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THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN POLEMIC BETWEEN THE KARAITE SCHOLAR ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM TROKI AND THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGIAN MARCIN CZECHOWIC IN THE BOOK *ḤIZZUQ 'EMUNA*

Abstract. The aim of the research. The article focuses on the analysis of the polemic between the Karaite Judaism – characterized by the recognition of the written Law of Moses and rejection of the Talmud – and Christianity – the most widely practiced religion in the Polish-Lithuanian territories of Eastern Europe. **The research methodology** is based on the search and comprehensive study of primary sources on the religious history of Eastern Europe. **The Scientific Novelty.** The study on the Judeo-Christian polemic between Isaac ben Abraham Troki and Marcin Czechowic is significant for reconstructing the religious life of Karaites and their relations with Christians in Polish-Lithuanian society. **The Conclusions.** The article confirms that the Karaite scholar and polemical writer Isaac Troki, who was well acquainted with Polish and Latin theological literature, succeeded in demonstrating the author's creed and exegetic skills in contrast to Catholic and Protestant beliefs. In response to anti-Jewish accusations as a result of strong differences in the understanding of God's law, the Karaite author managed to disprove the allegations and wrote "*Ḥizzuq 'Emuna*", where he questioned Christian dogmas. The analysis of the historical and theological aspects of "*Ḥizzuq 'Emuna*" through the lens of Polish Protestant reformer Marcin Czechowic's book "*Christian Conversations (Pol. Rozmowy Chrystianskie)*" lead to the conclusion that strong critical writing against Jews paradoxically contributed to the spread of Karaite dogmas among Protestant scholars.

Key words: Karaite literature, Isaac ben Abraham Troki, Marcin Czechowic.

ЮДЕО-ХРИСТІАНСЬКА ПОЛЕМІКА КАРАЇМСЬКОГО ВЧЕНОГО ІСААКА ТРОЦЬКОГО ТА ПРОТЕСТАНТСЬКОГО ТЕОЛОГА МАРТИНА ЧЕХОВІЦА В КНИЗІ *ḤIZZUQ 'EMUNA*

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати полеміку між караїмським іудаїзмом, який ґрунтується на визнанні письмового Закону Мойсея і відкиданні Талмуду, та найбільш широко розповсюдженою релігією на польсько-литовських територіях Східної Європи – християнством. **Методологія дослідження** базується на пошуку та всебічному вивченні періоджерел релігійної історії Східної Європи. **Наукова новизна.** Дослідження юдео-християнської полеміки між

Ісааком бен Авраамом Трокі та Мартіном Чеховіцем є важливим для реконструкції релігійного життя караїмів та їхніх стосунків із християнами у польсько-литовському суспільстві. **Висновки.** У статті стверджується, що караїмському вченому та полемічному письменникові Ісааку бен Аврааму Трокі, який добре знався на польській та латинській богословській літературі, вдалося продемонструвати авторське кредо та екзегетичні навички щодо католицьких і протестантських вірувань. У відповідь на антиєврейські звинувачення внаслідок значних розбіжностей у розумінні закону Бога караїмський автор спростував звинувачення і написав книгу "Хіззук емуна", де поставив під сумнів християнські догми. Аналіз історичних та богословських аспектів "Хіззук емуна" крізь призму книги польського протестантського реформатора Мартіна Чеховіца "Християнські розмови" (польською "Rozmowy Christianskie") показує, що критична література щодо євреїв значно посприяла поширенню караїмських догматів серед протестантських учених.

Ключові слова: караїмська література, Ісаак Троцький, Мартін Чеховіц.

The Problem Statement. The Karaites of Eastern Europe have a peculiar historical fate. For centuries, they have contributed their share to the treasury of European spiritual and religious wealth, remaining an exceptional sect of followers of the pure Mosaic doctrine without recognizing the Talmud. The publication of the work of *Ḥizzuq 'Emuna* by Isaac ben Abraham Troki (1533 – 1594) stirred up the Christian world and undoubtedly caused an increase in Judeo-Christian controversy. The study of this extremely sensitive topic is marked by formidable religious contradictions, so its objective study in the context of Christian literature will help to restore the integrity of historical memory.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The biography and legacy of the Karaite scholar Isaac Troki is covered in the studies of Jacob Mann (Mann, 1933), Isaac Sinani (Sinani, 1890), Golda Akhiezer (Akhiezer, 2007), Rafał Witkowski (Witkowski, 2007) and Mariusz Pawelec (Pawelec, 2009). In particular, Mann published valuable manuscripts from the collection of Abraham Firkowicz, which contain biographical information about the scholar. Akhiezer made a critical analysis of the discourse of the Karaite-rabbinic polemics of Isaac Troki. The topic of Judeo-Christian polemics of Protestant reformer Marcin Czechowic regarding the vulnerability of Jews and Christians to the question raised has remained in a dusty corner, mostly untouched by researchers.

The purpose of the article is to study the features of the Judeo-Christian controversy between Karaite scholar Isaac Troki and Christian reformer Marcin Czechowic on the basis of the book *Ḥizzuq 'Emuna* by Isaac Troki.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The name of Isaac ben Abraham Troki is immortalized in Karaite literature, and his activity is closely linked to the cultural life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the background of various confessional mosaics in the Commonwealth. The future theologian, polemicist, writer and poet was born in Troki in 1533 and died there in 1594¹. Due to the absence of credible historical sources, except for his three letters written to Isaac son of Israel from 1558 and to Galician ḥazzan Judah son of Aaron for the period 1581 – 1583, some biographical information from his own book *Ḥizzuq 'Emuna* and the book *Dod Mordeḳay* by Mordecai ben Nisan (grandson of Simḥa, brother of Isaac), the life of Isaac Troki remains a mystery. He is known to have studied Scripture and Hebrew literature under the guidance of Zephaniah son of Mordecai, whose name was certified by the ḥazzan in Troki in 1528. He studied in Christian schools

¹ Jacob Mann suggested that Mordecai ben Nisan, who lived a hundred years later, indicated a false date of death in 1594, and that according to Zerah ben Nathan, it should fall to 1586. Accordingly, the years of life must also be shifted to eight years, ie the date of birth is 1525 (Mann, 1972, pp. 591, 726–727, 1181–1187, 1475).

where he mastered Latin and Polish. The profession of doctor was probably acquired in the medical department of a Christian educational institution. In 1553, at the age of about 20², Isaac was appointed secretary of the Lithuanian Karaite Council (similar to the rabbinic *Va'ad Medinat Lita*). On this occasion, he was also delegated the responsibilities of a *dayan* (judge) in *beit-din* and in conjunction with the *shofet* for one year. Isaac was married, but apparently did not have children, as he addressed his will to his wife, several brothers, and student Joseph ben Mordecai Malinowski (Sinani, 1890, p. 164; Bersohn, 1905, pp. 72–73; Szczucki, 1961, pp. 132–133; Zajączkowski, 1962, pp. 193–194; Mann, 1972, pp. 591–592, 715; Schreier, 2002, pp. 65–66; Pawelec, 2009, pp. 3–4; Witkowski, 2007, p. 62; Akhiezer, 2007, pp. 438–439; Nemoy, 2007, pp. 155–156).

The immortal legacy of Isaac Troki's *Hizzuq 'Emuna (Strengthening of the Faith)* is considered one of the highest pinnacles of Judeo-Christian polemical literature. Even as a young man he was a well-educated person and author participated in numerous religious discussions, refuting anti-Jewish accusations and demonstrating a deep ethical conviction of the truth of the Jewish faith. However, only at the end of his life did he begin to record his views, thoughts, and arguments, giving his work the form of a coherent text that earned him recognition and fame. An unexpected death prevented him from completing his writing, but his student and successor, the aforementioned Joseph Malinowski from Troki, was able to finish the work, edit the text, and compile an index³.

The printed edition of *Hizzuq 'Emuna* first appeared as a Latin translation, prepared by orientalist and polyhistor, professor at the University of Altdorf, Johann Christoph Wagenseil. He included it in his work *Tela Ignea Satanae. Hoc est arcani et horribiles Judaeorum versus Christum Deum et Christianam religionem libri (Flaming Arrows of Satan, that is, the secret and horrible books of the Jews against Christ, God, and the Christian religion)*, published in 1681 in Altdorf. Translations into English (*Faith Strengthened*⁴, trans. Moses Mocatta (London: Privately printed, 1851)), German (*Befestigungim Glauben*, trans. David Deutsch (Sohrau: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1865)), and Spanish (trans. Isaac Attias (Hamburg, 1621)), Dutch (trans. Daniel de la Pania (1729)), French (Rotterdam, 1730) and Portuguese (Shelomoh Benvenisti, end of the eighteenth century) languages subsequently appeared in European religious literature (Akhiezer, 2007, p. 437).

When working on *Hizzuq 'Emuna*, Isaac Troki realized that he wrote in the period of a most turbulent religious controversy on Polish lands between various Christian currents, and considered it a personal duty to advocate for the Jewish religion. It was unacceptable him that Christian theologians would spread hostile ideas against the Jews, who did not confess Jesus Christ. The polemical work consists of two parts, which are respectively divided into fifty and hundred sections. In each of these, the author presents a question from a Christian scholar and gives an answer—some examples: “Why do Jews not believe in Jesus as the Messiah?” or “Does Jesus deny requirements involved in keeping Kosher?” or “Does a stay in

² At the age of 28 according to the early dates of life (Mann, 1972, pp. 769–790 (Proceedings of the Assembly of the Karaites of Troki (1553 C. E., ratified in 1568 C. E.) [2. Firkowicz Collection, No. 221, marked 85–87]), 591, 1475.

³ It should be emphasized that Simḥa Isaac Lutski claimed that Isaac Troki also wrote two works on the Karaite ritual law “*Qidduṣ ha-hodeš*” (“Sanctification of the New Moon”) and “*Hilḳot šeḥita*” (“Rules of Ritual Slaughter”). “*Qidduṣ ha-hodeš*” focuses on the theme of the new moon, an important component of the technique for obtaining the Karaite religious calendar, with reference to the work of *Gan 'Eden (Garden of Eden)* by Aaron the Younger of Nicomedia. “*Hilḳot šeḥita*” is written in the form of questions and answers about the rules of animal slaughter. In addition, Isaac Troki wrote several religious hymns that were part of a prayer book published in Vilnius in 1892 (Pawelec, 2009, p. 4).

⁴ The text is not fully translated, often paraphrased by the author.

exile not confirm the fact that Jesus is the Messiah?” or “Will Israel not be restored after the destruction of the Second Temple?”.

