the geography of the research.

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**THE UKRAINIAN MEMORY COMMUNITY IN POLAND
(the second half of the XX – beginning of the XXI centuries)**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the conflicting potential of the historical policy of the Polish People's Republic concerning the Ukrainian national minority; to reveal the features of social and cultural life of Ukrainians after the deportations of 1944 – 1947; to show the impact of traumatic experience and intergenerational retelling on the activities of the Ukrainian memory community in democratic Poland. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, an authoritative objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, an anthropological approach, as well as special historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. The scientific novelty. The article describes the features of Ukrainian-Polish inter-ethnic relations after World War II, in particular, by the Ukrainian national minority activity in Poland. Conclusions. The interdependence of history and politics has been proved, especially in*

the era of the Polish People's Republic, where Ukrainians have gone from object to subject of social and political life. Several formation periods of the Ukrainian minority as a memory community were highlighted through cultural, educational, religious, and ethno-political activity. In 1944 – 1956, Ukrainians were assimilated through mass deportations and the prohibition of national church life; in 1956 – 1989 they were in the conditions of institutional revival of socio-cultural and church-religious life; since 1989, under the systematic state-political transformation conditions, the Ukrainian national minority was given the opportunity to participate in democratic transformations through the activities of representative authorities.

Key words: Ukrainian national minority, Polish People's Republic, assimilation, historical memory, memory policy.

УКРАЇНСЬКА СПІЛЬНОТА ПАМ'ЯТІ В ПОЛЬЩІ (друга половина XX – початок XXI ст.)

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати конфліктогенний потенціал історичної політики влади ПНР щодо української національної меншини; розкрити особливості суспільно-культурного життя українців після депортації 1944–1947 рр.; показати вплив травматичного досвіду і міжпоколінневого переказу на діяльність української спільноти пам'яті в демократичній Польщі. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, антропологічний підхід, а також спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна:** уперше показано особливості українсько-польських міжнаціональних відносин після Другої світової війни, зокрема на прикладі діяльності української національної меншини в Польщі. **Висновки.** Доведено взаємозалежність історії та політики, особливо в добу Польської народної республіки, де українці пройшли шлях від об'єкта до суб'єкта суспільно-політичного життя. Виокремлено декілька періодів становлення української меншини як спільноти пам'яті через культурно-освітню, релігійну, етнополітичну активність. У 1944 – 1956 рр. українці були піддані асиміляції через масові депортації та заборону національно-церковного життя; у 1956 – 1989 рр. перебували в умовах інституційного відродження суспільно-культурного та церковно-релігійного життя; після 1989 р., в умовах системної державно-політичної трансформації, українська національна меншина отримала можливості для участі у демократичних перетвореннях через діяльність представницьких органів влади.

Ключові слова: українська національна меншина, Польська народна республіка, асиміляція, історична пам'ять, політика пам'яті.

The problem statement. The interdependence of history and politics is an obvious fact today. The thoughtful activity of state bodies and institutes in the commemorative sphere makes possible to understand the contradictions of the state-political process better and to try to reconcile mutually exclusive national-historical narratives. The activities of such a category of memory communities as national minorities are often a marker of the vulnerability of ethnic and inter-state relations, especially the newest Ukrainian-Polish ones. Given the aggravation of Ukrainian-Polish relations in recent years, especially in the symbolic sphere, with the intensification of migration processes, there is a need to study the experience of the Ukrainian national communities in preserving their identity and cherishing historical memory.

Analysis of the research. The theoretical basis of the article was the works of Polish researchers L. Niakowski, T. Stryjek, R. Traba and Ukrainian H. Kasianov, A. Kyrydon, O. Hrytsenko on the nature of historical memory, features and dangers of instrumentalisation of history for the sake of political aims. This problem was also actualized by Polish and Ukrainian scientists. In particular, the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study of historical memory and culture were updated (L. Zashkilniak), ethno-cultural (R. Chmelyk)

and church-religious relations at the border (V. Mokryi, S. Stempen, H. Kupriianovych, Yu. Havryliuk), military-political confrontation during the Second World War and post-war years (A. Bolianovskyi, I. Halahida, V. Hulai, V. Ilnytskyi, I. Patryliak, V. Serhiichuk, I. Tsependa), scientific and public discourses on the Volyn tragedy of 1943 (B. Hud, O. Kalishchuk), the course and consequences of deportations in 1944 – 1951 (R. Drozd, Ye. Misylo, Ya. Pisulinskyi), commemorative practices on honoring Ukrainian military-political emigration (O. Kolianchuk, M. Chekh).

The purpose of the article is to analyze the conflicting potential of the historical policy of the Polish People's Republic concerning the Ukrainian national minority; to reveal the features of social and cultural life of Ukrainians after the deportations of 1944 – 1947; to show the impact of traumatic experience and intergenerational retelling on the activities of the Ukrainian memory community in democratic Poland.

Statement of the basic material.

Institutionalization of post-war Ukrainian public life

The participants in the Yalta Conference of 1945 not only discussed the principles of the German capitulation, but also defined the new borders of Poland. J. Stalin's plans to clear its eastern borders (Nadsanie, Lemkivshchyna, Chełm Land and Podlasie) from the Ukrainians, the western border from the Germans, and the western regions of the UkrSSR from the Poles, were not met with rigid objections by the Allies (Churchill, 2108, pp. 456–466). As a result of border changes, the Ukrainians and the Poles found themselves in two Kremlin-controlled states. After the deportation of the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Germans in 1944 – 1951, Poland became a mono-national state, where national minorities accounted for 2% (Zashkilniak, Krykun, 2002, p. 549; Bonusiak, 2007, p. 103). National identity markers such as Greek Catholic (over 600) and Protestant shrines were either closed or transferred to Roman Catholic temples and outbuildings (Grunberg, Sprengel, 2005, p. 679). 176 priests were deported to the UkrSSR as «active participants in the anti-Soviet Vatican policy» and «accomplices in favour of the German occupiers» (Prakh, 2014, pp. LI – LII; Misylo, 1989, pp. 214–217), leaving only 87 ones in Poland. In the following years, another 69 Greek Catholic priests were arrested, 11 of them were imprisoned. The unmarried ones, or those who renounced the family, were encouraged to move to the Roman Catholic Church.

In spite of the harsh measures taken by the authorities, deported Ukrainians tried to restore spiritual and cultural life through shared song nights, following the holidays according to the Julian calendar (Kmita, 1997, p. 62; Hałagida, 1998, p. 64, 67, 59–76; Drozd, 2011, pp. 175–192).

After J. Stalin's death and the course of «liberalization» in the USSR, in April 1957, Greek Catholics were given unofficial permission by the Polish People's Republic, but only in the western and northern parts of the country, with a firm ban on pastoral counseling in ethnic Ukrainian lands (Hałagida, 2013, pp. 302–318). Mentioned partial legalization became possible by the self-sacrifice of several Greek Catholic priests: V. Hrynyk, M. Denko, P. Pushkarskyi, M. Ripetskyi, V. Borivets (Kozak, 2007, pp. 32–46). Przemyśl Greek Catholic Cathedral Chapter re-established its activity only in 1967, and the Primate of Poland Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński appointed priest V. Hrynyk as Vicar General (Deputy Roman Catholic Bishop) for the religious people of Greek Catholic rite (Hałagida, 2008, p. 217).

Trying to transform the deportees into a loyal community, the School Affairs Department with non-Polish language studying of the Polish Ministry of Education formally increased

the number of Ukrainian language studying centers: 1952 – 24 centers, 487 students; 1955 – 82 centers, 1625 students; 1958 – 146 centers, 2429 students, but the existing network did not cover all places of compact residence of the Ukrainians. After all, many parents, with the fear of national persecution, did not allow their children to study in these centers (Perłowska, 2000, pp. 211–219). Conscious concealment of Ukrainian nationality was often dictated by career prospects.

Institutionalization of Ukrainian life has become possible since V. Homulka came to power in 1956 and at the beginning of so-called «small stabilization» in the economy and public sphere. Under the control of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society (USCT; since 1990 the Association of the Ukrainians in Poland) was established, headed by the former leader of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine S. Makukh (Drozd, 2011, pp. 184–185). The first events organized by the USCT were school lectures, speeches and nights dedicated to the 100th birth anniversary of the «revolutionary-democrat» I. Franko (Grunberg, Sprengel, 2005, p. 691). In general, since 1956, the Ukrainian community has received its organization, radio, and a network of schools. The Faculty of Ukrainian Philology was opened at the University of Warsaw. Since 1967, the Festival of Ukrainian Culture in Poland has taken place, the first venue of which was the town of Sanok, later – Kętrzyn, Koszalin, Warsaw. Since 1983, the Ukrainian language has been heard from the stage of the Forest Opera in Sopot (Kravchuk). However, communication with overseas Ukrainian people was carried out not by USCT, but by the Society of Soviet-Polish Friendship (Years of Brotherly Friendship, 1974, p. 141).

In 1980, against the backdrop of the new economic crisis, workers' strikes, an opposition platform rallying around the independent, self-governing trade union the Solidarity (Ukrainians were among its creators) declared commitment to the Ukrainians, the Belorussians, the Lithuanians, and other national minorities, and initiated an informal dialogue with Ukrainian political opposition (Horyn, 2010, p. 406).

Thus, the institutionalization of the Ukrainian national minority in the Polish People's Republic was facilitated by more liberal (compared to the USSR) political situation, within which the legalization of Greek Catholic Church and the activities of social and cultural societies became possible. The active participation of the Ukrainians in the trade union movement the Solidarity made possible for the Ukrainians to appear in government and self-government.

Necropolises as a way of (non) memory

Transformation processes in post-communist Poland and Ukraine actualized the commemorative work of not only governmental institutions, but also public structures. The military cemeteries have remained important memory places of the Ukrainian community in Poland; they were reorganized by the Association of Ukrainians in Poland. In 1989, near the town of Przemyśl, the Pykulytskyi Military Cemetery was rebuilt, where UNR and ZUNR soldiers were buried. The memorial cross «to Freedom Fighters of Ukraine», designed by artist O. Kulchytska, has been restored. In 2000 28 soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who died in the battle with the Polish Army in the village Bircha in 1946, were also reburied in this cemetery as well as 19 UPA soldiers shot by the representatives of the Polish Security Service in the village of Lishnia near Sanok in 1947. In 1993, on the initiative of the Union of the Ukrainians in Poland, the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, the renovated memorial of the UNR Army in Aleksandrow Kujawski was opened (Kolianchuk, 2018, pp. 82, 214–218).

In the 1990s, the Ukrainian section of the Warsaw Orthodox Cemetery in Will was restored, where more than a hundred figures of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, their families, representatives of Ukrainian culture and science of the interwar and postwar period were buried. The new monument, which was opened in 1999 with the participation of the Presidents of Poland and Ukraine – A. Kwasniewski and L. Kuchma, has the inscriptions «to Freedom Fighters of Ukraine», «Ukraine, Ukraine, where are your children» (Kolianchuk, 2018, p. 141). The graves of UNR figures were also arranged at the cemetery in Povonзки (Warsaw). On the initiative of the head of the department of Ukrainians Union in Podlasie R. Sydoruk in 2003 the monument «to Freedom Fighters of Ukraine» was restored in the village of Dubiny, where three dozen soldiers of the UNR Army died. Due to the Young Enlightenment organization, members of the Plast, the National Alliance, the Union of Polish Scouting in 2005 the obelisk was renovated with the iron coat of arms of Ukraine «to Those who died but did not betray Ukraine» on the grave of interned soldiers of the UNR Army in Suwalki. The cemetery of the interned soldiers of the Galician Army, the UNR Army, and the Red Army (many people from Dnieper Ukraine were serving there) was also renovated in Tukhol (Kolańczuk, 2015, p. 210).

In 1999 commemorative sign in honour of the prisoners of war and interned Ukrainians who died in a prisoner of war camp Dąbie in 1918 – 1919 was built at Krakow Rakowica Cemetery and in 2000 it was consecrated in the presence of the Prime Ministers of Poland and Ukraine – J. Buzek and V. Yushchenko. At the insistence of the World Congress of Ukrainians, Ukrainian authorities, local public in 1998 – 2010 the Ukrainian military memorial was partially restored with the monument «to Faithful Sons of Ukraine» in Lancut, which was destroyed by the communist authorities in 1974. The Ukrainian public hopes that by the 100th anniversary of the celebration of the Polish-Ukrainian Military-Political Agreement in 1920, the Polish authorities will allow completely renovate the cemetery of the UNR Army with the burial of more than 550 Cossacks and Starshynas (Kolianchuk, 2018, pp. 187–188).

The renovation and opening of honouring places of the Ukrainian Revolution participants did not cause such resistance by the Polish society as the burial place of the Ukrainians who died in the Second World War. In the early 1990s, with the assistance of families and the public, the monuments were set up in the areas of Nowy Lubliniec, Stary Lubliniec, Werchrata, Monastyr, Kalnykiv, Hruszowice (Malikowski, 2010, p. 28). A memorial sign was set up on the Hruszowice Cemetery with the inscription «Glory to the UPA heroes» in 1994. Combatant Polish societies protested against the construction of the object, they focused on inadmissibility of the establishment of «monuments for Polish people's murderers» (Wilczak, 1994). For them, the monument was a manifestation of the Ukrainianization of the south-eastern Poland territories. The initiators of the construction of the signs were accused of not consulting the form and content of the inscriptions with the Voivodeship Committee for the Preservation of Combat and Martyrdom in Przemysl, but acting in a «committed manner» (Malikowski, 2010, p. 29).

According to the Polish sociologist S. Lodzinski, for Polish Ukrainians the restoration of the UPA graves and their worthy honouring were primarily an attempt to close the Second World War era. The monuments were built by an older generation who felt obliged to pay the respects to their loved ones and peers trying to remove the stigma of «terrorists» and «murderers» from the insurgents. OUP chairman Reit noted: «The conspiracy of silence was a broken concerning Ukrainian memory places. The Polish people have heard from the Ukrainians about their wounds» (Łodziński, 1997, p. 93).

The protests from the Polish side were not only verbal. In March 1995, unidentified people splattered the Hruszowice monument with paint, writing anti-Ukrainian slogans. The next acts of vandalism were carried out in 2012, 2014, and 2017.

The site of the Ukrainian tragedy also remains Pawlokoma village, where on March 3, 1945, the Home Army Division (AK) executed from 366 to 500 people (Motyka, 2011, p. 363; Viatrovykh, 2011, p. 198). In the early 1990s, the site of executions and burials was abandoned within the old rural cemetery where cows and pigs were grazed. A local resident of the Polish-Ukrainian family, D. Radon, looked after the burial sites. Instead, the appeal of the Przemysl Ukrainians to the administration of Dynow Gmina asking for regulating the cemetery has not received positive feedback. Only after several years of discussion Presidents V. Yushchenko and L. Kaczynski opened the monument to the victims of the Pawlokoma tragedy in 2006 (the inscription does not indicate the nationality of the victims). The action became possible only by two compromises: with the residents of Pawlokoma (it was connected with the promise of The Council of Protection the Memory of Combat and Martyrdom of the Republic of Poland to help establish a cross in memory of the murdered Poles); with the consent of the Lviv City Council to place on the Tomb of an Unknown Soldier at the Polish War Memorial at the Lychakiv Cemetery in Lviv a compromise inscription: «Here lies a Polish soldier who fell for the Fatherland» (Gorczyca).

The initiative of exhumation and re-burial of the remains of UPA soldiers who died in the town of Bircha in 1946 was ambiguously implemented. In the early 1990s, A. Karvanska-Bailiak, wife of the retired Sotnyk D. Karvanskyi, began searching for a burial place, held talks with the authorities and the public about the reburial of the remains of the dead. Emotional public hearings of Bircha residents supported the proposal to remove the remains of UPA soldiers from Bircha and bury them elsewhere (Karvanska-Bailiak, 2002; Ostałowska, 1995).

Honouring more than 600 murdered Ukrainians as a result of the armed action of the AK and the Bataliony Chłopskie in 1944 with the participation of local Ukrainians and the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko in the village of Sahryniu in the Chełm Land on March 11, 2019 got many protests in the Polish radical environment (Heral, 2018).

It should be noted that the Ukrainian authorities and the public have not succeeded in restoring all places related to the military and political emigration of the UNR, especially the Ukrainian underground in the 1940s, it was hampered mutual reluctance to dialogue dictated by the political ambitions of some parties or organizations.

Deportations in public discourse

The historical memory of the Polish Ukrainians includes the traumatic experience of the deportations of 1944 – 1951, especially Operation Vistula in 1947. The Polish memory of this operation was formed by communist propaganda, interpreting the operation as the right answer for the UPA's crimes. At the same time, some of the Poles have formed a certain leniency towards the crimes committed by their fellow citizens.

In democratic Poland, the memory of Operation Vistula has gained a new socio-political sound. In 1990, at a meeting of Polish and Ukrainian public and political figures in the town of Jablonna near Warsaw, Yaroslav Kuron urged to overcome the negative stereotypes associated with Operation Vistula: The first step from the stereotype is not that the angel-Ukrainian will come instead of Ukrainian who holds the knife. The first step is to break the stereotype, that is, to say that all this is very difficult (...) I think that this is the first step and only then we can go on» (AAN, zespół 2346, sygn. 127).

An important step by the authorities was the special resolution of the Republic of Poland Senate of August 3, 1990, condemning the deportation Operation Vistula. The responsibility for «painful events» at the border rests with the pro-communist authorities. At the same time, the Senate condemned Operation Vistula as an unfair example of the use by totalitarian regimes of collective responsibility (Uchwała Senatu RP). This gesture was welcomed by the Ukrainians in Poland, who regarded the decision as political rehabilitation.

Operation Vistula received significant publicity in 1997, and in the statement «To the Polish people» the concept of mutual union and apology was offered. The call was made by the *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which had a circulation of 500,000 copies. The Congress also appealed to the Sejm, the President and the Prime Minister of Poland demanding to condemn Operation Vistula, to return the property of the deported people, to give prisoners of labor camp in Jaworzno the rights granted to other victims of Stalin's repression. Vice-Marshall of the Sejm, a member of the SDL Party, M. Borovsky saw no reason to condemn Operation Vistula to the Sejm: «The operation was the consequence, not the cause of certain events, not like the Stalinist policy of denationalization, when whole innocent peoples were relocated. These Ukrainians were not patient and quiet people, then the authorities had to do something and react» (Krzemień, 1997). To the statements of Borovsky was added the voice of the senator from the same party, M. Berny, who said: «It is not possible to separate Operation Vistula from the murders committed in Volyn before 1944 and then in the Eastern lands. I do not want to spread the hatred, but when we, Poles, have to condemn Operation Vistula and to build a monument to our murderers in Jaworzno, I cannot remain silent» (Zraniona pamięć).

On the 50th anniversary of the Operation celebration L. Kuchma and A. Kwasniewski signed the Declaration of the Polish-Ukrainian Union, which was supported by the bishopric of Poland, individual political parties (Union of Freedom and the Election Solidarity Action), participants of the Congress of the Polish Ukrainian Union (OUP). But the post-Communists of the Union of Democratic Left party opposed these intentions. At the same time, President A. Kwasniewski promised Ukrainians to build a monument on the camp site. Instead, Senator M. Berny has repeatedly opposed the construction of this monument, calling for the addition of the Presidential advisers group to people who, «respecting Ukrainians, would support the need to distinguish the Ukrainian people from fascist nationalist groups» (Berny, 1997). Anti-Ukrainian appeals from the rostrum of the Polish Senate have met with opposition from the Ukrainian national minority. In May 1997, during the visit of A. Kwasniewski to Ukraine, the ambassador to the Sejm M. Chekh refused to participate in the official delegation. His protest was connected with the inclusion of Senator Berny in the delegation as an expert on Ukrainian issues (Pavlyshyn, 1997, p. 115).

Members of the World Union of Home Army soldiers were dissatisfied with the rehabilitation of the victims of Operation Vistula; they accused the Polish media of pushing for the revival of Ukrainian nationalism. Combatants accused the Main Commission of studying crimes against the Polish people for ignoring the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists (Kruszona, 1997).

The Polish Intellectuals Report on Operation Vistula stated that the deportation was the result of the Stalinist system and an expression of totalitarian ideology and politics. The Polish intellectual elite and politicians condemned Operation Vistula and expressed «condolences to everyone who bear the painful memory of the grievances of their families and communities» (Apel, 1997, p. 154). A. Kwasniewski and L. Kuchma opened a monument to the victims of the Jaworzno camp on May 23, 1998 (Kwasniewski, 1999, p. 153). The latter called its

construction «a step toward the destruction of stereotypes shared by our peoples» (Krzyk, Imeliński, 1998).

The memory of this crime continues to divide both societies today; the 2007 and 2012 debates over the evaluation of Operation Vistula prepared by the Commission of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Sejm of Republic of Poland show it (Projekt uchwały Sejmu). The document essentially reiterated the text of the Senate's resolution of August 3, 1990, condemning the «principle of collective responsibility inherent in totalitarian regimes». However, some Polish politicians continued to use widespread stereotypes for their own manipulation. Despite the achievements of Polish and Ukrainian historians, the publication of sources, some ambassadors to the Sejm (representatives of the Right and Justice Party) called Operation Vistula a «feedback for the crimes of the UPA» during the project discussion and demanded the condemnation of the «genocide of the Polish people in Volyn in 1943» (Wojciechowski, 2007).

Church as a form of identity representation

Given the drama of the deportations of 1944-1951 from 250 to 500 thousand Ukrainians lived in the Ukrainian national minority in Poland in the late 1980s, on the territories of 39 voivodships (most of them in the northern and southwestern regions) (Shvydiuk, 2008, p. 127). The southeastern voivodships of the Republic of Poland, including the princely city of Przemyśl, where there were 2,000 Ukrainians out of 60,000 population, remained a symbolic place of national cultural and religious life of Ukrainians (Polak, 1991). There were 129 churches and 193 cemeteries in the voivodship (Malikowski, 2010, p. 23). According to the Law of the Republic of Poland «On Relations between the State and the Catholic Church» of May 17, 1989, some of the sacred structures were returned to Greek Catholics, first of all in the Przemyśl Voivodeship (Ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989). Conflicts between the Poles and the Ukrainians concerned three problems: the transfer of the Carmelites Church to the Przemyśl Greek Catholics, the restoration of graves with memorial signs to the UPA soldiers, the reburial of their remains in the national graves and the intention to hold the Ukrainian Culture Festival in Przemyśl.

After the renovation of the Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese and the appointment of bishop I. Martyniak by the Vatican in 1991, the issue of the cathedral for the religious people became urgent. Having no cathedra of his own, the bishop could not fulfill his duties fully; the community of Przemyśl had no place to meet with Pope John Paul II during his journey to Poland in 1991. Therefore, the Polish bishopric handed over the Carmelite Church to the Greek Catholics for five years (until 1946 the temple was already owned by the Greek Catholic Church) until their church will have been built. When in Przemyśl they began saying that the church would be handed over to Greek Catholics, a group of Poles wrote a letter to the Pope expressing concern about the Greek Catholic community's attempts to take over the temple. Following the decision of the hierarchs, the Public Committee for the Defense of the Polish Carmelites Church in Przemyśl was formed, that began pickets at the residence of the Ordinary Bishop and the Secretariat House of the Bishopric in Warsaw. The heirs of the sponsor – the Krasicki family from Krakow – also expressed their opposition to the hierarchy's decision to hand over the church to Greek Catholics, emphasizing that the sponsor's burial is there (Malikowski, 2010, p. 26). Members of church-defending societies have been associated with right-wing and Christian-Democratic parties, such as the Understanding Center, the Christian National Association, and others (Hugo-Bader,

1993). The transfer of the church was supported by the President of Poland and the voivode. However, the regional headquarters of the Independent Self-Governmental Trade Union Solidarity of Przemysł Land, the Understanding Centre and other structures have supported the Public Committee.

On April 13, 1991, the ordination of Bishop I. Martyniak was held at the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the city. On June 1, 1991, before the arrival of the Pope, the Public Committee for the Defense of the Polish Carmelites Church in Przemysl ended the protest. At a meeting with Greek Catholics on June 2, John Paul II initiated to transfer Jesuit garrison church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for eternal use (Mokry, 2001, pp. 297–298). However, tensions over the Carmelite church have not subsided, and disputes over the dismantling of the Byzantine dome from it have continued in the following years (Khakhula, 2016, pp. 168–170).

However, in recent decades, the Polish authorities have begun to devote considerable funds to the revitalization of Ukrainian temples, and the church has become a place of identity for many migrant workers, it is facilitated by a constructive dialogue between the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic churches. At the same time, a significant part of Orthodox parishes (especially in the Chełm Land) is influenced by the Russian Orthodox Church, which impedes the «Ukrainian-Ukrainian» religious dialogue in the Republic of Poland.

Festivals of Ukrainian culture as a form of social interaction

After the revival of Ukraine's independence in the environment of the Ukrainian memory community and with the support of the Ukrainian authorities, a change of Ukrainian Culture Festival venue at the border area was initiated – in Przemysl. At first, the Voivodeship and Przemysl authorities were adamant about such an initiative. Some public figures believed that holding it would promote «radicalization of anti-Ukrainian views» (Kucharski, 1995). The biggest opponents of the event were the kresy and combatant organizations, which sent a protest letter to the Senate Marshal and the Minister of Culture in late May 1995 by requiring the festival prohibition (Krzemień, 1995). When the local authorities finally decided to grant the permit, the combatant organizations on the city posters called the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Poland, the Voivode of Przemysl and the president of the city as agents of the OUN (Stępień, 1995). The most radical ones resorted to acts of vandalism: on June 8, 1995, unknown people lit the doors of the Ukrainian People's House and doused the grave of M. Verbytskyi, the author of the anthem of Ukraine. The following day, posters with slogans appeared in Przemysl: «Ukrainians, Away from Poland», «Poland for Poles» and others. Commenting on anti-Ukrainian inscriptions, representatives of the Polish combatant communities claimed that these were Ukrainian provocations.

However, the Festival of Ukrainian Culture in Przemysl has taken place. Performances by leading Ukrainian artists, actors (among them Bogdan and Ostap Stupka), folk groups contributed to the rapprochement of the Polish and Ukrainian intelligentsia. As one of the organizers rightly remarked: «Too much fire for one festival» (Szwic, 1995). Not without conflicts, the 15th Festival of Ukrainian Culture was held in 1997, although the President of Przemysl tried to ban it. However, the organizers, with the support of the Kyiv and Lviv authorities, have achieved their aim. Among guests were the Prime Minister W. Cimoszewich and the Chairman of the Sejm Committee on National Minorities Ya. Kuron (Młynarski, 1997). In his welcoming speech, W. Cimoszewich expressed the support for the Ukrainians by the government emphasizing the importance of the right to privacy and cherishing one's own culture.

Unlike in the 1990s, the current Ukrainian authority do not implement large-scale cultural projects in the neighboring country, limited to exchanges of cultural bands and museum collections. The Ukrainian community, which has grown sharply in recent years, faces challenges of representing Ukrainian culture in small settlements lacking Ukrainian cultural and educational societies and church communities.

Designing memory places: history and culture monuments

A number of works in post-communist Poland and Ukraine that reveal the role and place of Chełm as King Danylo Romanovych's capital city of the Galicia-Volhynia State have published. Representatives of the Ukrainian public of the city gladly welcomed the decision of the Chełm City Council to name a square in the city centre after Danylo Romanovych. Local Ukrainians also honour the memory of one of the Ukrainian Revolution leaders, M. Hrushevskyi, who was born in this city. In his honour, a memorial plaque was established on the house (8, Sienkiewicz Street) in 1991 (Havryliuk, 2016, p. 5). To the 150th anniversary of M. Hrushevskyi's birth the city council even issued a special decree, but under pressure from some Polish politicians it was soon abolished, so the celebration – conference and liturgy was held with the assistance of the Ukrainian Society in Lublin and the local bishopric (Kolianchuk, 2018, p. 127).

Thanks to teachers and community activists, a memorial plaque was installed on the facade of the M. Shashkevych Przemysl School, which states that two students of the Przemysl Ukrainian Gymnasium, I. Sorokevych and H. Pypskyi, died in the battle near Kruty on January 29, 1918 and were buried on the Askold's Grave in Kyiv (Kolańczuk, 2015, pp. 169–171).

In honour of the UNR National Centre in Emigration in Tarnow (1920 – 1922) a commemorative plaque was opened at the Bristol Hotel in 2003, with the participation of Ukrainian diplomacy, the Guard of Honour of the Polish Army, representatives of the voivodeship authorities and Ternopil, which is the twin city of Tarnov. With the assistance of the Honourary Consulate of Ukraine in Rzeszow and the Pilsudski Subcarpathian Union on the occasion of the 130th anniversary of S. Petliura's birth in this city (88, Dembytska St.) commemorative plaque was opened in 2009 near the memorial plaque in honour of J. Pilsudski. In honour of the victory of the united Ukrainian-Polish army over the Cavalry Army of S. Budyonny (August 28–31, 1920) a commemorative plaque was established at the Polish Army Museum in Zamosc, which commemorated the valor of the soldiers of the 6th rifle division of the UNR Army under the command of M. Bezruchko (Kolańczuk, 2015, pp. 184–185).

The Ukrainian public and the teaching staff of the Mining and Metallurgical Academy in Krakow are honoring the memory of their professor, the Minister of the Government of the UNR, the head of the Council of the Republic in Tarnov, I. Feshchenko-Chopivskyi, in whose honour a memorial plaque has been established. Today many young people from Ukraine study at this institution.

On the initiative of the Ukrainians of Poland and the support of the Kyiv authorities, a monument to the victims of the Great Famine (1932 – 1933) was set up near the UNR Army Memorial in Warsaw in 2009; the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko participated in it. A commemorative sign in honour of this tragic event was also unveiled in Krakow (1, Olszewski St.) in 2008 (Kolyanchuk, 2018, p. 141, 166).

Through the efforts of the Greek Catholic Church, on August 29, 2002 a memorial plaque was set up for Metropolitan bishop Andrei Sheptytsky of the Metropolitan Greek Catholic

Church in Krakow (17, St. Mark's Street), where he lived in 1879 – 1889. It was consecrated by Pope John Paul II during his visit to Poland. A commemorative plaque in honour of the Metropolitan bishop, who studied there in 1884 – 1887, was opened at the University of Wroclaw on November 15, 2018. With the assistance of the Department of Ukrainian Literature and Professor V. Mokryi, a commemorative plaque in honour of poet and teacher B. Lepkyi was set up in Jagiellonian University.

Local Ukrainians and tourist groups from Ukraine enjoy visiting the Lancut Icon Gallery, the funds of which were formed from the icons of hundreds of Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches that were destroyed after the deportation of the Ukrainians by the new Polish authorities on the territory of the Przemysl Diocese in 1945 – 1956. Some of the Ukrainian icons were given to the museum in Sanok. Only some Greek Catholic churches, including the Bazyliańskie Temple in Przemysl (used as an archive in the era of the Polish People's Republic), were returned to their former owners (Kolyanchuk, 2018, p. 203).

Many churches have established commemorative plaques (Przemysl, Yaroslav, Leszno, Kobylnica Wołoska, Trzcianiec, Leszczyny, etc.) on various anniversaries of the deportations of the Ukrainians from Nadsanie, Lemkivshchyna, Chełm Land, and Podlasie in 1944 – 1951, on the cemeteries – commemorative crosses (Chotyniec, Rybotycze, Roztoka, Jawornik Ruski, Zagórz, Morochów, Komancza, Krynica, Chełm, Zablocie, etc.).

It should be noted that such memorial activity of the Ukrainian community and an authority causes symmetrical initiatives of the Polish side in Ukraine, which is often met with opposition from the representatives of local authorities and political parties.