Isaac Troki undoubtedly studied Karaite literature thoroughly, read the Talmud and rabbinic literature (by Saadia Gaon (882 – 942), Maimonides (1135 – 1204), Judah Halevi (1050 – 1141), Judah HeHasid (1150 – 1217) and Rashi (1040 – 1105)), but this knowledge was not enough in order to make persuasive arguments. The Karaite author became acquainted with the works of anti-Trinitarian authors who denied the dogma of the Holy Trinity: Niccolò Paruta (1532 – 1581), Marcin Czechowic (1532 – 1613), Szymon Budny (1530 – 1593) and Marcin Bielski (1495 – 1575). It additionally enabled him to use the “logical arguments” of anti-Trinitarian theologians against them (Witkowski, 2007, pp. 63–64; Schreier, 2002, pp. 68–69) and to emphasize the complexity and contradiction of the entire Christian world (Isaac Troki, 1705, pp. 31–32):

שבדורינו זה כבר הרבה מהחכמים הנקרא בלשונם כת אבינויטי וכת סרצויאני וכת ארייני החולקי' על שתי הכתות הקרטאליש וכת לוטריש, מודים באהדות השיי וסותרים אמנות השילוש כי מה שכתב החכם ניכולש פריטא בספרו אשר הבר בלשון לטין באהדות הבורא ית' הנקרא בלשונם די אונז וזירו דיאו ר"ל הכונה בו ופירושו באהדות השיי. וכן החכם מרטין צהוויץ בספר דיאלוגו שלו שחבר בלשון פולניא במאמר הב' סותר דעת מאמיני השילוש בראיות עצומות מן הכתוב ומן השכל. וכן בספרו אשר קרא שמו ג' ימים מדה כ"ה עד דף ס"ט, בטל כל ראיות מאמיני השילוש אשר הם מביאים מאון גליון שלהם. וכן רבים מחכמי אלו הכתות הנ"ל, כל אחד בספרו בטלו כל ראיות מאמיני השילוש מעיקר' ודי בזה הענין:

In our generation, there are already many theologians from so-called in their language the Ebionite sect, the Socinian sect, and the Arian sect, who have split into two sects: Calvinist and Lutheran. They acknowledge the oneness of God, blessed be He, and reject the doctrine of the Trinity. This is exactly what the theologian Niccolò Paruta wrote in his book, composed in the Latin language about the unity of the Creator, may He be blessed, called in their language *De Uno Vero Deo*, in which he explains „the oneness of God”. Similarly, the theologian Marcin Czechowic in his book *Rozmowy 'Conversations'*, written in Polish, in the second chapter rejected the view of the Trinitarians, relying on strong evidence from Scripture and brain. And also in his book entitled *Three Days* from page 28 to page 67 he invalidated all the evidence of Trinitarians which they took from the Gospel. Also, many theologians from the above mentioned sects – each in his book – have completely denied all the evidences of Trinitarians, and that is enough for this case.

Protestant theologian Marcin Czechowic was at the head of the Socinian movement of the community of anti-Trinitarians in Lublin, the so-called *Ecclesia Minor*. In 1575 he published in Cracow *Rozmowy Christianskie. Ktore z greckiego názwiská, Diálogami zowiá* (*Christian Conversations, called in Greek Dialogues*) between a teacher and a student, and proclaimed a readiness for martyrdom for faith, renunciation of private property, and humility in the face of persecution. While teaching that a Christian's life should be characterized by faith, hope, love, humility, kindness, truth, justice, Czechowic did not restrain himself in critical and abusive statements about Jews: “stubborn Jews (vporni żydowie)”, “unfaithful Jews (niewierni żydowie)”, “freaky Jews (żydowie tak wykrętni)”, “foolish fleshly Jews (głupi cielefni żydowie)”, “Jewish loot (żydowłkie brednie)” (Czechowic, 1575, pp. 30, 67, 76, 116, 122). He tried to prove that the Jews' denial of Jesus as the Messiah was unfounded, and though they studied the Scriptures, they did not understand it because they did not ask God for understanding. Czechowic condemned some rabbis who claimed “many false gossips about our New Testament and about our Lord Jesus Christ (plotek wiele kłamiwych o nowym názwym teftámenie y o názwym Pánie Iezufie Chrifufie)” (Czechowic, 1575, p. 70), and stated that “it is a hard thing for a Christian to convert

a Jew, and I do not know if it is more difficult than to teach a wolf not to kill sheep or a cat not to catch mice (Trudna to iest rzecz Zyda Chriſtíaninowi náwročić á niewiem by nietrudnieyſza niſz wilká od mordowania owiec ábo kotá od chwytánia myſzy oduczyć)” (Czechowic, 1575, p. 67).

Isaac Troki categorically denied all the allegations made towards the Jews. Based on the ideas of Czechowic, he rejected the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, considering him only a perfect man. Although most Christian theologians, on the basis of Gen. 1:26, “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness”, explain the doctrine of Trinitarianism, the Polish theologian in the section “About Jesus Christ (O Iezufie Chriſtufie)” rejected the Holy Trinity dogma by explaining the names of God *'Elohim* and *'Adonay* in the light of the New Testament in terms of grammar and logic; in his opinion, none of the names testified to the existence of the Triune God as three persons. Isaac Troki refuted the view of the plurality of God from the plural verb *na'áse* (let us make) on the basis of the following verse Gen. 1:27, “God created man in his own image”, where the verb appeared in the singular “and [He] created” and “in his own image”, and not “and [They] created” and “in their own image” as might be expected. Without conceding or believing the grammatical arguments to be persuasive, the Karaite author presented a whole list of biblical verses that proved the absolute oneness of God: “Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know that the LORD he is God (*'Elohim*⁶); there is none else beside him” (Deut. 4:35), “Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God (*'Eloheynu*) is one LORD” (Deut. 6: 4), “I, even I (*'Anoki*), am the LORD; and beside me there is no saviour” (Isa. 43:11), “O LORD, there is none like thee, neither is there any God (*'Elohim*) beside thee” (1 Chron. 17:20) (Isaac Troki, 1705, pp. 29–30; Czechowic, 1575, pp. 16–17).

The use of the plural in the word God (*'Elohim*) was explained by the Karaite author that the word signified not only the Most High, but also angels and human authority (Czechowic, 1575, pp. 14–15). In the story of the birth of Samson after the departure of the angel, Manoah told his wife that “we have seen God (*'Elohim*)”, calling the messenger of God – the angel of the Lord (*Mal'ak' Adonay*) – the name of God (*'Elohim*) (Judg. 13:21–22); in the laws on compensation, the obligation was to bring a case before God when it concerned human authority: “the master of the house shall be brought unto the judges (*'Elohim*)” (Ex. 22:8). The question still remains unresolved in the consideration of the speech of the Almighty to Moses, when He said, “I have made thee a god (*'Elohim*) to Pharaoh” (Ex. 7:1) (Isaac Troki, 1705, p. 113).

In the Scriptures, besides the word God (*'Elohim*) in the plural, the word God (*'Eloah*) appears in the singular. In the Bible one can find: “he [Jeshurun] forsook God (*'Eloah*) which made him” (Deut. 32:15), “consider this, ye that forget God (*'Eloah*)” (Ps. 50:22), “Is there a God (*'Eloah*) beside me?” (Isa. 44:8). Numerous use of the word *'Eloah* in the singular refutes the consideration of the plural *'Elohim* as an argument of faith in the Trinity (Isaac Troki, 1705, p. 29).

Similar grammatical arguments were used in the analysis of Isa. 7:14, “Behold, a virgin (*ha-'alma*) shall conceive”. Isaac Troki stated that in the above verse, the word *ha-'alma* means a young woman, not a virgin or maiden, as is customary in Christianity. The author explained that in Hebrew, there were two expressions *han-na'ara* and *ha-'alma* used to delineate a girl or a virgin and a married woman, such as: “And let it come to pass, that the damsel (*han-na'ara*) to whom I shall say” (Gen. 24:14) and “when the virgin (*han-na'ara*) cometh forth to draw water” (Gen. 24:43). In some cases, the word *han-na'ara* was used to describe a girl: “And the damsel (*han-na'ara*) ran, and told them of her mother's house these things” (Gen. 24:28), and in other

⁵ All biblical verses have been taken from the King James Bible.

⁶ In printed copies of *Hizzuq 'Emuna*, the word God is recorded as *'Eloqim*. This article uses Biblical quotes from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, which is why the word God is written as *'Elohim*.

⁷ In printed copies of *Hizzuq 'Emuna*, the word God is recorded as *'Eloah*. This article uses Biblical quotes from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, which is why the word God is written as *'Eloah*.

cases to describe a married (young) woman: “Whose damsel (*han-na'ara*) is this?” (Ruth 2:5). According to Isaac Troki, a similar analogy can be applied to the word *ha-'alma*, which may refer to a girl: “the maid (*ha-'alma*) went and called the child's mother” (Ex. 2:8), just like the young wife (Isaac Troki, 1705, p. 47).

The Karaite author presented the historical background of the verse when, during the reign of King Ahaz of Judah, an army of king Rezin of Aram, along with an army of king Pekah of Israel, went against Jerusalem. To add to the courage and bravery of Ahaz, God sent the prophet Isaiah, who announced that Jerusalem would not be conquered and that Samaria and Damascus would be devastated. Isaac Troki believed that the fact of Ahaz's inclusion in the prophecy of the birth of Jesus or inclusion of the birth of Jesus in the prophecy of Ahaz's victory seemed counter-intuitive. Isaiah prophesied of the misfortunes that would come upon the hated kings for sixty-five years: “For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin; and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people” (Isa. 7:8) which had its beginning not immediately after their proclamation, but after the birth of the prophet's son.

According to the Karaite scholar, during the prophecy, Isaiah's young wife became pregnant and gave birth to a son, who was firstly given the name *'Immanu 'El* (*God with us*), and then called *Maher šalal haš baz* (*Make haste to take away the prey*⁸): “For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria” (Isa. 8:4). At the same time, it should be emphasized that the Christian theologian Czechowic focused on the analysis of the meaning of the words young maiden (*ha-'alma*) and virgin (*betula*) and drew attention to the use of the definite article (*ha-*): “Teacher. And how do those who explain Isaiah's wife and son prove it? Student. Based on what is written in section 8:3 below, we have that the prophet Isaiah himself says that he approached her or to the same (since there is also a definite article (*ha-*), as in the above section 7:14 *ha-'alma*). “She conceived, and bore a son” indicated that it was a prophetess – his wife (NAVZYCIEL. A čímžte tego dowodzą ci ktorzy to o żenie y fynu Ezáiafzowym wykłádáia. VCZEN. Tym co potym w káp: 8. y 3. nápiřano mamy gdzie ták řam Ezáiafz Prorok mowi y przyřtápiřem do teyábo do oney (bo teř tákže ieft tám ártykuř Háiedia iako y wyřřzey káp. 7. y 14. há Almá). Prorokini y pocęřláy v rodziřá fyná: przez ktorá Prorokiniá żonę iego rozumieciá)” (Isaac Troki, 1705, pp. 47–49; Czechowic, 1575, p. 134).