Conclusions. Scientific interpretation of national minorities' commemorative practices is an important component for building models of constructive implementation of memory policies, for interethnic and interstate relations harmonization. The traumatic experience of the Ukrainian memory community in Poland is reflected in the implementation of a number of cultural and educational activities already in a democratic society. In post-Soviet states, the implementation of historical politics has often consisted of ideological and political instrumentalization of history and memory, their use in domestic and foreign policy, legal and legislative practices. Changes in political vectors on both sides of the border were often felt by national minorities, who, along with civil society institutions, remain agents of historical politics.

The main markers of the memorial map of the Ukrainians of Poland in the 1990s – 2000s were the burial places of the Ukrainian Revolution participants of 1917 – 1921 and the liberation movement of the mid-twentieth century, Greek Catholic shrines in the southeastern voivodeships of Poland, the tragic legacy of the deportation operation Vistula in 1947, cultural and educational activities of the Ukrainian community in Poland. The history and culture of the Ukrainian minority in Poland are explored by the departments and units of Ukrainian students at several universities in the country, the Polish Institute of National Memory, and the Southeastern Scientific Institute in Przemysl.

While the pro-communist authorities of post-war Poland destroyed most of the markers of Ukrainian culture, the Polish national heritage of the western region of the UkrSSR was in every way sought to be included in the nation's cultural heritage. In the first post-war years the monuments of the Polish King Jan III Sobieski, the poet K. Ujejski and the playwright A. Fredro, the Ja. Witwicki Plastic Panorama of Lviv, and the Raclawice Panorama were taken out from Lviv to Polish cities.

Nowadays, the Ukrainian memory community, in addition to the Union of Polish Ukrainian, is formed by the Ukrainian Association of Podlasie, the Ukrainian Teachers' Association, the Ukrainian Medical Society, the Union of Ukrainian Independent Youth, the Lemkos Association, the Ukrainian Youth Organization Plast, and Shevchenko Scientific Society. Ukrainian socio-political discourse is also supported by periodicals the Our Word, the Our Choice, the Above the Buh and Narva; every year the Festival of Ukrainian Culture, the Festival «Autumn of Podlasie», and the Days of Ukrainian Theatre in Olsztyn are held. Contemporary emigrants, unfortunately, remain inactive in the sphere of historical memory and do not cooperate enough with the Ukrainian community of Poland.

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**JUMP OUT OF THE USSR:
AN ATTEMPT OF PRO-WESTERN MODERNIZATION
OF POST-SOVIET RUSSIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1990s**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is to analyze in a historical context the experience of introducing market reforms in Russia in the first half of the 1990s by the method of so-called «shock» therapy and the revival of democratic processes on the Russian national land. The research methodology is based on the fundamental principles of objectivity and historicism, which involve consideration of particular phenomena and processes in their development and close connection with the system of relevant social relations. Any historical fact investigated in the article is considered in the development, against the background of specific historical circumstances, which implies the use of a method of comparative analysis, which has clarified the essence of many significant events for the Russian socio-political thought of this period. The research novelty is based on the fact that with the help of available and previously unpublished sources from Russian archives, an attempt was made to comprehend the*

pro-Western modernization of Russia in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the general context of Russian history. **Conclusions.** Particular attention is paid to the ideological and civilizational influence of the West on modernization processes in Russia in general and in the post-Soviet period in particular. The resuscitation, under the influence of pro-Western democratic values, traditional for the Russian socio-political thought of the direction of «Western» and the representatives of the further perspective of the national-civilizational progress of their own country were traced. The reasons for the failure of pro-Western modernization of post-Soviet Russia, the strengthening of anti-Western society, demodernization sentiment with the further collapse of democratic institutions and processes are considered. The beginning of the 1990s in Russian history is a period of crisis, once again connected with the disintegration of the empire and the subsequent attempts to implement democratic pro-Western civilizational and ideological practices. Similar to previous historical periods (for example, the February Revolution of 1917), the attempt to democratize Russia in the early 1990s failed. The miscalculations of economic reforms («shock therapy») by the government of E. Gaidar, the weakness of democratic traditions and civil society institutions, strong positions in the socio-political discourse of imperial-revanchist sentiments, ultimately discredited the pro-Western liberal path. At the turn of the 2000s, another neo-imperial restoration took place in Russia. The cycle of Russian history has returned to authoritarianism.

Key words: Russia, the West, «Westerners», radical liberals, reforms.

СТРИБОК ІЗ СРСР: СПРОБА ПРОЗАХІДНОЇ МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЇ ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКОЇ РОСІЇ У ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1990-х рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – в історичному контексті проаналізувати досвід запровадження у Росії першої половини 1990-х рр. ринкових реформ методом так званої «шокової» терапії й відродження демократичних процесів на російському національному ґрунті. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на фундаментальні принципи об'єктивності та історизму, що передбачають розгляд окремих явищ і процесів у їх розвитку та тісному зв'язку із системою відповідних суспільних відносин. Будь-який історичний факт, що досліджується в роботі, розглядається у розвитку, на фоні конкретно-історичних обставин, що передбачає застосування методу порівняльного аналізу, завдяки якому з'ясовано сутність багатьох знакових для російської суспільно-політичної думки зазначеного періоду подій. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі доступних, а також раніше не опублікованих джерел із російських архівів, здійснено спробу осмислити прозахідну модернізацію Росії наприкінці 1980-х – початку 1990-х рр. в загальному контексті російської історії. **Висновки.** Особливу увагу акцентовано на ідейно-цивілізаційному впливі Заходу на модернізаційні процеси у Росії загалом та у пострадянській період зокрема. Прослідковано реанімацію, під впливом прозахідних демократичних цінностей, традиційного для російської суспільно-політичної думки напрямку «західництва» та бачення його представниками подальшої перспективи національно-цивілізаційно поступу власної країни. Розглянуто причини провалу прозахідної модернізації пострадянської Росії, посилення в суспільстві антизахідних, демодернізаційних настроїв із подальшим зорганюванням демократичних інститутів й процесів. Початок 1990-х рр. в російській історії – кризовий період, вкотре пов'язаний із розпадом імперії та подальшими спробами імплементації демократичних прозахідних цивілізаційно-світоглядних практик. Подібно до попередніх історичних періодів (наприклад, Лютнева революція 1917 р.) спроба демократизації Росії на початку 1990-х рр. зазнала невдачі. Прорахунки економічних реформ («шокової терапії») уряду Є. Гайдара, слабкість демократичних традицій та інститутів громадянського суспільства, міцні позиції в суспільно-політичному дискурсі імперсько-реваншистських настроїв, у кінцевому підсумку дискредитували прозахідний ліберальний шлях країни. На рубежі 2000-х рр. у Росії відбулася чергова неоімперська реставрація. Цикл російської історії повернувся до чергового авторитаризму.

Ключові слова: Росія, Захід, «західники», радикал-ліберали, реформи.

The problem statement. Modernization processes in Russia, beginning with the proclamation of the empire on 22 October 1721 by Peter I of and ending with the legal dissolution of the USSR in December 1991, were characterized by certain defining and common features for different historical periods. Thus, the decisive impetus and response

(according to A. Toynbee) to the beginning of reforms of Peter I, Alexander II and Stalin's Great Fracture was the «challenge» (military, economic, civilizational, class) from the West. It was the West, in its broad cultural and civilizational dimension, in the history of Russian reforms, which was the decisive catalyst for change, forcing the ruling elite of Russia to «cut the window on Europe», to undertake liberal reforms in response to the defeat of the West in the Crimean War (1853 – 1856), to embody a policy of «industrialization» in the «hostile capitalist environment» of the West. Therefore, in spite of the constant criticism of the West by the relevant directions of Russian socio-political thought (Slavophiles, Eurasians), constant statements about the perniciousness in the Russian national project of Western values, the existence of Russia without the West was not possible. The presence of fictitious or real dangers on the part of the West prompted Russian elites to modernize the country, following Western patterns of behavior and life in the economy and culture. Ultimately, it was the anti-Western rhetoric that served as an important basis for the demodernization processes in Russia (the curtailment of democratic freedoms, repression and terror) and became an integral element of Russian national identity.

Another common feature of the history of Russian modernization is its «jumping» character, unlike the West, where similar processes have evolved «from the bottom» and «matured» for centuries. Implementing reforms, the Russian ruling elite tried to revolutionize «from the top» in the shortest possible time to modernize their country: to «jump» into Europe in the XVIII century, quickly capitalize it in the second half of the XIX century or turn into an industrial giant in two «five years» in the 1930s. This resulted in a peculiar Russian version of modernization – a symbiosis of local traditionalism and modern pro-Western influences. Thus, for example, the manufactures (introduced by Peter I) were based on the serf labor of the peasants, while in Europe they were freelance. Stalin's modernization «from the top» has led to significant imbalances in the economy in favor of manufacturing means of production. As a result, the Soviet Union has not been able to develop, in contrast to the West, high-tech industries in the service sector after World War II. The costly and inefficient Soviet command-and-control model of the economy failed to move into the post-industrial stage of its development, and the Kremlin leaders' slogan «to catch up and overtake America» proved to be another propaganda bluff.

The analysis of the recent research. The sources for writing the article were reflections and analysis of the present reality and vision of the country's future and its main ways of development, expressed by the leading representatives of public-political thought of Russia in the first half of the 1990s in the press, magazines, published political proclamations, etc. Unknown documents from the Russian archives have been introduced for the first time into scientific circulation, which relate to the activities and worldview of the liberal segment of Russian socio-political thought in the early 1990s. Among recent works on the problems of the history of Russian liberalism of the 1990s, one can distinguish the research of A.V. Golovchenko (Golovchenko, 2015). Among the foreign authors, the work of Padma Desai, an American expert at the Center for Transit Economics at Columbia University (New York), who paid particular attention to the analysis of market liberal reforms of the Yeltsin-Gaidar government known as «shock therapy» (Desai, P.), is noteworthy.

The purpose of the article. To analyze attempts to democratize and liberalize Russia in the first half of the 1990s and find out the reasons for their failures.

Statement of the basic material. In the history of Russia, 1991 can be compared with the year 1917, which became a turning point and led, under the influence of the Great

War of 1914 – 1918, to the February Revolution, the fall of the empire and the attempt of democratic modernization, the Bolshevik revolution and the revival of imperial structures under the new name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The confrontation with the West in the Cold War has caused a deep social and economic crisis of the cumbersome and inefficient economic system of the USSR. The entire period of 1961 – 1985 was characterized by a continuous decline in economic development. Too much military load on the economy has contributed to a huge imbalance in the economy. The USSR has been confronted with a whole host of crises, including the lag in the arms race, the reluctance of the Soviet people to accept the role of dumb objects, etc. Nursing privileges, inefficiency of the bureaucratic apparatus, arbitrariness and irresponsibility of officials, corruption caused general outrage. Socio-political contradictions were imposed on ethno-national ones (Chubar'jan, 2007, p. 735). Attempts by the new Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Secretary General, Mikhail Gorbachev, to modernize the existing Soviet socio-economic model (in the context of the XXVII Congress of the CPSU's «perestroika» proclaimed in February 1986) were essentially to return to the elements of the previous Bolshevik «New Economic Policy» (NEP) of the 1921 model. Not wanting to eliminate the main obstacle to reform - the monopoly of the CPSU to power, Gorbachev's modernization of the USSR was therefore not systematic, aimed at a radical restructuring of the command-administrative model of governance created in the 1930s and failed. Finally, on 8 December 1991, the leaders B. Yeltsin (Russia), L. Kravchuk (Ukraine), and S. Shushkevich (Belarus) signed an agreement to dissolve the USSR in the Belovezhskaya Pushcha.

The disappearance of the Soviet Union's geopolitical map of the world has put a new leadership in Russia (the Russian Federation since 1991), which came to power in the wake of a broad democratic movement, in front of new modernization challenges. In contrast to the Soviet period, the West and its democratic values have now become a key prerequisite for reforming Russia, and its criticism has virtually disappeared from socio-political discourse. The country is starting to organize itself a civil society that calls for democratic change. In the wake of the turn to the West and its values in post-Soviet Russia, such a trend of socio-political thought as «Western» has been revived for it since the XIX century.

The overwhelming majority of «new Russian Westerners» believed in a single main path of human development, linked it to the West, and considered Western political and economic institutions a model for imitation, and even something inevitable for Russia and the rest of the world (Tcygankov, Tcygankov, 2005, p. 4). An outstanding Russian writer and dissident V. Aksenov was convinced that the revival of Russia was unthinkable outside the context of Western civilization. «In order to survive or simply offer our children and offspring a better life,» he is convinced, «we must absolutely become part of the European-American, Christian world.» (Aksenov, 1993, p. 200).

The basis of modernization of Russia was recognized by the «Westerners» as «the preservation of its role as a European nation», which foresaw the rejection of the global imperial policy and ideological messianism of the previous Union. Such a question raised the prospect of sound domestic economic reforms – the preconditions for Russia's national revival (Zagorskii, Zlobin, Solodovnik, Khrustalev, 1992, p. 13). The determinants of Russian modernization should be «the physical and moral recovery of the Russians, the education of life skills in an electoral democracy and a competitive market economy» (Orlov, 1995).

In 1992, the «Westerners» organized the «Civil Society» movement in Russia, the main purpose of which was to build a civilized civil society, under which self-government bodies

and various public organizations would be able to exert a significant influence on governing bodies, subordinating the activities of the state and political parties, current interests, views and ambitions of their leaders and governing structures, and the implementation of orders that are constantly (and not only during elections) received through public unities «bottom-up» and only performed by officials and politicians. The main niche of its daily work was seen by the «Civil Society» movement in the interval between election campaigns, in the creation of various social forms (self-government bodies, trade unions, etc.), which were able to provide direct collective participation of citizens in solving their problems and at the same time the problems of society. The main means of achieving this goal were considered by the organizers of the movement as the direct creation of various self-government bodies and public participation in solving specific problems of territories, industries, population groups, etc. Self-governing committees, trade unions, consumer associations, human rights organizations, that is, all public institutions that «establish a direct reciprocal relationship between the citizen and the state in the person of its bodies and numerous officials and are able to try to put the work of officials and politicians together under public control of society», could become full members of the «Civil Society» (Central Archive of Political History of Moscow, f. 8644, d. 1, c. 4, p. 2, 4, 5).

In the wake of Russian society's demand for immediate change, many liberal democratic parties and movements are united around pro-Western reforms. In the beginning, most of the then democratic parties and movements united into a single coalition based on the broad public Movement «Democratic Russia» (DR), whose constituent assembly was held on 20–21 October 1990 in Moscow. At the opening of the forum, it was stated that the DR was the «successor to all the previous Russian democratic movement» (Danilov & Zasorin, 1992, p. 28). In 1991, DR offices were established in more than 300 settlements of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), in particular in all regional and republican centers, and the number of DR members reached not less than 200–300 thousand people (Korguniuk, 1996). In the Declaration promulgated, the Movement intended to pursue a free market, free enterprise and competition; different forms of ownership; pluralism in politics, ideology and culture; dismantling the totalitarian state system, the consistent realization of the right of nations to self-determination, etc. (Koval, 1991, p. 307–309).

Since December 1991, the Public Committees of Russian Reforms (PCRR) have begun to emerge in Russia. From 29 February to 1 March 1992, the All-Russian PCRR Practical Conference was held in Moscow, attended by 248 participants from 71 regions of the country. Leading figures of the Liberal Democratic Movement of Russia, including Vice Prime Minister M. Poltoranin, Chairman of the State Committee on State Property Management A. Chubais, Chairman of the Antimonopoly Committee of Moscow O. Novikov, and others spoke at the conference. The main purpose of the activities of the Public Committees was that the participants of the conference announced a comprehensive promotion of radical economic reforms aimed at establishing genuine market relations and repelling any forces that could impede such transformations. The public committees also declared their full support for the «strategic line of the Russian government, headed by B. Yeltsin,» because its activities «truly aimed at radical reforming of the Russian economy» (Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, f. 661, d. 1, c. 84, p. 14, 15). One of the leaders of the Democratic Russia movement, L. Ponomarev, described the goal of the PCRR in the context of «uniting the efforts of society to fully support radical economic and social transformations in the Russian Federation» (Krasnikov, 1992).

In the summer of 1992, an attempt to unite democratic forces was carried out by leaders of the deputy group «Reform» and the parliamentary Coalition of Reforms, which included fractions the Democratic Russia and Radical Democrats. On 4–5 July 1992, a Reform Supporters Forum was held in Moscow, attended by approximately two thousand participants, representing more than 40 parties, public organizations, parliamentary factions, and many key members of the Russian government (acting Prime Minister E. Gaidar, Deputy Prime Minister A. Chubais, Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev, etc.). The Forum reached an agreement to launch a powerful bloc of democratic forces in support of reform and government. The main priorities for the further modernization of Russia were the transformation of society into a community of private owners, economically free citizens, and opposition to totalitarian-communist and pro-fascist tendencies (Ivanov-Smolenskii, 1992).

The socio-economic pro-Western modernization of Russia, the essence of which was to move from Soviet command-and-control practices to Western free-market models, began in the autumn of 1991 with the reign of E. Gaidar and with the support of Russian President B. Yeltsin. The policy, which was intended to solve the problem of rapid transition to a market economy, was called «shock therapy». The term «shock therapy» pretty clearly reflected the essence of governmental measures – to «cure» the Russian economy from socialism in a quick and sharp way (Bezborodov, 2009, p. 277). In the history of Russian modernization, it was another jump», this time from the USSR to the West and its socio-economic model.

The world-view modernization principles of the Yeltsin-Gaidar government reforms were to reduce state intervention in private enterprise, monetarism, and reduce public social programs. Such views were called radical-liberalism, which corresponded to the classical bourgeois liberalism of the West, which in the late XX century became a liberal-conservative ideology called «Thatcherism» and «"Reaganomics"» (Sogrin, 1996, p. 41). The public-sector of radical liberals were perceived solely as a source of corruption, a favorable environment for the intertwining of state and criminal interests and structures, and social support for the population was justified only in a transitional period. Thus, K. Borovoi (leader of the Party of Economic Freedom (PEF) and organizer of the Russian Commodity Exchange) assured the Russian public that «a very efficient economy» can be obtained only with small taxes, as well as the lack of state ownership in large enterprises and without a powerful public sector as a whole (Borovoi, 1993, p. 107, 113).

Further practical steps to implement the program and ideas of «shock therapy» during the end of 1991 – 1993 proved the failure of the «jump» of Russia into the free market of the Western sample. In the global civilizational dimension, the experience of two years of reforming the Russian economy has shown that radical-liberal ideology was utopian in advance, because the rapid entry into the market does not yet provide the society with stabilization based on the models of Western civilization, which has spent several centuries on forming its own economic well-being. The use of the shock therapy method was ineffective under the conditions of substantial preservation of elements of a super-centralized planned economy, which played a devastating role in the Russian economy in the early 1990s, turning it into a raw material appendage of developed industrialized countries (Bezborodov, 2009, p. 305).

The impoverishment of a large part of the population on the background of rapid enrichment of a small group of people, due to speculative capital, has led to rapid disappointment and disillusionment with the broader circles of the Russian public about the modernization capabilities of Western economic and social structures on the domestic national land. Most of the intellectual elite of post-Soviet Russia began to look for a special

civilization path for their country, while adapting to the present-day realities the anti-Western constructions of traditional ideas of Slavophilism and Eurasianism for Russia's socio-political thought. Thus, despairing from the reforms of the Yeltsin-Gaydar government, the former Western supporter, the famous scientist and thinker O. Panarin (1940 – 2003), who saw no prospects for Russia in case of its European self-identification, became a convinced anti-Westerner and Eurasian. Having become part of the «European family», O. Panarin is convinced, that Russia will automatically lose its former role, becoming from the leader of the non-Western «second world», which recently remained the USSR, to a backward, poor relative of the West. Formerly convinced Westerners blamed the modern liberals for denying Russia the right to civilize creativity, while imposing a passive role on the student (Panarin, 1993, p. 6, 9).

Having accumulated certain ideological tenets of a new reading of Slavophilism and Eurasianism, the pro-Western modernization vector of Russia's development was denied by the largest anti-Western political force at the time – the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) and its leader G. Ziuganov. Support for its slogans and programmatic frameworks in Russian society are evidenced by the fact that the Communist Party won the elections to the State Duma in December 1995 with the result of 22.3% of the vote (over 15 million Russians who participated in the elections). In G. Ziuganov's program treatise «Russia is my motherland. The ideology of state patriotism», the basis of the ideological doctrine is a traditionalist teaching, which rejects the Western-liberal path of Russia, individualistic ethics and the «idols» of the free market. Elements of this doctrine are «the Russian idea, supplemented by the modern realities of life and those social conquests of socialism that have been achieved during the 70 years of Soviet power»; understanding of the state's role as a «roadmap» of Russian history and a key factor in the country's development; recognition of the priority of state interests over the interests of the individual, social, corporate and ethnic groups; rejection of the class approach in favor of the thesis on the organic unity (catholicity) of the Russian nation; interpreting the Russian nation as the nucleus of Russian and Soviet statehood (Ziuganov, 1996, p. 93).

Against the backdrop of the failures of radical market transformations, Russian liberal forces, especially those close to power, are also beginning to evolve toward traditional Russian statehood, increasingly ignoring the priority for freedom and inalienable rights of the individual and citizen over the Western values in comparison with the state. Thus, created at the end of May 1995 on the Kremlin movement «Our Home is Russia», headed by the Head of the Government of the Russian Federation V. Chernomyrdin (1938 – 2010), declared a decisive refusal to support any «radical forces of both the right and left direction, which strive to destroy order and stability»; the movement's program stated «the completion of the liberal stage of reforming the Russian economy» and «building a mixed socially oriented economic system.» The foreign policy section of the program «flirted» with the great state feelings of the Russians, speaking that Russia «was, is and will be a great world power», because of this «the development of close integration of the CIS countries» should take place exclusively under the auspices of Russia (Analiticheskii tsentr «Izvestii», 1995).

By the mid-1990s, the Democratic Choice of Russia (DCR), led by the consistent Westerner E. Gaidar, has continued to be established on 13 June 1994, through a force that consistently defended pro-Western liberal values in post-Soviet Russia. The first Chechen war (1994 – 1996), which became a kind of «litmus test» for Russian liberals, forced the DCR to openly distance itself not only from the government of V. Chernomyrdin, but also

from B. Yeltsin. In the «Chechen issue» the DCR faction in the State Duma, although was not ready to recognize Chechnya's independence, has actively called for talks to end armed confrontation, exchange of prisoners, aid for the wounded, etc., so as to create preconditions for free and fair elections in a republic under international control (CAPHM, f. 8716, d. 1, c. 33, p. 3, 4).

The Third (extraordinary) Congress of the DCR, held in Moscow on 26 August 1995, decided to join the party in the election bloc Democratic Choice of Russia – United Democrats (DCR – UD) (CAPHM, f. 8716, d. 1, c. 33, p. 11). Contrary to criticism from NATO and the European Union, which has been increasingly heard in public statements by leaders of pro-Kremlin «parties of power», the DCR – UD has demanded greater political, economic and military cooperation with democratic countries, especially with the European Union and NATO. «We will resist,» the unification platform noted, «any recurrence of imperial ideology and militaristic consciousness» (CAPHM, f. 8716, d. 1, c. 33, p. 37).

As a result of voting in the State Duma in December 1995, the DCR – UD bloc was defeated without breaking the five percent passing barrier (3.86% of votes). Liberals of the so-called «first wave», who came to power in 1991 and were primarily responsible for conducting a «shock» to the West by «shock therapy», found themselves on the sidelines of the further Russian history. The defeat of the radical liberals forced E. Gaidar to express doubts about the reliability of the Russian democratic institutions and to preserve such basic structures of civil society as the free press, fair and fair elections within the statutory terms (CAPHM, f. 8716, d. 2, c. 13, p. 22).

Conclusions. At the turn of the 1980s – 1990s, a new Russian «Western» was ideologically and institutionally resurrected in the social and political mind of Russia, whose representatives saw the future of their country in the consistent implementation of the key post-Soviet statehood of key liberal-democratic values. Another historic attempt at pro-Western modernization of Russia in the early 1990s, the new Russian «Westerners» saw a rapid «jump» toward a market economy and liberal democracy, through the dismantling of the old command-and-control system by «shock therapy» tested in some countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The economic miscalculations of young reformers in the Yeltsin-Gaidar government, the absence of a stable market and democracy traditions in the Russian society itself, as well as the resistance of conservative supporters of traditional great power values led to the failure of Russia's democratization and its final return in 1990 and the achievements of the late 1980s – early 1990s.

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FORMATION AND ACTIVITY OF POLTAVA SOCIETY OF THE GERMANS «VIEDERGEURT» («REVIVAL»)

Summary. *The purpose of the article is the formation analysis process, functioning of Poltava society of the Germans «Revival»; to reveal and to illustrate the society achievements in the consolidation process of the German nationality people. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and systemicity. During the study, the following specific historical methods have been used: historical-genetic, historical-systemic, problem chronological and historical-biographical, as well as the interdisciplinary methods (content analysis, chronological). The scientific novelty consists in the fact that on the basis of the published and unpublished sources (the private archives documents, the interviews) and the scientific investigations the formation process and the development of Poltava Society of the Germans «Viedergeburt» («Revival») have been analyzed; the pe-*

cularities of its functioning have been determined; the role of the head of the society and its members' activities have been determined, as well as the main directions of its work have been investigated and the international relations of the society have been traced. **Conclusions.** Consequently, the post-war generation of the Germans still remembers the terrible conditions of the GULAGs of Siberia or Kazakhstan (Reabilitovani istoriieiu, 1992; 2005) in which they, their parents or family members were, but under those terrible conditions most of them remained loyal to their people, were honest, hard-working, preserved the culture and customs of their people. Nowadays they have equal political, economic, social, civil rights with all citizens of an independent Ukraine. This is guaranteed by the «Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities of Ukraine». The indication of this is the activity of Poltava Regional Society of the Germans «Viedergeburt» («Revival»), around which people with German roots gather. At the various events of the society, much attention is paid to the study of the German language and culture, traditions, to incite young people to study the history of their ancestors, to be proud of them, to establish contacts with Germany, where they can search for their relatives. The society «Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt» opened a library with books, published in German. Recently, one of the priorities of the society is the attraction of attention to Poltava streets revival of their historical names, where in the past German colonists lived (in particular, Fabrykantska Street and Colonial Street in the historical center of the city). Poltava Germans' society «Revival» maintains close contacts with other regional organizations and the Council of the Germans of Ukraine, it participates in many international projects and events. The activity of the society includes: social, youth, ethno-cultural, informational work which contributes to the preservation of German mentality in the Ukrainian society.

Key words: The Germans, national minorities, Poltava society «Viedergeburt» («Revival»), self-identification, international relations.

СТВОРЕННЯ І ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ПОЛТАВСЬКОГО ТОВАРИСТВА НІМЦІВ «ВІДЕРГЕБУРТ» («ВІДРОДЖЕННЯ»)

Анотація. Метою даної статті є аналіз процесу створення та функціонування полтавського товариства німців «Відродження», виявити і показати його досягнення у процесі згуртування людей німецької національності. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, об'єктивності та системності. У ході дослідження застосовувалися такі конкретно-історичні методи: історико-генетичний, історико-системний, проблемно-хронологічний та історико-біографічний, а також міждисциплінарні (контент-аналіз, хронологічний). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі опублікованих та неопублікованих джерел (документів приватних архівів, інтерв'ю) й наукових розвідок проаналізовано процес становлення і розвитку полтавського товариства німців «Відергебурт» («Відродження»), з'ясовано особливості його функціонування, визначено роль керівників та членів у його діяльності, а також досліджено основні напрями його роботи, проаналізовано міжнародні зв'язки. **Висновки.** Люди німецької національності, у радянські часи позбавлені прав, тепер мають рівні політичні, економічні, соціальні, громадянські права з усіма громадянами незалежної України. Це гарантується «Декларацією прав національностей України». Засвідчує сказане, зокрема, діяльність Полтавського обласного товариства німців «Відродження», навколо якого гуртуються люди з німецьким корінням. Значна увага товариства зосереджена навколо вивчення німецької мови і культури, традицій, щоб прищепити молоді потреби вивчати історію своїх пращурів, пишатися ними, налагодити контакти з Німеччиною, де можна проводити пошуки своїх родичів. Товариство «Полтавський центр німецької культури «Відергебурт» відкрило бібліотеку з книгами, виданими німецькою мовою. Останнім часом одним із пріоритетних завдань товариства стало повернення уваги до повернення деяким полтавським вулицям історичних назв, де в минулому проживали німецькі колоністи (зокрема, вулиця Фабрикантська і Колонійська в історичному центрі міста). Полтавське товариство німців «Відродження» підтримує тісні контакти з іншими обласними організаціями та Радою німців України, бере участь у багатьох міжнародних проектах та заходах. Діяльність товариства включає: соціальну, молодіжну, етнокультурну, інформаційну роботу, що сприяє збереженню німецької ментальності в українському соціумі.

Ключові слова: німці, національні меншини, полтавське товариство «Відергебурт» («Відродження»), самоідентифікація, міжнародні зв'язки.

The problem statement. Ukraine is a polyethnic state, in which more than 100 different nationalities live. The fate of these people is closely connected with the history of Ukraine, its traditions, customs and culture. The representatives of the German nationality played an important role in the history of our state. They were talented statesmen, the representatives of the scientific, technical, cultural and artistic intelligentsia. In particular, the Archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra I. Gisel, M. Schiller – the founder of Kyiv Physical Medical Society, G. Pfeiffer – the academician of the National Academy of Sciences, the mathematician, R. Vogel – the director of Kyiv Observatory, the astronomer, T. Bushe – the chemist, I. Shmalgauzen – the academician, O. Eikhelman – the lawyer, the economist M. Bushe, E. Stern – the archaeologist, F. Falts-Fein – the founder of the Askania Nova reserve, S. Richter – the pianist, O. Burhgard (Yuri Klen) – a well-known Ukrainian poet and a literary critic. All the above-mentioned personalities had the German roots.

The destiny of many Germans was tragic. Many of them were repressed, deported, displaced from their settlements. They suffered from a special pressure during the Soviet period. The famine of 1921 – 1924 and the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 affected the German families painfully; the years of collectivization and rozkurkulyuvannya (when men-colonists, who were not shot immediately, then were deported to the Far North and Siberia); the mass repressions of 1937 – 1938 (when the plan of repressions on each settlement was arranged by the upper authorities, and the local party workers chose freely, first of all, people with German roots, who spoke the foreign German language; there were cases that some people received the letters from abroad, because they had relatives there. This fact caused the Germans to be declared the enemies of the people and be accused of espionage and counterrevolution); the total repressions at the beginning of the Second World War, namely: the deportation of the German population from the regions of the Ukrainian SSR and the Crimea to the East; the brutal, forcible expulsion of people of German nationality from their native lands to Siberia and Kazakhstan.

The processes that took place in the post-Soviet territory during the so-called Gorbachev's «perebudova» and the adoption of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine (July 16, 1990), led to the increase of the self-awareness of the population. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the descendants of the former colonists began appealing to the newspapers and television editors asking for helping them in the search of persons of the German nationality or those, who have German roots and live on the territory of Poltava region in order to establish some contact with them.