Isaac Troki tried to convince his readers that the Law of Moses was not temporary, there was no limited period before the arrival of Jesus from Nazareth. The author denied that Jesus abolished the law of Moses and gave his followers new commandments. In doing so, he rejected the Christians' explanation that the Sinai commandments and prohibitions were characterized by high rigor, and their fulfillment turned out to be a completely or partially impossible task, as it was written in Matt. 5:17–18: “Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled” (Isaac Troki, 1705, p. 44).

The Karaite author paid special attention to observing the weekly peace day of Shabbat abolished by Christians. In his understanding, it is completely illogical to deny the persuasive arguments of Scripture, to change the correct interpretation of the text, seeking evidence for the benefit of the Sunday, and to persuade those who firmly believe to accept the possibility of breaking the commandment of God which says that the seventh day is a Shabbat for the Lord (Isaac Troki, 1705, p. 45). However, the voices of the Apostolic Fathers were stronger and, as Czechowic himself wrote, a new meaning and new vision was implemented in the Shabbat (Czechowic, 1575, pp. 70–71):

⁸ Translation from Douay-Rheims Bible.

á cžemufz z nami [Rabinami] Soboty nie űwięć-
 ície áni záchowywaćie ták iáko Bog w zakonie
 rofkazał? ále onę odrzućiwfzy rádfzey Papieźá
 Rzymkiego űluchaćie: ktorego űobie ná žiemi
 zá Bogá jednego maćie... Szábát y ceremonie
 inűze były zwierzchowynym tylko podobieńftwem
 rzeczy przyűfzłych... á nie űámą wláfną chwałá
 Bożá: to káždy űtáď poznáć może: Iż ilekroć
 żydowie ná nim űie űámy záwiefzáli á zakonu
 nieprzyűtrzegáli cálym űercem tedy űie oto Bog ná
 nie gniewał űzábáty ich y ofiáry ktore hojne czy-
 nili precz odmíatáł: y ná nie pátrzáć niechćiał...
 ten żydowűki űzábát ieűt jedná máűzkárá ábo
 dziećinnym igryűlkiem bes űkufku y chwały
 Bozey.

[The question from rabbis] Why do you not
 keep the Shabbat with us, or obey, as God
 commanded in the law? But rather, by rejecting
 it, you listen to the Roman Pope whom you
 consider to be the only God... [Answer] Shabbat
 and other ceremonies were only a superficial
 resemblance to things to come... and not the
 mere glory of God. Therefore, everyone can
 know that whenever the Jews were focused on
 only one [Shabbat], but did not obey the Law
 with their heart, then God was angry with them
 for their covenants and sacrifices they willingly
 performed and did not want to look at them... this
 Jewish Shabbat is a complete abomination or a
 child's toy without the effect and glory of God.

It is worth mentioning that during the Council of Laodicea of the Christian Church, which took place around 336 and laid down the basic rules of church administration and Christian piety, observing the Shabbat was cancelled (Geiermann, 1934, p. 50). Isaac Troki, referring to the book by rabbi David Gans *Šemah David*, mentioned this Council, though he mistook the date of its holding, and expressed his dissatisfaction with the holiness of the Sunday accepted in the Christian world (Isaac Troki, 1705, p. 45):

[...] űláš beűle haűora kbriehem áfילו áher űnן ישו, űkn gm haűbat qiyמו áuto ישו űכל תלמידיו áher ישו בכמו haמש מאות űנה בא
 áfifior áhad űzohé leűmור יום ראűון במקום יום haűbat, כמבואר בקרוניקה ב"צמח דוד". והנה יום haűbat בעצמו קדוש בכח áלהי לא מצד
 haמנהגה לבד כהנהגה haנמוסית. כאשר áמר haכתוב: "ראו כי ה' נתן לכם áת haűbat על כן הוא נתן לכם ביום haűשי להם יומים" וגו' (שמות
 ט"ז, כ"ט).

that the Torah did not annul its words even after the time of Jesus, who himself and all of his disciples kept the Shabbat, and five hundred years after Jesus the Pope came and commanded to observe Sunday instead of the Shabbat, as explained in the chronicle *Šemah David*. Therefore the Shabbat day is holy itself by God's power, and not just for the sake of rest, as is customary to think. As the scripture says, "See, for that the LORD hath given you the Shabbat, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days" (Ex. 16:29).

Undoubtedly, the decision to abolish the sanctification of the Shabbat was unacceptable to Isaac Troki as much as the decision to abolish the circumcision, which was a sign of a covenant between God and the people of Israel. He could not accept the words of Czechowic that "it is revealed in the word of God that circumcision, like Shabbat, finds its end in Christ, and is unnecessary for believers (to űlowem Bożym okazáno bęďdzie iż obrzeűká iáko y űzábát iuż űwoy koniec w Chriűtufie wziętá á iż iuż wierzący nic nie ieűt pożyteczna)" (Czechowic, 1575, p. 73), and he agreed as to the new one – meaning the circumcision of the "foreskin of your heart" (Deut. 10:16). Isaac Troki underlined the fact of such practices' existence in the apostolic times, and recalled the story of Timothy from the New Testament. It is well-known that the apostle Paul circumcised Timothy, the son of a Jewish mother and a Greek father, according to Jewish tradition, so that they both could proclaim the gospel among the Jews who were aware of his Greek lineage in the paternal line: "Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and took and circumcised him because of the Jews which were in those quarters: for they knew all that his father was a Greek" (Acts 16:1-3). And to the rhetorical question posed by Czechowic: "Let the unbelieving Jews, Turks and Tatars circumcise themselves as

they wish, and what is it to us? (Niechay fie iáko chcą niewierni żydowie Turcy y Tátarzy obrzeziuią ná čiele á co nam do tego?)” (Czechowic, 1575, p. 76) Isaac Troki wrote that if, after the death of Jesus, circumcision had taken place, then this requirement of the Law of Moses could not get outdated and remained relevant to today’s society.

The Conclusions. In summary, it should be pointed out that the controversial work *Hizzuq 'Emuna* by Isaac Troki is a most striking example of the defence of the Jewish religion. Through his personal efforts, the Karaite scholar was independent in the study of the Holy Scriptures, skillfully displaying his knowledge of both the New Testament and Christian literature. Marcin Czechowic’s total rejection of Judaism and his religious intolerance could not leave Isaac Troki indifferent. Troki not only acquainted himself with the accusations made against Jews, but he also responded to them without fear, showing his exceptional rhetorical skills. He dared to assure readers in the supremacy of Judaism by the light of the Karaite doctrine, and also worked toward the refutation of Christian dogmas by the words of the same anti-Trinitarian writer. It is hoped that further literary critical analysis of *Hizzuq 'Emuna* will enter into the essence of Judeo-Christian discussion and to recreate a fuller historical understanding of Polish religious society in the sixteenth century.

Appendix (fragments from *Hizzuq 'Emuna* (Isaac Troki, 1705, pp. 12–14))

שאלני חכם אחד מחכמי הנוצרים באמרו אלי למה אתם היהודים אינכם רוצים להאמין שישו הנוצרי היה משיח אחר אשר הועד עליו מנביאי האמת אשר גם אתם מאמינים לדבריהם: וזאת היתה תשובתי אליו איך נאמין שהוא היה משיח אחר שאין לכם שום ראיה אמיתית בדברי הנבואה כי הפסוקים שמביאים כותבי האון גליון מדברי הנביאים להוכיח על ישו הנוצרי שהיה משיח... יש לנו ראיות רבות אמיתיות להפכו ר"ל: שישו לא היה משיח כלל. ונוכירם מקצתן: הא' משום יחוסו. הב' משום פעולותיו. הג' משום זמנו. הד' משום שלא נתקיימו בזמנו ההבטחות המיועדות להיות בזמן המשיח המקווה. ואלה עניינים הם תנאים הכרחיים להאמין במשיח האמתי: אמנם משום יחוסו הוא שישו לא היה בן דוד, לפי שנולד לו מיוסף כפי עדות האי"ג שלהם. לפי שכתב במטיאש פרק א' כי ישו נולד ממרים בעוד שהיתה בתולה, וכי לא ידעה יוסף עד אשר ילדה את ישו, ולפי זה אין יחוס יוסף מועיל לישו כלום. ויחוס מרים גם כן בלתי נודע אצלם, ואפילו יחוס יוסף לדוד אינו אמתי...

ואמנם משום פעולותיו הוא שאמר ישו על עצמו לא תחשבו שבאתי לשום שלום בארץ לא באתי רק לשלוח חרב ולהפריד בן מאביו ובת מאביה וכלה מהמותה כדכתיב במטיאש פרק י' פסוק ל"ד אבל אנחנו מצינו שהכתוב מיחס אל המשיח האמיתי המקווה פעולותיו הפכיות לפעולת ישו כי הנך רואה שישו על עצמו אמר שלא בא לשום בארץ שלום אבל על המשיח המקווה הכתוב אומר בזכריה ט' ט' ודבר שלום לגוים וכו' ישו אמר על שבא לשלוח חרב בארץ אמנם על זמן המשיח האמתי הכתוב אומר בישעיה ב' וכתתו חרבותם לאתים והניתותיהם למזמרות לא ישא גוי אל גוי חרב ולא ילמדו עוד מלחמה ישו אמר שבא להפריד בן מאביו וכו' אכן בזמן המשיח האמיתי יבא אליו הנביא אשר עליו אמר הכתוב במלאכי בסופו והשיב לב אבות על בנים ולב בנים על אבות: ישו אמר על עצמו שלא בא שיעבוד לו בן אדם אלא בא לעבוד כדכתיב במטיאש פרק כ' פסוק כ"ח אבל המשיח האמיתי עליו הכתוב אומר בתהלים ע"ב וישתחוו לו כל מלכים כל גוים יעבדוהו ואומר בזכריה ומשלו מים עד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ. ואמנם משום זמנו הוא שלא בא בזמן המיועד מהנביאים כי הנביאים ע"ה ייעדו באתו באהרית הימים כדכתיב בישעיה סימן ב': והיה באהרית הימים נכון יהיה הר בית י"י בראש ההרים וכו' וכתוב שם על מלך המשיח: ושפט בין הגוים והוכיח לעמים רבים וכתתו חרבותם לאתים והניתותיהם למזמרות וגו' וכן על מלחמות גוג ומגוג אשר תהיה בארץ בזמן מלך המשיח...