The analysis of recent researches and publications. The fate of people of German nationality has already been in the field of a scientific study by the scientists, but specifically the activity of Poltava regional society «Revival» has not been the subject of a separate scientific analysis. In particular, the well-known Poltava historian Vira Zhuk devoted her monograph to the study of the history of German colonists in Poltava region, in which she analyzed thoroughly the fate of their descendants (Zhuk, 2006). The scientist devoted a number of studies to the analysis of the history of Poltava Germans (Zhuk, 1997; Zhuk, 2004). Iryna Petrenko, a historian, devoted her studies to the analysis of the German nationality representatives as victims of a totalitarian regime in Poltava region (based on the materials of the scientific and documentary series of books «Rehabilitated by the history of Poltava region») (Petrenko, 2009). The researcher from Kyiv Ihor Vynnychenko published the handbook on extraordinary disjointed persons of the German origin, whose life and activities were related to Ukraine (Vynnychenko, 2011). Laryssa Ritter, the head of the public

organization «Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt», devoted her thesis to the analysis of the society achievements over the last few years and analyzed the contribution of Poltava Germans to the culture of the region (Rytter, 2013). The member of the German society, Viktor Ritter, devoted his theses to the research of the tragic fate of Poltava Germans (Rytter, 2013). Olha Pravdenko, the researcher from Poltava, devoted her research to the analysis of the geographical location of the German colony in the city (Pravdenko, 2013). In 2017, the book «The History of the Germans of Ukraine» was published on the initiative of the «International Society of the Germans of Ukraine – «Viedergeburt» on the results of an all-Ukrainian scientific conference «The History of the Germans of Ukraine», held on March 3, 2017, at the Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies I. F. Kuras National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Istoriia nimitsiv Ukrainy, 2017). The collection contains the articles on the history of people of the German nationality, the repression against them and the revival of the regional societies after 1991.

The source basis in the preparation of the article is the interview of the historian Vira Zhuk (1928 – 2008), who devoted the part of her scientific studies to the analysis of the history of people of the German nationality in Poltava region and was a member of the «Revival» (Interv'iu z Viroiu Zhuk, 2007) and Larysa Ritter, the head of Poltava society of the Germans «Revival» during 2007 – 2016 (Interv'iu z Larysoiu Ritter, 2018, 2019). One of the sources of the study was the Statute of the civil organization «Poltava Society of the Germans «Viedergeburt» (2017). In addition, a series of the historical documentary books (collections) «Rehabilitated by History» (Reabilitovani istoriieiu, 1992, 2005).

The purpose of the article is the formation analysis process, functioning of Poltava society of the Germans «Revival»; to reveal and to illustrate the society achievements in the consolidation process of the German nationality people.

Statement of the basic material. After the collapse of the USSR, the Germans had the opportunity to consolidate, to create their own city, district, region associations, which became the centers for studying their history, language and culture and etc. At the beginning of February 1991, three people with the German roots assembled on their own initiative: the head of the Department of Foreign Languages of V. H. Korolenko Poltava State Pedagogical Institute (now V. H. Korolenko Poltava National Pedagogical University) Stepan Oleksiyenko, whose mother was a descendant of the German colonists from Chernihiv region; Agnesa Zyagun, a pensioner, a former economist of Poltava Regional State Administration, and Volodymyr (Voldemar) Volmer, a military servant, retired. A bit later Edmund Grabo, Stepan Lytvynchuk (his mother was a German), Irma Lukas joined Stepan Oleksiyenko, Agnesa Zyagun, Volodymyr Volmer. All of them were from Poltava and Mariya Fedorchuk with her husband were from the village of Machuhy, Poltava district. This gathering was the beginning of the formation of the Society «Viedergeburt» (hereinafter referred to as the «Revival» in the text). This meeting and further discussion of the plans were the beginning of the creation of the city society «Revival» (Zhuk, 2006, pp. 119–120).

The second meeting took place at the beginning of March 1991 in the premises of Poltava T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Society «Prosvita». 10 people attended the meeting. This meeting was considered as a regional conference, at which a wide range of issues was considered related to the educational work, the revival of the customs and traditions, the national culture of the Ukrainian Germans, the creation of the circles in their compact living for the study of their mother tongue, and the others. Volodymyr (Voldemar) Volmer was elected the first Head of Poltava city society of the Germans, «Revival» (Protokol № 1 vid 4 bereznia 1991 roku, p. 1).

The next meeting was held at the Department of Foreign Languages of Poltava V. H. Korolenko State Pedagogical Institute. It was conducted by Stepan Oleksiyenko. Using the slides, video and tape recordings, he introduced the audience to German historical, cultural and architectural monuments, the customs and traditions of the Germans. The members of the society began to study German (Interv'iu z Viroiu Zhuk, 2007).

On November 1, 1991, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the «Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities of Ukraine» (Deklaratsiia prav natsionalnostei Ukrainy, 1991). On November 16–17, 1991, the First All-Ukrainian International Congress was held in Odesa, attended by two delegates from Poltava and two from Kremenchuk. The Congress emphasized the need to solve a number of problems: allocating premises to all national-cultural societies, financing their activities at the expense of the state budget, exempting from paying taxes, returning religious structures, creating the conditions for the development of their native languages, publishing newspapers, opening national libraries, radio and television programs and etc.

Being guided by the above-mentioned document, the Germans of Poltava decided to establish their society officially, to approve its statute and to register it at local authorities.

On February 8, 1992, at the Society meeting (29 people were present), under the chairmanship of Stanislav Kushnirenko, the members discussed and approved the statute of Poltava city society of the Germans «Revival». On March 18, 1992, the charter was registered by the executive committee of Poltava City Council of People's Deputies. The statute states that the purpose of the partnership is to uphold a full rehabilitation and equality of the citizens of German nationality; to promote the formation of the regional areas of a compact residence of the Germans, to revive German culture, language, religion; to provide assistance in protecting the civil rights of German nationality people; to promote a progressive development (Statut Poltavskoho miskoho tovarystva nimtsiv «Vidrodzhennia», 1992).

On May 30, 1992, a regional conference of the regional organization of the Germans took place in Kremenchuk. Philippe Pfeiffer, a member of the council of Poltava city society, was elected the chairman (Zhuk, 2006, p. 126).

At the end of 1992, the Lutheran community was formed as a part of Poltava city society of the Germans. A significant role in its formation was played by a preacher Ivan Hack. He preached, held talks with religious believers on religious and moral issues, took care of replenishing the library, organized the meetings with pastors from Germany and other cities of Ukraine.

Later on the question arose about the formation of an educational center. Thus, on March 3, 1993, the German Sunday School started functioning on the basis of Poltava secondary school № 5 and its council was elected. Poltava city department of public education took responsibility for funding.

In the summer of 1993, the group of members of Poltava City Society visited the historic homeland of Germany and established friendly relations with some citizens, with the members of the German Lutheran communities.

In 1994, there were 104 members of Poltava Society of the Germans «Revival»; a library was created with books in German, which were sent from the twin brother cities of the Federal Republic of Germany; Sunday school functioned; the contacts were established with other German societies of Ukraine (Interv'iu z Larysoiu Ritter, 2018 – 2019).

With the acquisition of the premises Poltava Germans-Lutherans, every Sunday the

members of «Revival» society gathered in the community building in Kotsyubynskyi Street, 54. They listened to the sermons conducted by Ivan Hack, met with newcomers pastors.

In the 1990-ies, many German families went abroad because of the material hardships. Ukraine has lost many qualified, competent, hard-working specialists who, despite the German roots, were more Ukrainian than the Germans, because several generations of their families were born and brought up in Ukrainian lands. For the «indigenous» Poltava Germans, the descendants of the colonists, Poltava land has long been a «small Fatherland». I. Lukas, I. Hack, N. Gerhardt, F. Pfeifer and the others left for Germany (Zhuk, 2006, p. 131).

In early 1996, the All-Ukrainian Society of the Germans began preparations for the 1st Congress of the Germans of Ukraine. In this regard, Poltava Regional Association created three territorial commissions: Poltava, Kremenchuk and Komsomolsk (now Horinshni Plavni).

In 1997, in the «Revival» societies in the regional centers of Ukraine (such societies were created in all regions of the state), the public organizations were founded – German cultural centers, whose task was to study the German language and culture, as well as establishing the close contacts between the members of the society community. The newly formed Poltava Center for German Culture was located in Poltava Library for Children No. 13. Its head was Elvira Stelmashenko (Interv'iu z Viroiu Zhuk, 2007).

In 1998, Poltava regional and city societies of the Germans were united under the name Poltava Regional Association of the Germans «Viedergeburt» («Revival»). His chair was Olexander Stro. On October 2, 1998 a new reorganized regional German society was registered by Poltava Regional Department of Justice (Zhuk, 2006, p. 131).

From 2000 till 2001, the regional society was headed by Elvira Stelmashenko, she did a lot to revitalize the society, especially the cultural center, which was replenished with a technical equipment, literature, etc. (Interv'iu z Larysoiu Ritter, 2018 – 2019).

In February 2001, due to the immigration of E. Stelmashenko to Germany, Tetiana Horobets was elected a chairman of the society. Since 1999, the building of the city library branch No. 13 a separate hall has been allocated for the German society, which houses its cultural center, the library. There were meetings, classes of various circles, activities of the family club. Interesting, meaningful lectures, conversations about the history of the German people, about culture, holidays, traditions, customs, about prominent people of a German origin were conducted by Edmund Grab, Lyubov Geyshtor and the others (Protokol № 1 vid 12 kvitnia 2018 roku, p. 1).

Tamara Folsher (Shaposhnykova) is a member of the society, a talented artist and actress of Poltava M. V. Hohol regional musical drama theater. The exhibitions of her paintings – the landscapes, the still lifes – were arranged in the premises of the German culture center of the regional society during 2001 – 2004 (Interv'iu z Viroiu Zhuk, 2007).

Gradually, the employees of the city and regional administrations became interested in the activities of the society, the contacts were established with the Department for National Minorities of the Regional State Administration. Together with Poltava City Council, the «Revival» Society hosted the delegations from Germany and the twin cities.

Tonya Sipple was the faithful friend of Poltava society for 14 years – a representative of the Evangelical Methodist Church of the city of Schwabisch Hall. She provided a great help to the elderly and the sick, and her meaningful and interesting sermons always inspired the audience.

Lidia Klein made much effort to intensify the society's activities and to establish the contacts with the twin cities of Germany. For several years, the German community of

Poltava maintained friendly ties with Erica Roveder and Gudula Erbe, the philanthropists, the members of the religious communities of Germany, who organized the humanitarian aid among their citizens, brought it to Ukraine and distributed it among low-income people of Poltava (Interv'iu z Larysoiu Ritter, 2018 – 2019).

The members of Poltava regional society and community take care of the cemetery of the German prisoners of war who died during the post-war years in the Poltava prisons for the prisoners of war.

The members of the society and the community celebrate the holidays together (Christmas, Easter, the feast of the Three Kings, the harvest feast, etc.), which are prominent for the Germans. On holidays the liturgy is served. By 1998, the religious community was headed by Pastor Ivan Hack, a man who survived the war and the Nazi captivity. With his immigration to Germany preacher was Vladimir (Voldemar) Folmer, the second preacher – Vasyl (Interv'iu z Larysoiu Ritter, 2019). Viktor Lace was the head of the community until January 2004, later on Kateryna Kyva was the head of the community (Zhuk, 2006, p. 135).

At the beginning of the 2000-s, in the structure of the community there functioned the group for children (14 people) and a youth choir (about 20 people), led by Victoria Yemets, a teacher of the choral singing department of Poltava M. V. Lysenko Music School. The exhibition-collection of the paintings «The history of the development of the world sailing fleet», produced by Edmund Grabo was of great interest (Interv'iu z Viroiu Zhuk, 2007).

In the early 2000-s, at Poltava regional society of the Germans, its cultural center, there were 5 groups for the study of the German language: 1 for children and 4 for adults, in which there were about 12–15 pupils; the primary group of up to 20 people functioned as well. The study takes place according to Goethe-Institute programme (Інтерв'ю з Ларисою Ріттер, 2019). In 2005, the delegates from Poltava region: Svitlana Dudko, Larysa Ritter took part in the work of the Third Congress of the Germans in Ukraine, held at Vorzel, Kyiv region. Larysa Ritter was elected a member of the Council of the Germans in Ukraine (Zhuk, 2006, p. 137).

In 2006, Eugene Ritter was elected a chairman of Poltava Society of the Germans at the general election meeting. At the meetings of the society, there was discussed the issue of a closer cooperation of the «Revival» authorities with the center of German culture, which functions at the University of Ukoospilky «Poltava University of Economics and Trade»; the care of all members of the society; the implementation of the best traditions, customs, culture of the Germans.

In 2006, at the city square of Poltava near the academic regional Ukrainian M. Hohol Musical and Drama Theater, Eugene Ritter conducted «The First Festival of German Culture», in which the German folk songs and dances were represented by the artistic groups of Poltava, Kyiv, Odesa. There, in May, he organized Day of Europe, where there was presented the exhibition of works of the Germans of Poltava (Ritter, 2013, p. 39).

Celebrating German holidays (Martinstag, Weihnachten, First Poltava Festival «German fairy tale», «August 28 – Memorial Day of the German people») and organizing the German language courses, Poltava regional society of the Germans «Revival» invited Poltava citizens, interested in German culture: children, students, schoolchildren, people of the older generation. In 2015 – 2016 academic year, for example, they were the senior pupils of Poltava Lyceum №1 and the students of Poltava higher educational institutions (Interv'iu z Larysoiu Ritter, 2018 – 2019).

The public organization «Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt» «was a member of All-Ukrainian German public organizations, such as: the National Council of

the Germans of Ukraine, the Germans Association of Ukraine, the International public organizations of the Germans of Ukraine «Vidergebur».

From 2007 to 2016, Larysa Ritter was the head of the society. In 2017, the name of the society changed – now it functions as a public organization «Poltava Center of German Culture «Vidergebur». In 2017 the society was headed by Stanislav Gizbrecht. In the same year, the new Statute of the public organization Poltava society of the Germans «Viedergerbur» was adopted, which states that it is a «voluntary association of individuals, created for the implementation and protection of the human and civil rights and freedoms, the satisfaction of social, in particular, economic, social, cultural, educational and other interests of its members» (Statut hromadskoi orhanizatsii, 2017, p. 1). From April 2018 «Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergerbur» is headed by Vladyslav Kushnirov (Protokol № 1 vid 12 kvitnia 2018 roku, p. 1).

At the present stage the public organization Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergerbur» functioning is the attraction of the attention to the revival of historical names, given to Poltava streets (in particular, Fabrykantska Street and Coloniyska Street in the historic center of the city). The society members arranged interesting exhibitions of embroidery (towels, tablecloths, napkins), carpets, applications, etc. Some of these products were made at the beginning of the XXth century, or at the end of the XIXth century by hands of mothers, grandmothers, and that great-grandmothers of the society members. The representatives of their works were even friends and acquaintances of the Germans of the «Revival» (Protokol № 2 vid 19 travnia 2019 roku).

The tradition for the society members is the celebration of the Harvest feast. Enthusiasts bring nature gifts grown in cottages fields, as well as cakes, cakes, and other types of cooked dishes. They make a competition in cooking dishes, the German language contest, and then all together perform Ukrainian, Russian and German songs.

At the beginning of the XXIst century the public organization Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergerbur» has more than 50 people – the Germans and their family members – the Ukrainians, the Russians, of whom more than 50 people are members of the Lutheran community (the head – Anatoliy Kotenko, the pastor – Olexandr Schwartz). The premises for the society are kindly provided by University of Ukoopspilka «Poltava University of Economics and Trade» (Poltava, 3 Koval Street).

It is worth noting that in recent years many young people have left for work or residence in Germany – their ethnic homeland, but they continue to maintain ties with Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergerbur». The organization provides the German language courses, young people are interested in German history and culture, the meetings are organized with foreign delegations, volunteers, etc.

Since 2016, Poltava society of the Germans, «Viedergerbur», has been organizing summer language camps for Poltava children, for whom the mother tongue continues to be heard during the holidays. The language groups function: children's groups (for preschoolers and schoolchildren), an adult group and a group for elders («School for the 3rd generation»). The doors are open for Poltava citizens, who want to learn how to understand and read the works in the original, written by the Grimm Brothers.

The linguistic assistants from Germany worked in Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergerbur»: in 2012 – 2013 academic year Margaret Susanne Dorothy Barrier, and Valentyn Yandt in 2015 – 2016 academic year. In the second half of 2016, in addition to the language courses, two clubs, «Children's Theater» and «German cinema» functioned at the

University of Economics and Trade Poltava University of Economics and Trade in the center of German culture.