ואמנם ההבטחות המיועדות בדברי הנביאים אשר לא נתקיימו בזמן ישו ועתידות להתקיים בזמן המשיח האמיתי המקווה הן אלו:
 הא' כי בזמן מלך המשיח לא תהיה כ"א מלכות אחת ומלך אחד והוא המלך המשיח האמיתי אבל שאר המלכויות ומלכיהן לא יוכלו להתקיים בזמנו...
 הב' שבזמן מלך המשיח תהיה בעולם אמנה אחת ודת אחת והיא דת ישראל...
 הג' שבזמן מלך המשיח יכרתו העצבים וזכרם ונביאי שקר ורוח הטומאה מן הארץ...
 הד' שבזמן מלך המשיח לא יהיו עונות וחטאים בעולם בפרט באומת ישראלית...
 הה' שבזמן מלך המשיח ואחר מלחמת גוג ומגוג יהיה שלום ושלחה בכל העולם ולא יצטרכו עוד בני אדם לכלי זין...
 הו' שבזמן מלך המשיח יהיה שלום בארץ ישראל בין החיות הרעות והבהמות הבייתות שלא יזיקו אלו לאלו וכ"ש שלא יזיקו לבני אדם...
 הז' כי בזמן מלך המשיח לא תהיינה צרות ודאגות ואנחות בכל ארץ ישראל וע"כ יאריכו ימים עם יי' ויחיו חיים טובים...
 הח' שבזמן מלך המשיח תשוב השכינה עוד לישראל כבראשונה ותרבה הנבואה והחכמה והדעת באומה ישראלית...

One Christian scholar asked me, saying to me: "Why do you, Jews, not want to believe that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, testified by true prophets, in whose words you also believe?"

And this was my answer to him: how do we believe he was the Messiah after you have no real proof in the prophecies, as the verses given in the Gospel from prophets do not prove that Jesus Christ was the Messiah ...

We have much real evidence to demonstrate that Jesus was not the Messiah at all. Let's mention some of them: 1) his genealogy; 2) his actions; 3) his era; 4) non-fulfillment of the promises destined for the life of the expected Messiah during his lifetime. These components are compulsory conditions to believe in the true Messiah. In fact, according to the genealogy, Jesus did not refer to the lineage of David, as he was born not of Joseph, just as witnessed in your Gospel. According to what has been written in the first chapter of Matthew, Jesus was born of Mary, who was a virgin and whom Joseph did not know until she gave birth to Jesus. Therefore nothing links the lineage of Joseph to Jesus. The lineage of Mary is also unknown to them, and even the lineage of Joseph to David is not truthful...

In fact, concerning his actions, Jesus himself said, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her father (sic!), and the daughter in law against her mother in law" as it is written in Matt. 10:34. However, we found the Scriptures that referred to the true expected Messiah, and therefore his actions expected did not correspond to those of Jesus. Here you see what Jesus said about himself. He said he did not come to bring peace to the earth. Instead, the Scripture states about the expected Messiah in Zech. 9:9: "He shall speak peace to the nations⁹, and so on", while Jesus said that he had come to bring the sword to the earth.

In fact, concerning the time of the true Messiah, the Scriptures says in Isa. 2: "and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more". Jesus said that he had come "to set a man at variance against his father, and so on". Therefore, in the time of the true Messiah, the prophet Elijah will come, to whom the Scriptures refer at the end of Malachi: "he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers". Jesus said about himself that he did not come to be served by a son of man, but he

⁹In King James Bible it is Zech. 9:10.

came to serve, as it is written in Matt. 20 in verse 28. On the contrary, about the true Messiah the Scriptures speak in Psalm 72: “all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him”, and in the Zechariah: “from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth”.

In fact, concerning the time of his life, he did not come at the appointed time according to the prophets, because the prophets, may they rest in peace, foretold His coming at the end of days, as it is written in Isa. 2: “And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the LORD’S house shall be established in the top of the mountains and so on”, and it is written there about the King Messiah: “he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks and so on”, and also about the wars of Gog and Magog, which will be on earth in the time of the King Messiah.

In fact, concerning the promises proclaimed with the words the prophets, which were not fulfilled in Jesus’s time but will be fulfilled in the time of the true expected Messiah, these are:

a) in the time of the King Messiah there will be only one kingdom and one king – the true King Messiah, and the rest of the kingdoms and their kings cannot exist at that time...

b) in the time of the King Messiah, there will be one faith and one religion in the world, namely the religion of Israel...

c) in the time of the King Messiah, the idols and the memory of them, false prophets and the unclean spirit of the earth will be destroyed...

d) in the time of the King Messiah there will be no iniquities and sins in the world, especially in the nation of Israel ...

e) in the time of the King Messiah and after the war of Gog and Magog there will be peace and serenity throughout the world, and the sons of man will no longer need any weapons...

f) in the time of the King Messiah there will be peace on the land of Israel between wild animals and domestic animals, so that they will not harm one another and they will not harm people...

g) in the time of the King Messiah there will be no distress, troubles and sighs throughout the land of Israel, and the days will be prolonged by God and they will live a good life...

h) in the time of the King Messiah, the presence of God will return to Israel, as it was in the beginning, and the prophecy, wisdom and knowledge in the nation of Israel will be multiplied...

Vocabulary

Hebrew	English
יצחק בן אברהם טרוקי	Isaac ben Abraham Troki
חזוק אמונה / <i>Hizzuq 'Emuna</i>	<i>Strengthening of the Faith</i>
(אלקים) אלהים / <i>'Elohim ('Eloqim)</i>	God
יהוה / <i>'Adonay</i>	Lord
נַעֲשֵׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ	let us make man in our image, after our likeness
נַעֲשֵׂה / <i>na'ase</i>	let us make
וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ	God created man in his own image
אֲנִי / <i>'Anoki</i>	I
אֱלֹהֵינוּ / <i>'Eloheynu</i>	our God

מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה / <i>mal'ak 'Adonay</i>	angel of the Lord
(אלוק) אֱלֹהִים / <i>'Eloah ('Eloak)</i>	God
הִנֵּה הַעַלְמָה הַרְה	behold, a virgin shall conceive
הַעַלְמָה / <i>ha-'alma</i>	a girl or a virgin, a married woman
הַנְּעִרָה / <i>han-na'ara</i>	a girl or a virgin, a married woman
עִמָּנוּ אֵל / <i>'Immanu 'El</i>	God with us
מַהֵר שָׁלַל חַשׁ בָּז / <i>maher šalal haš baz</i>	make haste to take away the prey
בְּתוּלָה / <i>betula</i>	virgin
צִמְחַ דָּוִד / <i>Šemah David</i>	<i>The Offspring of David</i>

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**UKRAINIAN EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE FIRST QUARTER
OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY (BASED ON THE EXAMPLE
OF THE COURT CASE OF PROKOP SYLENKO, STARODUBSKYI
REGIMENT JUDGE AND YAKOV SHYRAI, A MERCHANT)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research – to analyze the practices of the Ukrainian everyday life of the first quarter of the XVIIIth century based on several court documents. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematic, scientific, interdisciplinary approaches. The following general historical methods have been used: a historiographic analysis, a historical genetic, terminological analysis, a comparative analysis. The scientific novelty is determined by the selection of unpublished or partially published archival documents for historical analysis in order to clarify the daily practices in the Cossack environment. The strategies of solving the debt conflict by*

high-ranking Cossack chiefs have been elucidated. The accompanying objective economic and political circumstances of the case have been clarified, which had a significant impact on the strategies choice of the conflict participants. **The Conclusions.** A debt history between a high-ranking Cossack chief and Starodubskiy trader, a wealthy merchant has been analyzed. As a result, we have a general idea of the concerns of the wealthy Ukrainians at the beginning of the XVIIIth century and some problem-solving strategies. Starodubskiy middle-class merchant was steadily torn apart by the pressure of the circumstances (the need for a constant lending to trade actively, the risks involved, the changes in the Russian law and the trade policy towards Ukraine). Having considerable debts, Ya. Shyrai tried to solve his problems at the expense of creditors, denying the presence of debts. Despite referring the case to the General Military Court, P. Sylenko applied the practice of pressure by the moral authority of the church. The main document that litigated the case and described Starodubskiy residential yard, is extremely important for the history of an everyday life. Its analytical reading, together with additional sources, allows us to look into the past, to feel the intense confusion of Starodubskiy merchants, their ambiguous methods of dealing, the uncertain status of a regimental judge, who was unable to solve the problem on his own, and was forced to use tricky ways – making a will, which ran: Ya. Shyrai had to pay the debt to the monastery; a great importance of the church in the Ukrainian society at that time and the others.

Key words: an everyday life, Hetmanshchyna (Hetmanate), Starodubskiy regiment, judge, merchant.

УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ ПЕРШОЇ ЧВЕРТІ ХVІІІ СТ. (НА ПРИКЛАДІ СУДОВОЇ СПРАВИ ПОЛКОВОГО СУДДІ СТАРОДУБСЬКОГО ПРОКОПА СИЛЕНКА ТА КУПЦЯ ЯКОВА ШИРАЯ)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати практики українського повсякдення першої чверті ХVІІІ ст. на основі кількох судових документів. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, міждисциплінарності. Використано такі загальноісторичні методи: історіографічного аналізу, історико-генетичний, термінологічного аналізу, компаративний. **Наукова новизна** визначається підбором неопублікованих або частково опублікованих архівних документів для історичного аналізу з метою з'ясування повсякденних практик у козацькому середовищі. Показано стратегії врегулювання боргового конфлікту козацьким старшиною високого рангу. З'ясовано супутні об'єктивні економічні та політичні обставини перебігу справи, що мали значний вплив на вибір стратегій дії учасників конфлікту. **Висновки.** Проаналізовано боргову історію між козацькою старшиною високого рангу та міщанином стародубським, заможним купцем. У результаті маємо уявлення про турботи заможних українців на початку ХVІІІ ст. і про деякі стратегії залагодження проблем. Купець стародубський середньої руки неухильно розорювався під тиском обставин (необхідність постійного кредитування для активної торгівлі, ризики, з цим пов'язані, зміни в російському законодавстві та торговельній політиці щодо України). Маючи значні борги, Я. Ширай намагався розв'язати свої проблеми за рахунок кредиторів, заперечуючи наявність боргів. Незважаючи на передачу справи до Генерального військового суду, П.Силенко задіяв практику тиску моральним авторитетом церкви. Основний документ, що увінчував судову справу і описував житловий стародубський двір, надзвичайно важливий для історії повсякдення. Його аналітичне прочитання, разом із додатковими джерелами, дає змогу зазирнути у минуле, відчутти напружену розгубленість стародубських купців, їхні неоднозначні методи ведення справ, непевний статус полкового судді, який не може власними силами залагодити проблему, через що змушений застосовувати хитрі ходи із заповітом боргу монастирю, величезну вагу в тогочасному українському суспільстві церкви та чимало іншого.

Ключові слова: повсякдення, Гетьманщина, Стародубський полк, суддя, купець.

The Problem Statement. The life realities of ordinary Ukrainians in the cities and towns of Hetmanate are not too different from the present ones, if the material aspect is not taken into account but a spiritual one. It is clear that our modern life, filled with gadgets and facilitated by a technological advancement, cannot be compared to the possibilities of a Ukrainian at the end

of the XVIIth century – the beginning of the XVIIIth century. But when we look at the mental component of the everyday life of a Ukrainian town resident, it becomes clear that we have not escaped so far from our ancestors, we do not differ much. They were disturbed by the same problems as we are nowadays. Of course, the values transformed somewhat, painful areas too. That is why, it's so interesting to look at that period by means of documents, which date back to that time, to try to understand how the Ukrainians thought and solved their problems.

A rather standard debt history has been selected for the analysis. The debt history is between a high-ranking Cossack chief, since it was a judge of Starodubskiyi regiment, and Starodubskiyi trader, a wealthy merchant. And in this case the circumstances, far removed from the history itself, are of great importance. They are connected, first and foremost, with the main characteristics of the political and economic life of the region (Starodubskiyi) and the country (Hetmanate). On the other hand, without telling about the families of the main characters involved in the case – the Sylenkiv and the Shyraiv – it is impossible to understand either the merits of the case or the features of an everyday life. That is why, this research began.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The history of Starodubskiyi regiment and its officers was actively researched from the XIXth century, first of all by O. Lazarevskiyi and in the field of genealogy of the Cossack chiefs (starshyna) – by V. Modzalevskiyi (Lazarevskiyi, 1888; Modzalevskiyi, 1912). The list of documents published by them or the researches of a genealogical character concerning Starodubskiyi regiment is very long, but we consider it to be inappropriate to mention it in the article. K. Lazarevska published a small but interesting research on the wealthy yard in Starodubskiyi region, which contains the part of the document analyzed (Lazarevska, 1929, p. 36). The researcher did not know who owned the yard or the history of the owner's change. Nowadays the history of the regiment is studied, in particular, the dissertation is written about the Cossack chiefs of Starodubskiyi regiment (Laievskiyi, 2016). Various aspects of the history of the Cossack chiefs of this regiment are investigated by many modern researchers and many generalized publications are published (Kryvosheia, 2010; Kryvosheia, 2016; Lenchenko, 2005; Chukhlib, 2005; Chukhlib, 2014). However, they almost do not consider the history of an everyday life of chiefs of Starodubskiyi regiment, first of all, the world-view paradigms and everyday practices of their realization.

The purpose of the research is to analyse some practices of Ukrainian everyday life of the first quarter of the XVIIIth century based on several court documents.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Starodubskiyi regiment, one of the ten Hetmanate regiments on the Left Bank, had one of the largest territories and exactly the largest amount of settlements among all other regiments. The geographical location and natural resources influenced the political history and economic development of the regiment. This regiment is the northernmost of the Cossack regiments. It was located in the direction of the Russian territory, which eventually determined the fate of these terrains in the XXth century. Already in the summer of 1918, there was the urgent demarcation issue of the border with the Bolsheviks in the Chernihiv-Siversshchyna. The battles continued all the time there. In February 1919, with the help of the “Ukrainian” communists at an interagency meeting in Moscow, it was decided to establish a border with Ukraine, according to which a large part of Starodubshchyna started to belong to Russia (Chukhlib, 2005, p. 79–80). Finally, the borders were established until the mid-1920-ies. Starodubskiyi region started to belong to Russia. Nowadays, the territory of Starodubshchyna is the former Ukrainian Cossack territory, which Russia seized, just as it seizes other Ukrainian lands now through its own imperial ambitions.

Starodub location, natural resources, developed local crafts hindered the development of a local and international trade. The city was the center of transit trade in the region, its merchants got rich in buying and reselling various goods (Lazarevskiy, 1888, pp. 113–114). Among Starodubskiy merchants stand out some extremely successful and rich, among whom was Spyrydon Shyrai, Starodubskiy viyt (a local authority person). The lower middle-class and merchants were dependent on the upper-class because of loans and bail bonds (Tyshchenko, 1931). The merchants of Starodub were oriented both to trade with Russia and Europe. However, the political and military changes after 1709 led to a new imperial policy in Ukraine, which concerning trade, was aimed at shifting all Ukrainian trade to northern Russian ports and banning a direct trade with European countries. The prosperous trade quickly turned into a loss-making business. It is because of this fact that problems arose for Jacob Shyrai, a lower middle-class person. Despite the family name in Starodub, close family ties with Spyrydon Shyrai's branch failed to be established. In Hetmanate during 1706 – 1719 there was the court case between S. Shyrai, his heirs and several local merchants, who were cheated. This court case also calls into question the close family ties of Yakov and Spyrydon (Tyshchenko, 1931, pp. 330–334).

In 1706, a group of Starodubskiy merchants made a large and profitable trade contract with the Dutch merchants, for which the Dutch paid in advance, in fact giving credit to the Ukrainians. The guarantor was S. Shyrai. A group of merchants prepared all the goods needed to be sent to the Dutch and placed the goods in the stone cellars in Yakov Shyrai's yard. Shortly afterwards, some financial misunderstandings arose in Arkhanhelsk in the trade of S. Shyrai and other Starodubskiy merchants with the same Dutch traders, and there their goods were arrested. Then, Spyrydon sent his men to the yard of Jacob Shyrai and took the stored goods of the merchants there. Of course, the merchants sued. The court case lasted for years, even after the death of Spyrydon. The cheated merchants did not find the truth either in the Cossack courts or in Russian court. The family of the almighty Spyrydon held everything in their hands. Thus, S. Shyrai minimized his losses at the expense of Starodubskiy merchants of the middle-class. Most of them got bankrupt. The same thing happened to Yakov Shyrai, as evidenced by the court case. On February 20, 1719, the General Military Court (hereinafter GMC) issued a decree estimating the property of the noble inhabitant of Starodub, Ya. Shyrai, to deal with creditors. The description of the property was attached to the court case (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAUK), f. 51, d. 3, c. 503, pp. 87–94).

Returning to the family ties between Spyrydon and Jacob Shyrai, we must admit that if they had been close relatives, Spyrydon would not have done so. Spyrydon Yakovych took care of the peace and well-being of his relatives and strengthened it. All his sons and daughters married the representatives of the influential Cossacks and became the part of Hetmanate elite. Yakov Shyrai had to be involved in the court cases because of the unpaid loans. Without their own capital, the middle-class merchants were doomed to trade by means of having credits. Yakov was no exception and got bankrupt.

The second person, involved in the court case, was the regimental judge of Starodub, Prokip Sylenko. He had his own significant record in Zaporizhyya troops, having passed many career stages. However, owing to the marriage with the daughter of Starodubskiy regimental centurion Mykhailo Markhalenko (1675 – 1686) Theodora, he occupied high posts (Modzalevskiy, 1912, p. 613). During 1688 – 1693, Prokip served as Starodubskiy khorunzhyi (Laievskiy, 2016, p. 82). From 1693 to 1706 he ruled as Starodubskiy regimental centurion, then a regimental commander (1706 – 1712/14) and Starodubskiy regimental judge

(1709, 1719 – 1722 or 1713 – 1722) (Kryvosheia, 2010, p. 653; Laievskiy, 2016, p. 105). He alternated the years of his service. He was often a colonel, and he also served as a non-governmental officer. (06.1691) (Kryvosheia, 2016, p. 577). It is interesting that in the Cossack hierarchy of the Sylenkiv / Sylevych and Markhalenkiv families, no one occupied high ranks but Prokip. Prokip's father, Syla Ivanovych served as khorunzhyi of Starodubskiy Hundred Regiment (1665) (Laievskiy, 2016, p. 105). Prokip himself served from his childhood. According to the memoirs (1731) of one of his grandchildren, a fellow-comrade Hryhoriy Sylevych, his grandfather's service was eighty years (Heneralne slidstvo, 1929, p. 69). This is a rather doubtful thesis, other data indicate that in the early 20-ies of the XVIIth century Prokip Sylenko was about eighty, so he must have been born in 1642 approximately (Lazarevskiy, 1888, p. 91).

In fact, all of Prokip Sylenko's career achievements were backed by his zealous years of a military service: "... and being in many services, he was repeatedly wounded, shot, stabbed, and when he spilled his blood, he was extremely crippled ..." (Heneralne slidstvo, 1929, p. 69). According to O. Lazarevsky's opinion P. Sylenko died in 1723 a year before he made up the government of a regimental judge (Lazarevskiy, 1888, p. 91). The testament the former regimental judge could make and agree with three sons only with the help of Hetman P. Polubotko. Two of his written requests to Hetman about making a will and distribution of his property are known, though the written requests are controversial in their content. In 1722, he complained to P. Polubotko about his eldest son Lucian, because of whom he could not make the will. In a month, almost similar complaints were made against two younger sons – Tymophiy and Hryhoriy, with the same accusations of disobedience and disrespect. P. Sylenko sent the hetman his project of division of inheritance between the sons. This project became the basis of the agreement between his descendants. The agreement was signed in Hlukhiv (Lazarevskiy, 1888, pp. 89–90). During the general investigation about the property in 1731, Prokip's grandson, Hryhoriy Hryhorovych, a fellow, petitioned Empress Anna Ioanivna with a request not to take away the village of Naitopovychi from his father and other relatives in favour of a regimental judge government. One of the arguments was that his father had four sons and each of his father's brothers had four sons. Therefore, if the village is taken away, fourteen men of the family will not be able to carry on a military service (Heneralne slidstvo, 1929, p. 70).

In April 1719, when P. Sylenko's suit against Ya. Shyrai continued, Prokip Sylenko was Starodubskiy regimental judge. The essence of the court case was that once P. Sylenko granted Ya. Shyrai a large loan. Ya. Shyrai refused to pay the debt. This is eloquent – the regimental judge could not make a low middle-class person repay the debt. Then Prokip Sylenko transferred this debt to the monastery., i.e., Ya. Shyrai had to pay the debt to the monastery.

The court case is stored in the fund of Chernihiv cathedral monastery (CSHAUK, f. 133, d. 1, c. 392, pp. 1–2). And in the piece published from it there is a mention about Borysoglibskiy monastery (Lazarevska, 1929, p. 36; Lenchenko, 2005, p. 90). In the court case from the General Military Court, there is a mention that the judge's verdict was the following: the debt was transferred to the Ryabtsiv Starodubskiy monastery (CSHAUK, f. 51, o. 3, c. 503. p. 89 v.). Actually, the debt transferred to what monastery is not very important in this case. The main thing was that Ya. Shyrai was unable to compete with the church institution in the General Military Court for a long time, though he tried. The court case indicated that the proceedings lasted for a long time, in the end, Ya. Shyrai acknowledged his debt. The bankrupt merchant did not have any money, so he gave the monastery his own yard in Starodub for the debt.