There were 36 members of Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt» the beginning of 2016 (Protokol № 1 vid 30 sichnia 2016 roku, p. 1). The delegates from Poltava and Kremenchuk took part in the 6th Congress of the Germans of Ukraine, which took place in Kyiv at the end of 2017 (Hromadska orhanizatsiia ..., 2017).

For the first time, on Saturdays, during 2018 – 2019 academic year, the lectures on the basics of robot-techniques are conducted for the children of Poltava German minority (headed by Vladyslav Kushnirov).

Poltava Germans cooperate with public organizations of other national minorities of the region, for example, with Poltava Regional Armenian Organization «URARTU».

In May 2013, on the basis of the premises of a partner of Ukoopspilka University «Poltava University of Economics and Trade», in a close cooperation with teachers, professors Iryna Petrenko and Olena Kobzar, the first international scientific and practical conference «German settlers in the Ukrainian lands: historical and actual problems and perspectives» was held (Nimetski poselentsi na ukrainskykh zemliakh , 2013).

The public organization «Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt» has repeatedly participated in the regional» Days of Tolerance «(Project Manager – Main Department of Information and Internal Poltava Regional Policy), in the city event – «Days of Europe», the members of the public organization performed folk songs at the international Sorochynska Fair.

As to the material support of the public organization Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt», this is primarily the financing of the language courses –Kyiv Department of Goethe-Institute), which provides textbooks of various language levels, provides a methodological support. Thanks to the financing of the Foundation for Development of Society (Odesa), the office furniture and equipment were purchased. The annual social projects are being carried out: health improvement in Ukrainian health resorts for children, older people, the disabled children and adults. Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt» participates in various youth projects, carrying out various events in Poltava German Center of Meetings (on the basis of the University of Ukoopspilka «Poltava University of Economics and Trade»). At the expense of the sponsors, Larysa Ritter developed and published the «2016 – 2020 Calendar of German customs and traditional dishes» (Інтерв'ю з Ларисою Ріттер, 2018 – 2019).

Conclusions. Consequently, the post-war generation of the Germans still remembers the terrible conditions of the GULAGs of Siberia or Kazakhstan (Reabilitovani istoriieiu, 1992; 2005) in which they, their parents or family members were, but under those terrible conditions most of them remained loyal to their people, were honest, hard-working, preserved the culture and customs of their people. Nowadays they have equal political, economic, social, civil rights with all citizens of an independent Ukraine. This is guaranteed by the «Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities of Ukraine». The indication of this is the activity of Poltava Regional Society of the Germans «Viedergeburt» («Revival»), around which people with German roots gather. At the various events of the society, much attention is paid to the study of the German language and culture, traditions, to incite young people to study the history of their ancestors, to be proud of them, to establish contacts with Germany, where they can search for their relatives. The society «Poltava Center of German Culture «Viedergeburt» opened a library with books, published in German. Recently, one of the priorities of the

society is the attraction of attention to Poltava streets revival of their historical names, where in the past German colonists lived (in particular, Fabrykantska Street and Colonial Street in the historical center of the city). Poltava Germans' society «Revival» maintains close contacts with other regional organizations and the Council of the Germans of Ukraine, it participates in many international projects and events. The activity of the society includes: social, youth, ethno-cultural, informational work which contributes to the preservation of German mentality in the Ukrainian society.

The perspectives of further research on this topic may be the expansion of the source base study, which will allow a thorough analysis of the contribution of well-known people of German nationality to the development of Poltava region and Ukraine.

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THE VOLYN TRAGEDY IN UKRAINE AND POLAND'S PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Summary. *The purpose of the article is to reveal the significant changes in the public discourse on the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in the Second World War; to identify differences in the functioning of collective memory about those events in Ukrainian and Polish societies. The research methodology was the classical principles of historicism, structure, science, verification, author's objectivity and the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical-genetic, historical-systemic, historical-typological) methods. The research novelty of the article is a holistic awareness of the Volyn discourse features over the last decade and disclosure of the influencing mechanisms on the memory about the teasing pages of the past. Conclusions.* Contemporary stereotypical perceptions and dominant discursive practices around the Volyn tragedy that have taken root in Ukrainian and Polish societies over the last decade are an ideological construct that undergoes changes driven by the influences of politicians, public figures, professional historians and publicists. It is important to form a coherent vision of the events of the mid-20th century in Poland, which have become an important element of historical memory. An important component of understanding the topic is its use in modern domestic (especially in Poland) and foreign (in the Ukrainian-Russian war) policy.

Key words: *the Volyn tragedy, Halychyna and Volyn (Galicia and Volhynia), 1943 – 1944, memory policy, historical memory.*

ВОЛИНСЬКА ТРАГЕДІЯ У СУСПІЛЬНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ УКРАЇНИ І ПОЛЬЩІ

Анотація. *Метою дослідження є розкрити сутнісні зміни суспільного дискурсу щодо українсько-польського протистояння у роки Другої світової війни, виявити відмінності функціонування колективної пам'яті про ті події в українському та польському суспільствах. Методологією дослідження стали класичні принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності та використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-системний, історико-типологічний) методів. Наукова новизна статті полягає у цілісному осмисленні особливостей волинського*

дискурсу впродовж останнього десятиліття та розкритті механізмів впливу на пам'ятання дражливих сторінок минулого. **Висновки.** Сучасні стереотипні уявлення та домінуючі дискурсивні практики навколо волинської трагедії, які усталилися в українському та польському суспільствах впродовж останнього десятиліття є ідеологічним конструктом, який піддається змінам, які зумовлені впливами політиків, громадських діячів, фахових істориків та публіцистів. Важливим є формування узгодженого бачення подій середини 20 ст. у Польщі, які стали важливим елементом історичної пам'яті. Важливою складовою розуміння теми є її використання у сучасній внутрішній (особливо у Польщі) та зовнішній (у рамках українсько-російської війни) політиці.

Ключові слова: Волинська трагедія, Галичина і Волинь, 1943 – 1944, політика пам'яті, історична пам'ять.

The problem statement. It seems well-worn to say that the dramatic Volyn events affect the socio-political life of our states and their relations till now. The theme of the Volyn tragedy periodically flares up, creating tension in relations between Kyiv and Warsaw. And the thesis about the existence of their own truth about the bloody common past on both sides of the Ukrainian-Polish border seems not less trivial. One doesn't write about the memory conflict between Ukraine and Poland only if he or she is too lazy to do it.

Analysis of the recent research. The issues of cooperation and coexistence of Ukraine and Poland over the last decade, including historical disputes, have been considered in the works of O. Kalishchuk (Kalishchuk, 2013, 2016, 2018), A. Kyrydon (Kyrydon, 2016), K. Krakowska (Krakowska, 2017), T. Stryjek (Stryjek, 2017), L. Khakhula (Khakhula, 2014).

The purpose of the article is to show the differences and dynamics of public discourse on the Volyn events in Ukraine and Poland. The results may also be useful for successful Ukrainian and Polish diplomacy. The practical application of the acquired knowledge may be reflected in the focus on the national elite on Ukraine's acquisition of a worthy place in the community of developed societies with the protection of its own interests.

Statement of the basic material. Here, one should refer to the warnings of an American researcher Timothy Snyder, who stresses the impossibility of the absolute truth from one side in such disputes. After all, both the Ukrainians and the Poles, who claim that they are entirely right about the Volyn events and it doesn't need to listen to the other side, are mistaken (Snyder, 2016). The question is: how to get out of this impasse. In his speech to the Verkhovna Rada on February 19, 2019, Donald Tusk stated: «The foundations of a united Europe are reconciliation instead of revenge, solidarity not self-interest, historical truth not propaganda» (Tusk, 2019a).

It seems false that there are no differences in the view of the Volyn events from the standpoint of truth. The problem is that the sides understand it differently, moreover, the concern is that it is, as Jacek Kuroń has identified, inconvenient (Kuroń, 2012, pp. 174–184); and according to prof. Yaroslav Hrytsak the truth is terrible (Hrytsak, 2018).

In our opinion, the speeches of the Presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland (July 2018) confirmed it. Petro Poroshenko claimed: «The events in Chełm Land, like a number of other tragic conflicts between the Ukrainians and the Poles in the Second World War, require careful historical research. And these studies should be carried out jointly by historians and scholars, jointly by Ukrainian and Polish, based on a sincere desire to establish historical truth about the causes, the course and consequences of the conflict, no matter how much it hurts. Our nations have earned the right to know the truth. But politicians do not have to deal with this truth. Historians and scholars have to do it. And it is what we agreed and we will never let these pages of our history be politicized» (Poroshenko, 2018).

In turn, Andrzej Duda, reiterating his earlier thesis that the future cannot be completely detached from history, but «truth in relations between peoples is fundamental» (Duda, 2017), said: «We need to build our relations on truth. Just recognize it. There can be no revenge, although there is pain. I believe that time that heals wounds will heal those terrible wounds that are kept in many hearts – on one side and on the other. But we must build our good relationship on historical truth. This is the most important thing» (Duda, 2018).

The problem is that both versions, Ukrainian and Polish, have a right to exist and have their basis. Finally, some of Ukrainian and Polish participants of the «Volyn discussion» pay attention to this, pointing out that in Poland the UPA is remembered as a criminal organization that committed the genocide of the Polish population of Galicia and Volhynia in 1943 – 1944, but in Ukraine memory about the UPA is linked to a heroic anti-Soviet guerrilla struggle. In doing so, both versions are true, each showing a fragment of the story, and each one is the most important (Masewicz, 2017). This, according to the well-known Polish specialist on Ukrainian studies Bogumiła Berdychowska, poses a fundamental problem with Ukrainian and the Polish views on anti-Polish UPA campaign. Something very significant for Polish history – in the case of Ukraine is not so important (for the Ukrainians the 20th century was too rich in tragic experience) (Berdychowska, 2018; Zaczarczyszyn, 2018, p. 59). As Polish expert Adam Balcer remarked: «We must carry out a historical dialogue, but we cannot say that we have a monopoly on the truth, we are right, and the other side must accept our point of view» (Balcer, 2017). The language of ultimatums is spoken by the modern ruling party cannot have any success. After all, the statements made in the programmatic material of Senator-historian Jan Żaryn about that, first of all, «there is no Polish people without Lviv», and second, «the formation of Ukrainian identity is impossible without the realization that the Volyn tragedy is a genocide of the Polish people» (Żaryn, 2015), could have caused nothing but irritation. It is no coincidence that from time to time from participants of the Volyn discourses (for example, from Janusz Kurtika – the chairman of the INP (the Institute of National Remembrance) we hear opinions to recognize the right of both sides to have their truth. Iza Chruslińska about that said the following: «Regarding history, I think the Poles and the Ukrainians should accept a formula: every nation has the right to its own understanding of history. And we must not have a common understanding: we must admit that the Ukrainians have the right to their historical memory and the Poles to their own one» (Chruslińska, 2018b).

In the opposite interpretation, it is futile to rely on the effectiveness of resolving disputes through commissions of historians or forums of intellectuals (moreover, the sides' historical approaches are now codified). The «Volyn» theme only expresses how much historical narration and historical consciousness are an element of the functioning of new and next generations. Although, from time to time, in the context of the Volyn debate, the tempting argument about the need to «leave history to historians» is heard. It should be noted that the common Ukrainian-Polish past since the emergence of democratic Poland in 1989 and the proclamation of Ukraine's independence in 1991 were neither solely an academic issue nor a simple or minor subject of political dialogue. Modern politics cannot be formed without understanding own past and the history of neighbouring states and peoples, because they remind about themselves. The caveat of American historian Timothy Snyder, a professor at Yale University, should be noted here as to the impossibility of historical judgement emergence, on the basis of which all other states and their societies agree to recognize Poland is that how it defines itself (Snyder, 2019). Academic environment was legally subordinated

to politicians by the last steps of official Warsaw. Amendments to the Law on the Institute of National Memory was adopted on 1 February 2018 (it was called the «anti-Bandera law» in Ukraine), which, among other things, provide for criminal responsibility for denying crimes of Ukrainian nationalists against citizens of the II Republic of Poland, have become a way of coercion on historians and political dictate. The devastating consequences of adopting this legal act, despite the decision of the Constitutional Court of Poland of 17 January 2019 to recognize the provisions on «Ukrainian nationalists» and «Eastern Małopolska» as contradicting the Polish Constitution (Domagalski, 2019), are also fixed by the Ukrainian (Babakova, 2018), and Polish (Protestujemy; Motyka, 2018) authors.

«The law of 29 April 2016 abolished the previous procedure for the appointment of the INP Chairman that provided for a significant participation of the scientific environment of historians in favour of an order; an exclusive control was given to politicians, that is, the majority in both houses of the parliament, who nominates seven members of the Council and then approves the candidate elected by this body, and the president who nominates the other two members» (Stryjek, 2017, p. 104).

The aforementioned amendments revealed another threatening trend. The essence of the «Bandera Amendment» is not even in the criminal responsibility of those who «publicly and contrary to the facts deny the crimes», but in that to record the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists alongside the communist and Nazi crimes in the public consciousness (Ustawa, 2018).

«In the discussion art. 1 was neglected where to the paragraph 1a, which defines the sphere of the INP's activities, after the Nazi and communist crimes, among other crimes, which may be described as crimes against peace and humanity or war crimes, such information was added: «crimes of Ukrainian nationalists and members of Ukrainian formations who have collaborated with the Third Reich» (Hnatiuk, 2018).

Here Paweł Kowal's remark about it should also be remembered. He points out that this thesis underpins the foundations of Poland's historical policy that emphasizes the exceptionalism of the two totalitarianisms in the negative sense which, from the standpoint of international law, are the aggressors against Poland and, accordingly, the root cause of all other crimes. The addition of other factors weakens the Polish position – the question of the occupier's responsibility for impunity in the occupied territories raises (Kowal, 2018).

The tendency that we have been observing for decades (Kalishchuk, 2013, p. 274), started in kresy environment, supported by right-wing politicians like Jarosław Kalinowski, now has fixed in law. In the Polish segment of the Volyn (and not only) discussion, we can sometimes find such statements as: «Usually, when we talk about the genocide of the Poles in the East, we mean the Soviet occupation of the Eastern Kresy in 1939 – 1941 and since 1944 the Katyn crime and the OUN–UPA crimes» (Piętka, 2012, pp. 34–47), «to paraphrase the words of rotmistrz Piletski (who compared Auschwitz with the torture chambers of UB), we can say that «Katyn despite Volyn was a toy» (Makowiecki, 2013), «Volyn – the Katyn lie of the III Republic of Poland» (Ziemkiewicz, 2016, p. 34–36) or «the monsters from Volyn. Even the Germans were struck by their crimes» (Rodak, 2018), «we will start the Polish case as Hitler – Jewish one» (Maciejewski, 2016, p. 17). Finally, in 2014 in Cieszanów, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Lubaczow County a monument was opened to honour the victims of the town and the Gmina, who died in 1939 – 1947. The victims were killed by German, Soviet, and Ukrainian nationalists. Here one can only point out the substitution of concepts mentioned by Grzegorz Motyka – the sign of equality between members of the OUN-UPA and the Nazis

and Communists (Soviet) gives the impression that the Poles were dealing with something like external invasion and Ukrainian occupation of Kresy (Motyka, 2011, p. 465).

The Polish side's attempt to define clearly the Volyn events, which «is required by the memory of the victims» complicates and exacerbates the situation (Marecki, 2018, p. 1). The victimization of national histories has led to the desire to receive the exclusive role of the victim and, accordingly, the black and white interpretation in the coordinates of «the victim – the executioner» and the relevant victimization of «their own» and the demonization of «someone else». The English historian Norman Davies expressed the following opinion: «It is unacceptable for only one side to claim the status of sole victim of the Volyn massacre [...] remember that at the beginning of the Second World War these lands were multinational: the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Jews lived there. Each of these groups has experienced terrible things. One cannot isolate one of them and speak only about its own grievance» (Lichnerowicz, 2013).