The GMC case of February 20, 1719 gives a far more informative picture than our main document. And in this case P. Sylenko was only one of numerous creditors of Shyrai. It's important to mention some data. The GMC collected the data on all Shyrai's debts and outlined the dynamics of the payments on the accounts. The earliest records date back from 1704 to 1707. It is from that time on that a debt history was drawn up, which makes it possible to connect the problems of J. Shyrai with the already mentioned court case of Starodubskiyi merchants of against Spyrydon Shyrai. The court case contains a register of debts, a register of payments, a register of property and a court decision. In general, Yakov Shyrai had to pay to creditors 36 921 zolotykh, without P. Sylenko's debt, which had been already repaid. In total, the debtor paid 11 262 zolotykh at that time. There was the debt left in the amount of 25729 zolotykh. This debt, to a large extent, in equal shares, was repaid by the arrest of all the movable and immovable property of Ya. Shyrai. However, 9 329 zolotykh were still missing (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 503, pp. 87–94). The merchant got completely bankrupt. A few points are worth clarifying. First of all, what Shyrai owned according to the register was: a mill from which, according to the arrest, all the grain was sold worth of 1 180 zolotykh, the pigs worth of 62 zolotykh, the ducks worth of 61, the geese worth of 23 zolotykh; Olexinskyi field was harvested with grain worth of 377 zolotykh, fine cloth worth of 100 zolotykh, the property from the storerooms worth of 163 zolotykh; Yarmoshivskiyi yard was valued at 150 zolotykh; two storerooms in Starodub worth of 1 500 zolotykh; the mill near Starodub on the river Babynka at a price of 8000 zolotykh; the yard near Nikolska Church – 1200 zolotykh; Polubynkovskiyi yard near the tower of Chernihiv – 1300 zolotykh; the mill in Lehovatka: 1 circle with hay fields, arable field – 4000 zolotykh; two more barns worth of 1000 zolotykh. In addition, Yakiv paid for the part of credits with 10 kufs of horilka (500 zolotykh) and barrels of Rhine wine (1435 zolotykh for 13 barrels of different price) (CSHAUK, f. 133, d. 1, c. 503, pp. 87–94). The property record did not include the yard in Starodub, which was given the judge P. Sylenko. As it turned out, in general, Ya. Shyrai owed P. Sylenko 4000 zolotykh, of which he paid 1860 zolotykh in cash, and the rest sum belonged to the monastery according to the testament, made by the judge, for the peace of his soul. Thus, Ya. Shyrai owed the monastery 2135 zolotykh, according to the court records (CSHAUK, f. 133, d. 1, c. 503, p. 89 v.).

Thus, from the above-mentioned, we have some ideas about the concerns of the wealthy Ukrainians at the beginning of the XVIIth century and some problem-solving strategies. Starodubskiyi merchant of a middle-class got bankrupt steadily under the pressure of circumstances. Not only because of the need for a constant lending to trade actively and the risks associated with it, but also because of the changes in the Russian law and trade policy towards Ukraine. Having considerable debts, Ya. Shyrai tries to solve his problems at the expense of his creditors, simply by denying the debts. The court system was so inefficient that even a regimental judge could not resolve the problem legally. Despite the transfer of the court case to the GMC, he (the judge) uses the practice of pressure by the moral authority of the church, reinforced by the traditional support of church by the Cossack institutions. The court case was heard in the highest court, the General Military Court and, of course, the creditors won it. And the monastery was the first one to get its property.

According to the orders of Starodubskiyi colonel L. Zhoravka, a group of people was formed, who had to register all the things, objects of the yard, which started to belong to the monastery. F. Poletytsa, Starodubskiyi mayor, had to register and take away the yard, and the attendants were supposed to be: P. Sylenko and a priest Ihnatiy Strykovskiyi, a governor of

Starodubska protopopia and a priest Ihnatiy Pavlovych Petropavlivskiy (CSHAUK, f. 133, d. 1, c. 398, p. 1). On the latter two, we have additional data from the oath of Starodub regiment in 1718. Iyerey Ihnatiy Stryikovskiy was the deputy of Starodubska protopopia of the Nativity of the Christ Church. The surname of Ihnatiy Pavlovych, the priest of the temple of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul of Starodub, was Turok (Horobets, Sytyi, 2017, pp. 86–87). It was possible to localize in the oath of 1718 and Yakov Ivanovych Shyrai. He swore among the townspeople of the suburbs of Zarichya (Horobets, Sytyi, 2017, p. 99). The oath also includes the surname of the regiment judge Prokofiy Sylych. Being the competent significant members of the regiment, his sons Tymofiy Sylenonok and Lukyan Sylevyich swore as well (Horobets, Sytyi, 2017, pp. 92–93).

The yard featured in the court case was located in Starodub in Prorizna street near the Ascension Church. There was a large cemetery near the church. On its left side, the yard neighbored with the cemetery, and there was a separate gate (CSHAUK, f. 133, d. 1, c. 393, p. 1; CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 503, p. 89 v.). The yard and the church were on the outskirts, probably in Zarichya, because Yakov Shyrai swore there in 1718. The church was wooden, in 1800 in its place a stone church was built with two altars. It is known that in 1739, near the Church of the Ascension of the Lord, there was another wooden church of Anastasius built at the expense of Anastasia Skoropadskaya (Lenchenko, 2005, p. 92). The part of the description of the yard was published twice (Lazarevska, 1929, p. 36; Lenchenko, 2005, p. 90), however, not everything and without the owner's name. It is worth mentioning that the price yard corresponded to the debt of about 2200 zolotykh. The description was supposed to demonstrate the amount of residential and farm buildings, valuable furnishings, which, together with the value of land and trees on the site, would cover the amount of the debt. Therefore, the yard was inspected carefully, noting the details. The description of the yard is given according to the document (CSHAUK, f. 133, d. 1, c. 393, pp. 1–2).

There was a gate into the yard with a wicket covered with shingle. The left side of the yard housed a shofah, next to it a stable of “logs chopped”, the next – two rectangular “barns under the chutes”, the door with iron “ranks”. Behind there was the backyard to the cemetery itself and the wicket to the cemetery, the doors of which were with iron “ranks”. Behind them is the door to the cemetery itself and the gate to the cemetery, the doors of which on the curtains with fillings of iron. A cellar and an oak blockhouse in it, from the cellar there was the “log cabin beam”, the windows “made” of tin, in front of the windows there was the garden in which the cherries were planted. The garden was surrounded by a “fishing line”. Opposite there was the second room, the windows “framed” in tin, and in front of the second room there was the garden fenced off by a “fishing line”. They had an entrance – a wicket with the iron ranks. Inside the first room from the cellar there was an icon on one canvas of the Savior and the Virgin, the other – an older icon of the Savior with the Reverend Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk. A green tile stove, a round table and a bench. There were internal iron locks in the doors of both rooms. A small room behind the first room with no doors from the corridor. The doors from the rear (the back part) to the garden were on iron ranks. Behind the house there was a kitchen with the doors with iron ranks. In the corridor there was a table and a bench. Outside the house, the garden is “vast”, there were many trees in the garden. The bath or some other room had to be without the stove and the door was not nailed and the window was new. The bakery house with a corridor, which had a partition. Immediately “finish” to the gate “ginger shistenny” with a large gate. Inside the room there was the icon of the Ascension of the Lord, placed from the very corner to the beam. The icon was in

black frames. There was an older icon of the Resurrection, behind the beam – a canvas icon of Virgin Mary. There was the door in the room, which led to the yard. The picture framed, to the right – the icon of Virgin Mary with “...” Joseph. There were canvas icons of Joachim and Anna in the corner. A table and bench, a green furnace with tiles. In the garden there were trees the quantity of which was one hundred and ninety one, except for plums, cherries, “...”, currants, black currants and elderberries.

Under the document there are the signatures of all four people, who made the description and attested everything seen in the estate to preserve its integrity.

So, there were 2 or 3 (!) residential buildings in the estate and one more not completely built (a room or a bath, the record makers did not make it clear). A kitchen, bakery and cellar were built on the yard separately. The location of the kitchen and bakery beyond the living space certifies that the owner of the estate used the modern, new principles of housing construction, which is typical of only wealthy and educated social layers of Hetmanate. The stables, a storehouse for wains, one large barn and two small ones were located separately as well. There was a presentable gate door, which also testified to the wealth and aesthetic requests of the owner. There were two detached garden fields near the houses, a large number of timber for building and a large fruit garden. A person, who made the record, calculated the number of apple trees and pear trees. And the rest trees and fruit bushes were not calculated. One can only imagine the size of the yard / plot of land on which so many trees were planted, although we do not know the total amount of trees there. The area of the fields of arable land gardens is not specified. The distance between the buildings is not mentioned either. However, it is obvious that Ya. Shyrai's yard was large and under construction. For the latter, the building material was in the yard. The average price for the yard in Starodub during the period under study was from 200 to 800 zolotykh, also from 40 to 150 rubles (Lazarevska, 1929, p. 33). And that was a lot of money. It should be mentioned that the price of Ya. Shyrai's yard was 2200 zolotykh. It is worth noting that there were no production facilities in the yard (brewerywineries, apiaries, etc.) that would make the property more expensive.

In Hetmanate, icons were precious, as they are carefully described in the document. The total amount of icons – 7, two of which were mentioned to be antique. The picture is also added to the record, but nothing was mentioned about the plot. Only a few household items – tables and benches - were worthy pieces of furniture. It is definitely worth paying attention to the two furnaces in the houses, lined with green tiles. These were, for that period, items of luxury. Only in the houses of the wealthy there were such furnaces that provided some comfort and cosiness, and at the same time illustrated the taste and status of the owner.

What comes into view is a thorough record of the register man of all iron door and wicket ranks. They were expensive, a sign of the quality of the building and a wealthy owner. It is also important to note that the windows were registered thoroughly, framed with tin, which also says a lot about the mode of life and indicates what things were valuable. Therefore, the immovable and movable property described in the document, together with the land on which the yard was located, was valued at more than 2000 zolotykh in 1719.

The Conclusions. This small document that was about the court case is extremely important for the history of an everyday life. Its reading, along with additional sources, allows you to look into the past, to feel the intense confusion of Starodubskyyi merchants, their ambiguous methods of trading and solving problems, the uncertain status of a regimental judge, who cannot solve the problem on his own (let alone his descendants). That is why, he had to use cunning ways with making the will that Ya. Shyrai owed the monastery. The court

case emphasizes the great importance of the church in the Ukrainian society of that period and the others. Further studies of the history of the Cossack everyday life of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries, taking into account the wide source base and the extremely poorly studied nowadays and manifestations of everyday, especially mental, practices of the Cossack chiefs of Hetmanate, have great prospects.

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INTERVIEW PROTOCOL OF PR. YOSAFAT MAKAREVYCH KREMENETS BASILIAN MONASTERY HEGUMEN (1774)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to investigate the manifestations of deviant behavior of Basilian monasticism in early modern times by examining the disciplinary case of Pr. Yosafat Makarevych. **The methodology of the research** is based on the analytical and synthetic criticism of the protocols, which were compiled by the commission, who was delegated by Svyatopokrovska province Protohegumen in order to investigate Kremenetskyi Monastery hegumen's behavior. The monastery inhabitants' testimony were compared with the hegumen's explanations in order to establish the objectivity of the submitted information. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time the hegumen's disciplinary case has been introduced into the scientific circulation. **The Conclusions.** The typical manifestations of the Basilian monasticism's deviant behavior of the early modern times have been established, they were the following: traveling to different province monasteries in order to find comfortable living conditions and to avoid performing duties; waste of monastic funds for their own fortune; violation of the ascetic rule of the cloister in the monastery cells; maintaining relationships

with socialites; visiting socialites' private homes; alcohol abuse; discussing the relationship of the monastery community with the socialites; avoiding the observance of the liturgical monastic rule; the desire to separate from the community. On the basis of interrogation protocols, the procedure for reviewing the disciplinary cases of monasticism was reconstructed: the notification – the commission establishment – the interrogation protocols conclusion of the witnesses and the accused one on oath – the Provincial Government's consideration – making a decision.

Key words: hegumen, monastic community, proto-hegumen, commission, protocol, witnesses.

ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПИТУ НАСТОЯТЕЛЯ КРЕМЕНЕЦЬКОГО ВАСИЛІАНСЬКОГО МОНАСТІРЯ О. ЙОСАФАТА МАКАРЕВИЧА (1774 р.)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – дослідити прояви девіантної поведінки василіансько-го чернецтва ранньомодерного часу на прикладі розгляду дисциплінарної справи о. Йосафата Макаревича. **Методологія дослідження** – опирається на аналітичну та синтетичну критику протоколів, які уклала комісія, що була делегована протоігуменом Святопокровської провінції для розслідування поведінки настоятеля Кременецької обителі. Для встановлення об'єктивності подання інформації зіставлено свідчення насельників монастиря із поясненнями ігумена. **Наукова новизна** дослідження бачається у використанні досі не запроваджені до наукового обігу дисциплінарної справи настоятеля. **Висновки.** Встановлено типові прояви девіантної поведінки василіанського чернецтва ранньомодерного часу: мандрювання по монастирях провінції з метою пошуку комфортних умов проживання та ухиляння від виконання обов'язків; розтрата монастирських коштів на власні забаганки; порушення аскетичного правила клявзури у монастирських келіях; підтримання відносин зі світськими особами; відвідування приватних будинків світських людей; зловживання спиртними напоями; обговорення взаємовідносин монастирської спільноти із світськими людьми; ухиляння від виконання літургійного монастирського правила; прагнення відокремитися від спільноти. На підставі протоколів допитів реконструйовано процедуру розгляду дисциплінарних справ чернецтва: повідомлення – утворення комісії – укладення протоколів допитів свідків та обвинувачуваного під присягою – розгляд Провінційною Управою – прийняття рішення.

Ключові слова: ігумен, монастирська спільнота, протоігумен, комісія, протокол, свідки.

The Problem Statement. Due to the current conditions of building the Basilian Order and determining the priority areas of its activity, there is a drastic need to pay attention to the discipline of monasticism. The Basilian Order being a corporate organization is governed by a statute (rules, constitution, rulebook) that has been subject to constant changes over the last four centuries owing to the challenges of the times. After all, the monks joined the secular people, who tried to bring to the monastery their secular demeanor and preferences. On the other hand, the Basilian monasteries, according to the unified charter, were not conceptual (closed) monastic congregations, but rather focused on pastoral and cultural and educational work in society. As a result, some monasticism deviant behavior could be found. Moreover, the monasticism deviant behaviour remains an unexplored problem to this day.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Most current studies, when studying the monasteries' history and culture, only pay attention to the prominent monks' activities (Dovbyshchenko, 2018). At the same time, the difficulties and worries that monasticism in daily life faced were left unaddressed. In general, Kremenetskyi monastery history remains virtually unexplored. Separate fragments of her Orthodox period are presented through the lens of the selective act documentation in S. Horin's work (Horin, 2012). Numerous researchers dealt with the issue and presented relevant references to the monastery's history, which could be found in the Basilian Order studies written by M. Vavryk, I. Patrylo, P. Pidruchnyi, B. Lorens (Vavryk, 1979; Patrylo, 1992; Pidruchnyi, 2018; Lorens, 2014). However, to date,

there are no special works, which have been created in ecclesiastical historiography up till the present day, either on the history of Kremenets monastery or on the deviant behavior of the monks. After all, modern Ukrainian historical science shows significant attempts to study the manifestations of a deviant behavior in the early modern era (Povsiakdennia, 2012).

The purpose of the article is to investigate the Basilian monasticism's deviant behavior manifestations of the early modern times on the example of the disciplinary case dedicated to Pr. Yosafat Makarevych.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Kremenets Monastery foundation and activities history until 1774 should be considered firstly. The first documentary mention of the intention to create a monastery dates back to 1633, when the Polish King Wladyslaw IV granted the privilege to Danylo Malynskyi, the "horunzhyi" and Lavrentiy Drevynsyi, the Volyn "chashnyk" to build the a fraternity of mercy, a school for the teaching of children, a monastery and accommodation for the monks of the rules of St. Basil, and a hospital for the poor people of the Greek rite, both noble and bourgeois origin, living in the vicinity of Kremenets (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4b, c. 613, p. 149). The following documentary mention of the temple and monastery already built at it is connected with the decree of the Royal Commission (Kremenets, 09.03.1636) on the division of temples between the Orthodox and the Uniates (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4b, c. 613, p. 149).

Therefore, it can be considered that during the years 1633 – 1636 the monastery was built, what's more, the church, the school and the hospital under it were built. The printing house operated for a long time at the monastery. The monastery belonged to the jurisdiction of Lutsk-Ostroh Orthodox Bishop (Lorens, 2014, p. 436). Although the above-mentioned diocese in 1702 annexed the Kyivan Unity Metropolis, Kremenets Monastery did not recognize the unified jurisdiction of the Lutsk bishop until 1725 (Vavryk, 1979, p. 197).

In 1739, with the formation of the Saint Protectione Province of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Kremenetskyi Monastery changed its jurisdiction under the rule of Lutsk bishop to the Basilian Proto-hegumen (Patrylo, 1992, p. 195). There were only four monks (three hieromonks and one brother), who lived in the monastery in 1740 (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 1194, p. 13). Such a small number of the monastic community led to the fact that the Dubno's Provincial Meeting of 1745 decided to annex Kremenetskyi Monastery to Zahayatskyi Monastery because of insufficient income from the foundations to maintain a fixed number of eight inhabitants (Vavryk, 1979, p. 27). Subsequently, the monastery's financial provision improved and as early as in 1754 it increased the number of inhabitants to seven monks (Catalogus, 1954, p. 104). In 1774 eight inhabitants lived in the monastery (six hieromonks – Yosafat Makarevych¹, Antonyi Medem², Hratsian Parnytskyi³, Deodat Patynskyi⁴, Yosafat Morhylets⁵, Lev Dyshynskyi⁶ and two brothers – Pimen Onykovskyi⁷, Anastasiy Strus⁸) (Catalogus, 1773). The abbot of the monastery since 1773 was Pr. Yosafat Makarevich, who, according to the monastic

¹ **Yosafat Makarevych**, secular name – Ivan, the son of Stephen and Catherine. He was born in August 1730 in the territory of Przemysl. He completed one year of Rhetorics at Sambir School. He entered monasticism on August 16, 1750 in the Dobromyl Monastery. After a year of ascetic testing, he made the monastic vows of a professor. Sent to Hoschi at a rhetoric studio where he studied for one year. In 1752 he was sent to Lutsk to philosophical studios. After two years of studying, he was appointed as the preacher at the Cathedral. After a year of fulfilling these duties, he was sent to the Theological Studios in Brownsberg. After completing his studies, he returned to the Saint Protectione Province, where in 1759 he received priestly ordinances from the hands of Lutsk bishop Sylvester Rudnytskyi in Varkovychi. Yosafat Makarevych was appointed as the preacher at the monastery in Pidubtsyakh, where he stayed for 12 weeks, he was sent as the Guest to perform the prefect's duties of the school and the preacher. Later on he moved to the Kremenets Monastery as a missionary. Three years later he was sent to Pidubtsi, where he was a preacher. For a year he was appointed as the Philosophy Professor at the Terebovlya Monastery. In 1765 he was sent to St. George's Cathedral in Lviv on the canon. For up to two years he was sent to Dobromyl for teaching the Speculative Theology. A year later, he returned to Lviv in order to teach Theology and fulfill the duties of the Vicar of the St. George's Cathedral. For two years he was appointed as the Rector of the monastery in Hoshchi. In 1773 he became the Kremenets monastery Hegumen, ruling for only one year. Later he was sent to Zahoriv as a preacher, who conducted church service only on holidays. During the years 1776 – 1778 he was also a preacher in Pidubtsyakh and Pochaiv. He died in 1794 in Pochaiv (SNLL-SM, f. 3, p. 435, p. 635).

² **Antony Medem**, secular name – Adam, the son of Alexander and Petrunelia. He was born on January 1, 1730 in Podlisk. He joined the monasticism in Pochaiv in 1747, where after a year of novitiate he made the ascetic vows of the professor. In January 1749 he was appointed as the treasurer to Milchi, where he lived for three years. In February 1751, he received deacon consecrations from the hands of Lutsk bishop; Svyatokoprovsk Province – the Saint Protectione Province Teodosiy Rudnitskyi. Subsequently, on May 9, 1753, Lviv Bishop Lev Sheptytskyi gave him the priestly ordinances. He was appointed chaplain and choirman to monasteries in Satanov and Lanivtsi. In February 1762 he was sent to Pidhirtsi as a chaplain and cashier. On August 5, 1767, he was sent to Lubar to serve as treasurer and parish priest, where he resided for four years and six months. From there he moved to Kremenets, where he was appointed as the parish priest and prefect of the structure. In 1774 he was sent to Pochaev, where he was also a prefect of construction, and from there to Hoshcha to the post of curate of the monastery. In 1776 he was appointed the Vicar and Prefect of construction in the Krasnopushiv Monastery. In 1778 he became the Prefect of construction in Uyazdov. He died in Lutsk in 1792 (SNLL–SM, f. 3, c. 614, p. 58).

³ **Parnytskyi Hratsian**, secular name – Hryhoriy, the son of Andrew and Kseniya. He was born in September 1737 in Ozahowiec, Volyn Voivodeship. He graduated from the Kremenets School of Rhetoric. July 29, 1759 he entered the monasticism in Pochaev, where by the year of the novitiate July 30, 1760 made the ascetic vows of the professor. In August 1760 he was sent to Lavriv to philosophical studios. After completing two years of study in August 1762, he was sent to Lubar for Primary School Teaching. On July 14, 1762, he received the priestly ordinances from the hands of Bishop Antonin Adam Młodowski. On August 5, 1764, he was sent to Pidhirtsi to study at Dogmatic Theology. Upon completion of his studies on July 2, 1766 he was appointed preacher for the holidays at the monastery in Piddybtsi. A year later he was sent to Krystynopol to fulfill the duties of a missionary, where he worked for six years. From there he was sent to the Kremenetskyi monastery, where he was also a missionary priest, and since 1774 was appointed as the Rector of the same monastery. He died in Tryhirya in 1793 (SNLL–SM, f. 3, c. 435, p. 438).