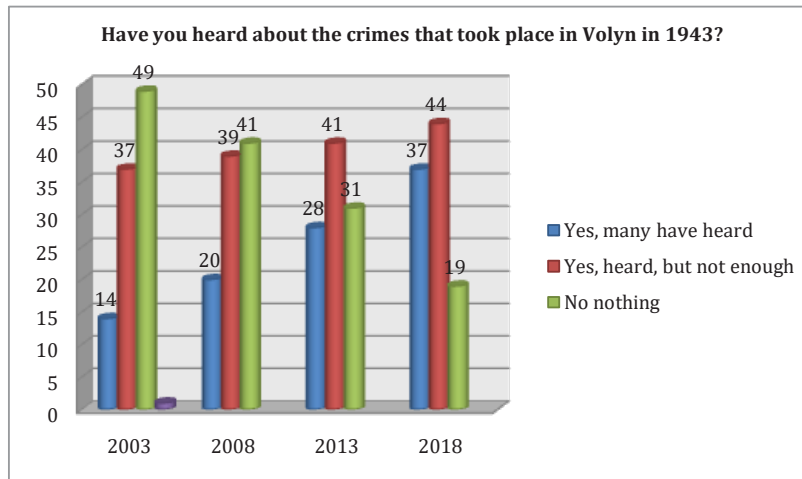
With the entire seemingly paradox of this situation, it is necessary to recognize the understandability of this state of affairs. After all, we are dealing with historical memory, which, unlike, let's say, historical science, is a simplified / stereotyped collective perception of the facts of the past by members of the national community (Artiuch, 2013, p. 3). At the same time, in our context, particular importance is given to the understanding of historical memory, expressed by Yevhen Sverstiuk, as primarily painful points (Istorychna pamiat, 2008, p. 14). Volyn' 43 became the most painful memory of the common Ukrainian-Polish past.

The generally accepted view is that the tragic events in Volyn, Eastern Galicia, Chełm Land and Podlasie in the Second World War are deeply rooted in the public consciousness and historical memory of the Poles (unlike the Ukrainians). In the end, this point of view has a logical explanation.

«For example, in the Polish People's Republic until 1989 it was possible to write about Volyn, Joseph Pilsudski, and even about Symon Petliura, but in Soviet Ukraine it didn't happen. It was not possible to have a research on these issues. In addition, Poland had a strong political emigration, including a scientific one, which has dealt with these topics. For this reason, the Volyn tragedy existed in the Polish public consciousness in one way or another. But it didn't exist in Ukrainian minds!» (Hud, 2018a).

The Polish authorities claim that the public has always worried about the events of Volyn, and interpret the memory of the Volyn tragedy as a permanent factor in «Polish historical consciousness». Despite the general practice of historical narratives censoring by the communist government, «memory cleansing» was not fully effective. After all, its results in Soviet Ukraine and in socialist Poland were truly different. In the Ukrainian historical narrative these events were absent, but in the Polish literature of socialist realism, the image of the UPA as thugs and the Nazi servants (though with emphasis on their actions in Beskydy and East Lublin, not in Volyn) existed. Moreover, as noted by Eleonora Narvselius, in Polish textbooks of that period, the UPA was called criminal gangs driven by the ancient hatred of the Poles (Narvselius, 2015). However, the results of sociological surveys give reason to doubt the possibility of simplifying complex mechanisms (Kalishchuk, 2018, p. 105).

This only confirms the understanding of the variability of the category of historical memory, when each new situation inevitably entails correction of this «memory» and, accordingly, the national identity of its carriers (Yakovenko, 2005). There is every reason to believe that the topic of Volyn'43 is now trying to fit into the general trend of the genocide and the Holocaust studies to use similar approaches to popularize knowledge about the events of the



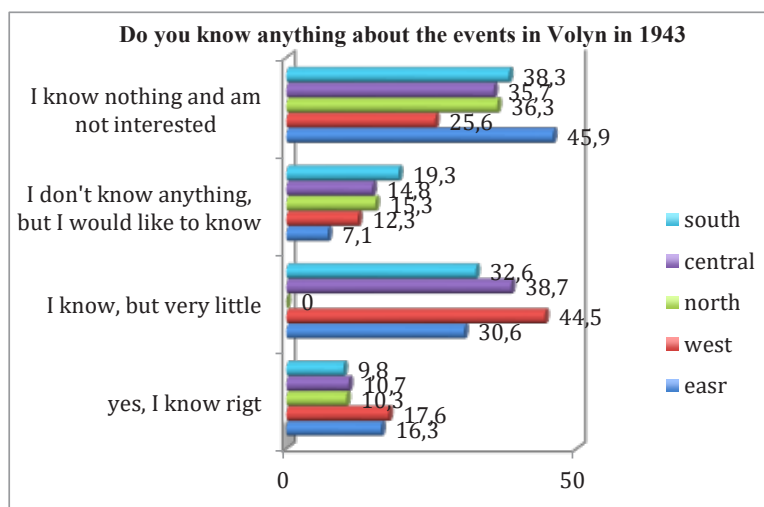
Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in the Second World War in Volyn, Eastern Galicia, Chełm Land and Podlasie. Significant use in the media (or by definition of Volodymyr Viatrovych – «tabloidization» (Viatrovych, 2016), which influences the social actualization of topics of the historical past, is recognized by both Ukrainian (Khakhula, 2014, pp. 22–23) and Polish (Fomina, 2013, p.51) researchers. Obviously, awareness level of the history by our peoples in general and about the Second World War, in particular, is higher among the Poles, but they receive this knowledge mainly from the tabloids and they are one-sided. What is more, we can now claim the widespread use of cinema (documentary, art, and animation), theatre, music for the dissemination of knowledge. And here it should be remembered that all this is only an interpretation of historical knowledge, although it has a huge emotional impact.

What is more important is change in the priorities and important events of the past. In Poland, Volyn'43 has become one of the main topics on which the Polish national consciousness is built (until recently such key themes in the historical discourse have been Katyn, the heroics of the anti-communist struggle of the Poles, ending with the Solidarity).

This contrasts with the Ukrainian situation. Today we are observing the locality of knowledge about the Volyn events (Western Ukraine) or their functioning in the context of the pro-Soviet narrative of the OUN and UPA using the latter by Russian Federation in a mass information attack (Eastern Ukraine). This is confirmed by a sociological survey of the Ukrainian Institute of the Future, conducted on 21 – 28 November, 2017 (Romanenko, 2017).

Analyzing the regional differences in estimates, it should be emphasized that the percentage of those who chose the answer that the UPA had fought for independence but also had committed crimes against civilians does not differ significantly in the regional context. The main differences have shown the more straightforward answers, that is, the fight for independence or the crimes against civilians – the West tends to choose the first answer more often, the East and the South – the second one (Romanenko, 2017).

The unanimity of the Polish society in assessing Volyn events as the «Volyn crime», «genocide» and the transfer of all responsibility to members of the OUN and UPA fighters is now evident and distorted (Ukrainian media wrote about the spread of this tendency on the 60th anniversary of Volyn'43) (Uroku, 2003, p. 7). The stereotypical image of a «Ukrainian-cutthroat», that is a part of the traditional historical points of view of the Poles, depicted since



the time of Henryk Adam Aleksander Pius Sienkiewicz, successfully nourished in the times of the Polish People's Republic by spreading the perception of the Ukrainian as a primitive peasant who can only «stabs lachy (the Poles)», quite comfortably and painlessly transformed into the image of the «Ukrainian nationalist» responsible for the Volyn tragedy (Kalishchuk, 2016, p. 80). The supremacy of Polish socio-political discourse over the Ukrainian is also ensured by its support by the Polish state institutions. Polish politicians make official statements demanding Ukraine plead guilty to the events that took place in Volyn in 1943. If, ten years ago, a relatively small number of Polish scholars and politicians used the term «genocide» towards to the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in the Second World War, then, since 2013, it has become increasingly heard in public space (Kyrydon, 2016, p. 61), and has been legally enshrined in the decisions of the Senate of 7 July 2016 and the Sejm of 22 July 2016. In doing so, a unanimous vote in favour of these resolutions emphasized that there is no alternative vision (only one deputy M. Swiencicki abstained in the Sejm).

Again, this contrasts with the situation in Ukraine. Over the Vistula, the historical awareness of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict has a national dimension, and the memory of these events is actively influenced by the state institutions. Over the Dnieper River it has a local scale – the development of programs aimed at research and memorialization was seen as a problem for five modern regions in the conflict area, or by neglecting Lviv or Lutsk.

No matter how we avoid it, however, we must admit some fundamental differences in the perception of the Volyn events in Ukrainian and Polish societies, which, in our view, underlie contemporary historical disputes between the two nations. It is crucial for Ukrainian panelists to explain the causes of what happened in the Second World War. The Polish public discourse, with few exceptions, is concentrated only on the events of 1943 – 1944; in Poland, the Volyn tragedy is seen as an independent phenomenon, without historical context. As Yaroslav Hrytsak noted: «The problem is also that the historical memory of the Poles is declining, it does not extend beyond the period of the Second World War. When the Poles talk about Volyn, they do not want to talk about what happened before the Volyn tragedy, what happened in 1918 – 1919, in 1938, and so on. And so it looks like this massacre is from nowhere, just because it was Ukrainian nationalists. This is a very dangerous phenomenon» (Volyn asymetriya).

The problem of historical reconciliation was its limitation to a narrow circle of political and intellectual elite, and consequently a lack of serious influence on the main part of the population, which inevitably resulted in superficiality. All the more so, at this time the leading positions in the discourse around the Volyn events were occupied by «Kresy environments» (which someone describe as «chauvinistic» (Romaszewski-Guzy, 2016, pp. 33–35)), they became the main expert and at the same time a public controller for actions of the authorities. They not only radicalized the rhetoric and steadily increased the degree of tension, but eventually, with the growth of public support for the right-wing forces and their rise to power, they gradually shifted from margins to the centre of social life (Kowal N., 2018). If earlier, as Polish expert Pawel Kowal points out, these environments had ambitions mainly related to honouring victims, lobbying educational or scientific projects that would tell about the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists in Volyn and strengthen the memory about them in the society, nowadays, the «Kresy environments» are clearly expressing political ambitions, trying to influence contemporary politics, and are having success in this sphere (Kowal, 2018). Obviously, the recent growth of interest in the activities of the Polish self-defense can be linked with it. It is not only about numerous publications on this subject (Koprowski, 2018, pp. XLVI–XLVIII; Koreś, 2018; Masierak, 2018, p. 56–59; Stańczyk, 2016, p. XVI–XVIII; Zychowicz, 2018, p. 6–9; Józwiak, 2018), but also the appearance on the tomb of an unknown soldier (Grób Nieznanego Żołnierza w Warszawie) in 2017, for the initiative of the Minister of National Defense Antoni Macierewicz, the plaques with the names of the areas where «the biggest crimes» were committed and those ones whose residents organized the best resistance during the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in the Second World War. So we can talk not only about honoring the victims of the conflict, but also about the «Kresy environments» as such. What is more, there are the reasons for claiming to attempt to record the history of Polish self-defense in the legend of «cursed soldiers» (żołnierze wyklęte). An example is the personality of Henryk Czybulski (Błazejowska, 2016), a commander of Polish self-defense in Przebraż who, among other things, is known to Ukrainians for his attacks (and along with Soviet guerrilla units) on nearby Ukrainian villages.

Therefore, it should be understood that the Volyn theme exists in the Polish public consciousness as an element of the «Kresy» myth (Halchak, 2013, pp. 106–110) with the relevant ideology. As A. Tykhomirov noted, the presence of such discourse in mass-produced editions is interesting and symptomatic: on the one hand, it emphasizes the interest in the topic of «Kresy», on the other – attests to the functioning of previous, romanticized clichés with minimal revision (Tichomirov, 2013). Nowadays, Polish political historicism is largely based on the sentiments and emotions of the so-called Kresy people, former inhabitants of the Ukrainian (Lithuanian and Belarusian) lands, who frequently objectively or subjectively performed colonial functions. «In that narration, the Polish Kresy was represented as lost Arcadia, the territory of the Polish civilization mission, the peaceful coexistence of peoples under Polish rule, and later it was shown as the torment places of the Poles, who were murdered by horrible ungrateful neighbours» (Balcer, 2017, pp. 23–29).

Despite all attempts of the «liberal» part of Polish society to avoid exacerbation, it now seems that this degree of social tension has reached such indicators that the Polish state and Polish politicians cannot control because public steps to reduce it are tantamount to political suicide. During a discussion «Przepraszam za Wołyń» in Wrocław a Polish journalist, writer and activist of the Solidarity Leszek Budrewicz noted the following: «...the film Volyn despite its negative connotation, is a definite result for the generation of people, who grew up

on the legend of the negative image of the UPA rather than on the study of the white spot of history» (Kulchevych, 2017).

It is difficult for Polish society to handle with the truth about the relationship with the Ukrainians. Thus, one of the moral authorities, Jacek Kuroń, noted that discussing the causes of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation, one should address a fundamental issue that is difficult to get through to the Polish consciousness, namely: Poland did not allow the independence of Ukraine in the 20th century twice (for the first time as a result of the victory in 1918 over the UHA (Ukrainian Galician Army), and secondly as a result of the Ryha Peace Treaty) (Kuroń, 2003, p. 37). French historian Daniel Beauvois wrote on Ukrainian-Polish relations: «Poles hardly ever were able to change their old habits. I've had to recognize Polish habits as merely colonial» (Beauvois, 2006). The interpretation of the Volyn tragedy as a result of Polish colonialism, the characterization of Ukrainians as second-class citizens in the Second World War is rather an exception in Polish society (Kukiz, 2012, pp. 96–100).

Eventually, this is also recognized by Izabella Chruślińska, a representative of the Giedroyc environment. «It is difficult for the Poles to perceive the truth about the relationship. We do not agree to name the so-called «Polish presence in the east» a colonization policy, we are offended when the presence of the Second Polish Republic after the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918 – 1919 is called the «occupation» of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia (this is how the Polish presence in these territories is determined by some Ukrainian historians and figures), although in interpretations of some prominent Polish historians, such as Professor Roman Vapinski, Ryszard Torzetcki, and French Professor Daniel Beauvois, this is beyond doubt – especially in setting of colonial policy of so-called «Eastern Kresy» of the First Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth period and the period of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth» (Chruślińska, 2018a).

Public discourse in Poland on the historical past is built around the myth of the people-victim. Hence the typical clichés and emphases placed by Polish historians and publicists in assessing the Volyn events when they speak about the anti-Polish action of Ukrainian nationalists / Ukrainians as genocide, whereas similar crimes of the Polish underground are the acts of retribution; when the OUN and the UPA are the criminal fascist organizations and the AK (the Home Army) are patriotic underground units fighting for their own land, etc. and these organizations cannot be compared.

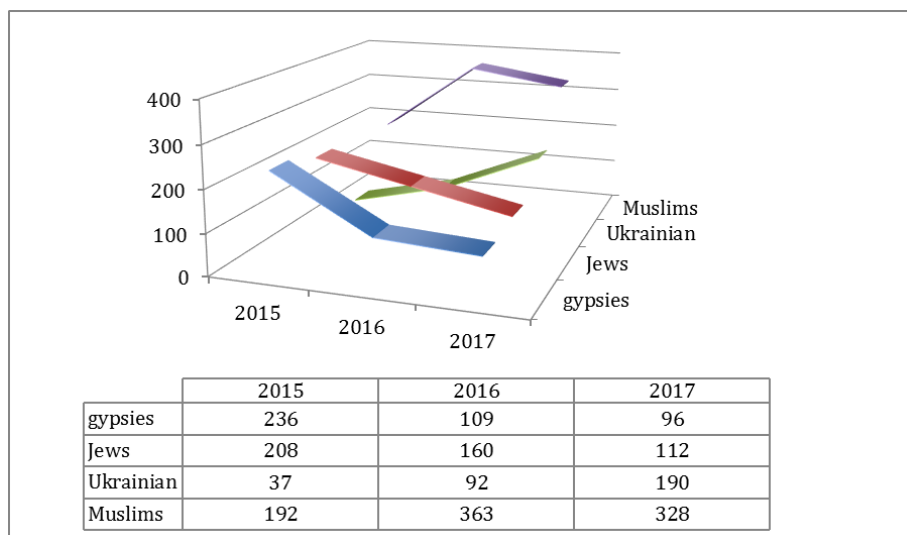
Polish public figure, philosopher, sociologist, Dr. Krzysztof Wojciechowski, drew attention to the fundamental difference between the Ukrainian-Polish and Polish-German dialogues: «I see a great difference in the attitude of Poles to their western and eastern neighbours. The Poles are open-minded, ready to cooperate to the Germans, and behave with the Ukrainians, the Belarusians, or the Russians as with lower people. I believe that because of the perception of self-worth. Nations can cooperate effectively when they have the same level of self-worth. If there is no equality between them, then there will be troubles» (Wojciechowski, 2016).

It is not by chance the conviction began to emerge in the expert environment that in building relations with Kyiv, Warsaw should get rid of, on the one hand, superiority on the eastern border partners, and, on the other hand, Poland should forget about «Ukrainophilia» – the constant justification of Ukraine (Konończuk, 2018).

This caveat seems very important to explain why the model of Polish-German reconciliation with its formula of «we forgive and ask for forgiveness», offered from the beginning of the Ukrainian-Polish understanding process have not worked. There has been a gradual derogation from this formula in Ukrainian-Polish relations. At that time, then an

INP chairman Lukash Kaminsky spoke about the words being appropriate, but they should sound at the moment when both sides know what the crimes are about and confess them (Volyn. Dva pohlady).

Katarzyna Krakowska draws attention to how the Volyn events theme is used to build the image of Ukrainians as a new enemy, an imminent threat (used by nationalist movements to increase their own power) (Krakowska, 2017, pp. 183–205). As a result, the «language of enmity» and the Volyn context in various anti-Ukrainian provocations are increasingly evident in public space. It is enough to cite the recent cases. Since 4 February 2019 mobile action has continued in the Polish capital for a week, in which in Warsaw the car is plying with the trailer, on which the banner with the inscription is placed: «The Ukrainian genocide was committed against the citizens of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the OUN-UPA members in 1939 – 1947. We remember. Volyn and Eastern Malopolska» (Po Warszawi). In September 2018 a billboard with a similar inscription was posted on the A4 motorway leading from Wrocław to Katowice. Notably, the description stated that «we, the Poles, have a duty not only to inform our compatriots, but also to make sure that Ukrainians who come to our country know that their grandfathers did not fight in the Polish-Ukrainian war and they were not heroes, first of all, that Poland has never been an occupier of Ukraine...» (U Polshchi). The same posters appeared in Wrocław, Opole, near Olsztyn. In Lublin, in March 2018, unknown people left inscriptions about the murders in Volyn on Ukrainian-language billboard: «Wołyń! Pamiętamy» (Volyn! We remember). According to Wyborcza Kraków, on the night of 9 February 2018, anti-Ukrainian inscriptions «UA – von» and «Ukraina do gazu» («UA» – «VON») were found in a tunnel under the railway tracks near Brogi and Otwinowski Streets. Interestingly, that the authors of the study «Ukrainian minority in Poland and the migrants from Ukraine to Poland. Discourse Analysis» associate the rapid growth of such cases with the annexation of Crimea and with the outbreak of war in eastern Ukraine and, accordingly, the hybrid war waged by Russia against Ukraine and Europe (Mniejszość, 2018, p. 11). To avoid accusations of biased fact-finding, we provide official statistics from the Prosecutor's Office in Poland regarding attacks against the Ukrainians (Długosz, 2019).



In the current realities of the hybrid war being waged against Ukraine and Europe by Russia, its role in the Ukrainian-Polish memory conflict cannot be underestimated. In the end, it is worth pointing out the high-ranking politicians' understanding of this. For example, President of the Republic of Poland Bronisław Komorowski during his visit to Lutsk stated: «It is worth remembering that the Ukrainian-Polish conflicts are always used by somebody third, someone, who also has been threatening our independence and our freedom» (Wystąpienie prezydenta RP, 2015, p 2). Programmatic in the «reset» of relations was the declaration of President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko: «History has taught well that when Ukrainians and Poles quarrel, someone else wins. We are sure that we will not allow this situation» (Ukraina and Polshcha). And it is not fundamental whether the accusations fall on Russia as a state, or whether some Russian politicians are suspected in historical discussion initiating. The steps to escalate the conflict between Ukrainians and Poles in the context of the activities of special bodies of the Russian Federation should be considered more. The presence of Russian propaganda and provocation is confirmed by both Ukrainian and Polish analysts (Bornio, 2016, p. 83–100), revealing an understanding of all danger by a part of society. The words of ex-ambassador of Poland to Ukraine, PAUCI (Foundation of Polish-American-Ukrainian cooperation) leader Jan Piętko warned about the danger of Russia's attempts to restore animosity between Ukrainians and Poles on the painful topics of a common, bloody, historical past; both countries have different opinions about it (Rosija).

Undoubtedly, radical right-wing elements have been in the past, are at present, and will be in the future in both societies which promote intolerance to all other ethnic groups. In fact, they «were activated», «are activated» and «will be activated» by third parties seeking to destabilize our societies. And the question is rather about organizing a proper, decent, systematic counteraction to such acts from the outside.

Conclusions. The analysis of the Volyn discourse in Ukraine and Poland over the last decades allows us to confirm its radicalization and its increasing interconnection with modern domestic and foreign policy. Finally, Donald Tusk's notable remark on Pope John Paul II's references as the safest route of appeals for unification in Poland should be recalled (Tusk, 2019b). Equally, to assert the rightness of those experts in Ukrainian-Polish relations who say that the nature of the discussion on the Volyn tragedy demonstrates a small chance of understanding and reconciliation between Ukrainian and Polish societies in the near term (Hud, 2018b, p. 376). At the same time, one need to express a firm belief that without hard daily work on a difficult past, it is impossible to expect to build a successful future for Ukraine and Poland.

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FROM THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN NADSYANNYA
(Review: S. Zabrowarnyi. «The Second State Women's Teaching Seminary
in Przemyśl (1872 – 1936)», Lviv, 2018, 210 p.)

З ІСТОРИЇ ЖІНОЧОЇ ОСВІТИ НАДСЯННЯ
(Рец.: Заброварний С. «II державна жіноча вчительська семінарія
в Перемишлі (1872 – 1936)», Львів, 2018, 210 с.)

The rise of the national movements in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the second half of the XXth century was associated with the number of cultural and educational institutions emergence. This factor contributed to the Renaissance of the Enlightenment and encouraged the authorities to implement the reforms, particularly in the educational sphere. Due to the Ukrainian intelligentsia self-awareness through the belonging to its own people, its language, and the culture of the deep eternal traditions, the contemporary Ukrainian National Renaissance in Halychyna (Galicia) began. New trends in the roots, the history and the

identity search were brought in by the Romanticism wave. Austria's policy (subsequently the Austro-Hungarian) concerning the national minorities was much more liberal than in the Russian Empire. It was manifested in the educational issues as well as the opportunity to study in the primary schools using their native language. However, there was a lack of Ukrainian schools and skilled teachers. The activities of the «Prosvita» society and later on the «Rus' Pedagogical Society» facilitated the school network expansion and the Ukrainian textbooks' publication. Until World War I, the Ukrainian gymnasia existed only in Lviv and Przemyśl, but in Drohobych it was created in 1918. Actually, the national schooling problem in Halychyna (Galicia) in the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century examines the Przemyśl scientist Stefan Zabrowarnyi in the book «The Second State Women's Teaching Seminary in Przemyśl (1872 – 1936)», which was published in Lviv in 2018 and the presentation to the scientists and the public was held in the Mirror Hall of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv in January 2019. The new studio is based on a rich source base, good knowledge of the Ukrainian and the Polish historiography, and the widespread use of the memoirs.

In the book introduction, it was emphasized that the lack of Ukrainian teaching staff in the Ukrainian-Polish border area was a serious problem for schooling development. The Deacon Teaching Training Institute in Przemyśl, founded in 1816 by the Ukrainian National Consciousness «first prophets» – Ivan Mohylnytskyi and Mykhailo Levytskyi was the first step of teachers' training. Over the centuries, Przemyśl retained a poly-confession with strong Ukrainian, Jewish influences that reflected in the ethnopolitical, the socio-economical, the cultural space and provided Przemyśl with the shade of the «Galician Athens». But according to the Polish researchers and the politicians, Przemyśl was considered to be the «The Poland Eastern Gate». The city was home to many Ukrainian generations from the duke times, the days of the Galician-Volhynian state: Bishop Ivan Snihurskyi (Jan Snigurski), sculptor Peter Voitovych (Wójtowycz Piotr), literary critic Mykola Hnatyshak, writer Olha Dobrianska-Korenets, artist Teofil Kopystynskyi, geographer Stepan Rudnytskyi. The National Anthem author, composer Mykhailo Verbytskyi, writer Ulyana Kravchenko, cultural and educational figure Anatoliy Vakhnyanin and the others worked in Przemyśl. Ivan Franko and Stanislav Moniushko visited Przemyśl frequently, as the confrontation between the Ukrainians and the Poles of Galicia was manifested primarily on the political ground and much less on the cultural and household level. The Ukrainian intelligentsia participation in the first political parties creation on both sides of the Zbruch, a sense of moral duty and the identity with the Dnieper Ukrainians contributed to the emergence of a number of the socio-cultural and the financial and the economic structures: the «Narodna Torhovlia (People's Trade Union)», the Credit Union «Vira», the Craft Company «Zorya», «Sich» and «Sokol» centers, the choir «Boyan», the Ukrainian sports club «Syan», the reading rooms «Prosvita» and the «Ridna Shkola (Native School)», which taught the Galician Ukrainians the new management methods and promoted the Ukrainian history and culture. The Ukrainian public paid special attention to the education and training centers creation – the reading rooms «Prosvita» and the «Ridna Shkola», St. Nicholas Bursa activities, Gymnasium Institute for Boys, The Ukrainian Institute for Girls, male and female gymnasia. The Greek Catholic Church, the Theological Seminary and the Deacon Institute parishes became the important centers of spirituality and education.

Hence, Stefan's Zabrowarnyi work is devoted to the national-cultural life of the Ukrainians in Przemyśl, due to the difficult circumstances, Przemyśl was beyond the bounds of modern Ukraine, the scientist's work is easy to read, it is obtainable and interesting, and the work is

a kind of a guide to the scientific, educational and cultural centers of Nadsyannya. In the first section of the book, the author analyzes the historical facts and shows that the preparatory schools (the training centers for the teaching staff) were not able to give a decent preparation within a few months' courses being accompanied by the outdated teaching methods. German as the teaching language was the paramount obstacle to teaching in preparatory schools until 1848. The author highlights that the public but not the government took the initiative in order to create the Teacher Seminary, which in turn triggered the heated discussions concerning this topic in the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria (Sejm Krajowy). The book examines the main stages of the Teacher Seminary formation in Przemyśl on the basis of the state schools law, teaching methods and teaching subjects. The first graduation from the Teacher Seminary was in 1875 and after the three-year preparation there were the eight graduates, there was only one Ukrainian among them, such kind of the situation is the result of the weak woman's emancipation in that time society.

The second section of the work «On the Way of Development» encompasses chronologically the period from the 1875-ies to the beginning of the 1920-ies. It also highlights the Teachers' Gymnasium rapid growth issues in Halychyna (Galicia) and the discussions concerning this subject. The author has found and submits the fragments of some Galician Sejm Ambassadors statements (Mechyslav Roy, Heinrich Vozdytskyi) concerning supposedly the «surplus of the educated sections of the population», the urgent need to reduce the teaching process in the teachers' seminaries, the number of the seminaries, and the limited access provision to the education from the peasant and the working class.

The text of the book is accompanied by the little-known statistical data on the number, the qualitative composition, the religion (which can be determined by the nationality), the seminarians, the teaching subjects, the teaching staff and the others. Since the number of the Ukrainian-seminarians has been increasing every year, from 1891 the Directorate initiated the creation of the separate Ukrainian classes. In fact, the seminary became bilingual (latent). An example of growing patriotism among future teachers was their active participation in the event dedicated to the Shevchenko celebrations in the early XXth century. Despite the fact of multinationality in the sphere of education in Austro-Hungary, the national contradictions were regulated by the authorities in general by the democratic methods, and the utraquist seminary emergence is an irrefutable proof.

In the third section of the monograph «Along with the Ukrainian language of Teaching» prof. S. Zabrowarnyi tracks the school politics in the interwar Poland. In September 1919 the Rus activities seminary women's courses were established, which became the predecessors of the female teacher's seminary using the Ukrainian language. The author sought for the answer of such spur in Franziska Zola's notes (the minister's delegate to the territory of Galicia): «... The utraquist seminaries should be liquidated, and superseded by the Polish and Russian language teaching seminaries including the Poles and the Rusyns teachers...». S. Zabrowarnyi explained this policy to the Poles' urgent need to consolidate themselves in Halychyna (Galicia) and to find favour among the Ukrainian population who could not protect the statehood of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR). However, the new Polish authorities failed to deploy a full-fledged network of Ukrainian schools, against which were the representatives of the right-wing Polish parties. Hence, the author makes an infer and explains the reasons for the reducing number of the Ukrainian seminarians. The section gives the seminarians' a social background, shows the residence and living conditions. The statistics on education, along with the Ukrainian women, in the State Women's Teaching

Seminary with the Ruthenian language in Przemyśl, the Jewish girls (among the two hundred pupils, five to six girls could be the Jews) is presented.

The polinization politics in the cultural and educational sphere had a negative impact on the Teachers' Seminary functioning. While analyzing the government orders and the National School Board letters, Professor S. Zabrowarnyi, in the context of general changes, highlights the factors of the Polish statehood ideas implementation: the prohibition of the term «Ukrainian», the introduction of the Polish language seminary in the internal and external life, and the increase of teaching subjects conducted in the Polish language. As a result, the interethnic relations aggravation, an unexpected assassination of the Director of the Seminar Sofron Matviyas by the members of the Ukrainian Military Organization, who, according to their opinion «was implementing the school polonization too aggressively».

The fourth section of the monograph «Under One Roof» draws attention to the utraqism introducing problem in the system of education, in general, and on the example of the Teachers' Seminary in Przemyśl, in particular. It has been argued that the Ukrainian pupils are obliged to participate in the Polish patriotic activities, and in the Ukrainian evenings, celebrations, campaigns, the Polish teachers and pupils usually ignored such events.

During the last decade of the Teams Seminary in Przemyśl the numerous historical events happened, for instance, the general international-Ukrainian-Polish confrontation, the development of the Ukrainian national movement with the requirements of «with the native language schools teaching». The public confrontation in the seminary was manifested in the rejection of the assimilation processes of a group of the Ukrainian educators. The suppression of the seminary is connected with the school reform implementation in 1932 and the pedagogical lyceums and gymnasiums introduction, which prevented the recruitment of the new students. At the end of the book, the author states that many seminary teachers and students continued to participate in the socio-political, cultural and educational life of the region soon.

At the same time, we believe that the book does not adequately disclose the social struggle for the Ukrainian seminary existence (the preservation), the education system of the Austro-Hungarian period, in particular, the activities of the other educational centers in Halychyna (Galicia) (male seminaries) that existed along with the Second State Women's Teachers Seminary in Przemyśl. More attention should be paid to the further life of its graduates.

Finally, we should note that the work is complemented successfully: the bibliography, the selected documents, the memoirs, the well-established lists of seminarians and the little-known photographs of that time. The monograph encourages us searching for the answers to the numerous questions, related to the changes in the system of education of Austro-Hungarian and interwar Poland, the unresolved national question, the contradiction between the co-existence of two peoples – the Ukrainians and the Poles, the national consciousness growth and the Ukrainian initiatives in Przemyśl. The author's conclusions are confirmed by a scientific-historical analysis, the source base application. Stefan's Zabrowarnyi study shows the peculiarity of the national schooling functioning in the conditions of Ukrainian non-statehood, the influence on it the ethnopolitical and religious factors. The book will encourage other researchers to deploy new studios to study the other aspects of the socio-cultural life of the Ukrainians, the Poles, and the Jews of Przemyśl in the XIXth and first half of the XXth century.

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