⁴ **Patynskyi Deodat**, secular name – Tom, the son of Ivan and Anna. He was born on January 30, 1740 in the village. The Vivihovtsi of the Podolian Voivodeship. He graduated syntax class at the Kremenets school. He entered monasticism on July 25, 1763 in Pochaiv, where after a year of study in the novitiate July 25, 1764 he made the ascetic vows of the professor. Sent to Hoshchi's Rhetoric Studio. In August 1766 sent to Lavriv to Philosophical Studios (1 year). From there he was sent to Zamosc to continue his Philosophical Studies. After their completion, he went to the Pidhirtsi Monastery for Theological Studies. Two years later he graduated and was appointed a preacher in the Zahoriv Monastery. He was subsequently sent to preach in Brusyliv. In two years he returned to the Kremenetskyi monastery, where in 1773 – 1774 he was appointed second missionary. From there he was sent to Puhinok, where from 1775 to 1776 he was a Confessor and First Missionary. 10.07.1776 arrived in Uman as a missionary. 01.09.1778 went to Lysyanskyi monastery, where he was appointed as the hegumen of the monastery, and also acted as the First Missionary and Confessor. 09.08.1779 returned to Uman from Piddubtsi and was appointed as the preacher on Sundays. He died 1780 (SNLL–SM, f. 3, c. 614, p. 257).

⁵ **Morhylets Yosafat**, secular name – John, the son of Peter and Catherine. He was born on September 12, 1746 in the village. Koskiv, Volyn Voivodeship. He graduated from the Lyubar School of Poetry. He entered monasticism in Pochaiv on August 24, 1764. After studying in the novitiate on August 15, 1766 he made the monastic vows of a Professor. He was sent to Hoscha at the Rhetoric Studio (2 years), and later to the Philosophical Studies to Zahaisiv (2 years), to Theological Studies at the Vilnius Papal Seminary (St. Joseph Seminary) (4 years). After completing his studies, he returned to the territory of the Saint Protectione Province and received the priestly ordinations. In 1773 he was sent to the Kremenetskyi Monastery as a preacher. A year later he was sent to Krystynopolskiy Monastery to fulfill his duties as a preacher. 1775 Preacher in Lubar. In 1776 he moved to the monastery in Hoshchi. From 1777 to 1778 he was a Preacher and Prefect of the Convict in Lubar. In 1780 he was sent to the Zymnenskyi Monastery to perform the duties of the hegumen. He was later appointed as the Rector of the Lubarskyi Basilian College. 24.08.1784 arrived in Uman, where on September 1st he was appointed as the Hegumen of the Monastery and the Rector of the school. He died in Uman in 1794, being the Rector and the Provincial Adviser (SNLL–SM, f. 3, c. 435, p. 636).

⁶ **Dyshynskyi Lev**, secular name – Lyka, the son of Vasil and Anastasia. He was born in 1728 in Drohobych, Przemysl land of the Russian Voivodeship. He was accepted to the choir and obedience on 04.07.1749 in Pochaiv, where after a year of study at the Novitiate school on 14.07.1750 he made the monastic vows of a Professor. After completing his Monastic Studies (Rhetoric, Philosophy, Theology), he received the priestly ordinations and was appointed to carry out the duties of a Treasurer in various monasteries of the Saint Protectione Province. He was the Hegumen in Yasenytsi, the Treasurer in Kremenets, the Vicar in Lutsk, the Treasurer in Vicina, the Choristor in Zahorov (1776), Lublin. Nyzkynychi (1779, Parish Priest, Vicar), Krekhiv (before 1787), Lviv St. Onufrii (Confessor, Treasurer since 1787), St. Ivan in Lviv (since 1789 was the treasurer). He died in 1793 in the Galician province (Stetsyk, 2019, p. 481).

⁷ **Onykovskyi Pimen**, secular name – Peter, the son of Vasil and Anna. Born in June 1725 in Pochaiv. He joined the monasticism in Pochaiv on December 23, 1746, where after the school of novitiate on February 2, 1748 he made the ascetic vows of the Professor. In April 1761 he was appointed assistant of the structure to Nyzkynych, and later went to other monasteries of the province: August 14, 1764 to Zahorov, February 11, 1770 to Milchi, 1773 to Kremenets. He died in 1784 (SNLL–SM, f. 3, c. 436, p. 958).

⁸ **Strus Anastasiy**, secular name – Andrew, the son of Auxentius and Yuliana. He was born in 1730, entered monasticism on 23.04.1769 in the Straklivskyi Monastery. After two years of ascetic testing in the Pochayiv Novitiate on May 10, 1771, he made the profession of a Professor. Later on, he returned to the Strakliv Monastery to fulfill his duties as a visiting-professor. In 1773 – 1774 the visiting-novice of the monastery in Kremenets. From 1775 to 1776 he was a novice in the Strusiv Monastery, where in 1776 he received the priestly ordinances from the hands of Lviv Bishop Lev Sheptytskyi and was sent to the Nyzkynetskyi Monastery to fulfill the duties of the Procurator. From 1777 to 1779, the church was built at the Temple of Lublin Monastery. He died in Krystynopol in 1790, being the hegumen of this monastery. (SNLL–SM, f. 3, c. 614, p. 42).

community, was marked by deviant behavior. The monastery fraternity twice (June 10 and August 21, 1774) reported to the Provincial Administration, which resided in the Pochaiv Monastery, about the unsatisfactory government of the monastery hegumen, according to their complaints: the monastery's condition was unsatisfactory; the hegumen was constantly on the move, returned from a business trip sick and infirm; had no vision of running a monastery; did not keep order in collecting provisions; nothing was done without his consent and it was difficult to agree with him; did not adhere to an ascetic cloister (there were often socialites in the abbot's cell, especially women); visited private homes frequently, which was not the hegumen's responsibility; complained about the monks that they did not work to the socialites, that he should take care of everything; performed liturgy rarely; did not come to the choir and hegumen; had no respect for the monastic life (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 1248, pp. 7–8 v).

On behalf of Pr. Onufriy Bratkovskiy Order of Saint Basil the Great (O.S.B.G.), Univ Archimandrite and Proto-Hegumen of the Saint Protectione Province; a commission was formed to investigate the monastery community's complaint against the hegumen of the monastery. The commission consisted of Pr. Platon Hudz, Zahoriv Monastery Hegumen, Pr. Yeronim Striletskyi and Pr. Corneliy Lavrovych from Pochayiv Monastery. On September 14, 1774, they arrived at Kremenets Monastery and interviewed witnesses and the rector. The commission sent the poll records to the Provincial Office (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 1248, p. 3).

Five witnesses were interviewed in order to review the behavior of Priest Yosafat Makarevych, the monstary's hegumen, the following questions were asked:

1. How often did the hegumen leave the abbey, what for, where did he go?
2. Has the hegumen in the monastery been ever drunk?
3. Did the hegumen visit the socialite's private homes?
4. Have any women visited the hegumen's cell?
5. Has the rule of cloister been enforced in the monastery?
6. Has the hegumen ever slandered or berated the monks in front of the socialites?
7. How often has the hegumen conducted church service?
8. Has the hegumen ever been in the choir and refectory together with the inhabitants of the monastery?

The witnesses gave the negative answers to the above-mentioned questions and provided a clearly negative characterization of the hegumen's behavior (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 1248, pp. 3–5). Instead, most of the allegations, during the interrogation, were denied by the Hegumen, he admitted some of them, however, was trying to justify their urgent need. (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 1248, pp. 2–2 v). There fore, we include in our article Pr. Yosafat's Makarevich, the Hegumen interview protocol of interrogation, which outlines the basic facts that the accused of the deviant behavior tried to justify. As a result, the Protohegumen Onufriy Bratkovskiy released Pr. Yosafat Makarevych from fulfilling the Kremenetskyi Basilian monastery Hegumen's duties and sent him to Zahorivskiy Monastery, where he was appointed as the preacher, who held church service only on holidays. Subsequently, he was not appointed to any administrative positions in the Order of Saint Basil the Great (SNLL–SM, f. 3, c. 435, p. 635).

The Conclusions. The typical manifestations of the Basilian monasticism's deviant behavior of the early modern times have been established, they were the following: traveling to different province monasteries in order to find comfortable living conditions and to avoid performing duties; waste of monastic funds for their own fortune; violation of the ascetic rule of the cloister in the monastery cells; maintaining relationships with socialites; visiting socialites' private homes; alcohol abuse; discussing the relationship of the monastery

community with the socialites; avoiding the observance of the liturgical monastic rule; the desire to separate from the community. On the basis of interrogation protocols, the procedure for reviewing the disciplinary cases of monasticism was reconstructed: the notification – the commission establishment – the interrogation protocols conclusion of the witnesses and the accused one on oath – the Provincial Government’s consideration – making a decision. It should be mentioned that during the monasteries’ audits, the visiting commission delegated not only the the monastery’s property inventory, its profits and expenses, but also paid considerable attention to the observance of the ascetic rules in the monastery community. Hence, a survey was conducted between the Hegumen and the inhabitants of the monastery, aimed at finding out whether the ascetic rules were obeyed in the monastery. There were cases of conflict between the hegumen and the monastery fraternity, which were being investigated by the province’s visitors, which also included judicial functions.

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[Interview protocol of Pr. Yosafat Makarevych, Kremenets Basilian Monastery Hegumen, Kremenets, 14.09.1774 year]

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1-mo. W tych klasztorach takowe moie ustawiczne bywanie w [...] Bohoiawlenyie y teraz na rekolekcyach. W Strakłowie [...] postami aliis przed masnicą gdzie nemożny obedwa tygodnie [...] musieli pod czas wizyty tamtensi mieszkance dać swiactwo.

2-do. Jm. X. Medem zawsze absolutnie rządził się o żadne czynności mnie nierado. Pieniądzy komu chciał pozyczał iako pokazuje się z długow, powinnościom slusarzowi hultajowi bez wiadomości nie tylko moiey ale y antecessora [...] 2 czyli więcey oprócz czynszu więcey iak 18 zll. i uniesie za niego ręszty piędz [...] na 8 zll., a gdy 14 p[re]sentis tu znajdował sie zamek/ na którym sam klasztornych piędz odebrania zawsze pokładał nadzieie/ plus minus zll. [...] dla Jmc. Pana Czarneckiego zrobiony, clam kuznię odemknowszy wziął [...] za 8 zll. oddał, takim że sposobem wyniosł z szpiklerza chomut y z [...]. Na jurydykach kogo y za co chciał osadzał. Gości y domowych bez względu ubostwa traktował, bo na S. Bazyli y Bohoiawlenyie oprócz wina y miodu iac alembikową w klasztorze wodke, prawic dla samych kaplanow y summe za gdanka zll. 9 zapłacił. Kamienie powsemu 6, te wapno y cegła iak powywozone drzewo o to Bogu wiadomo, gdy bowiem raz spitałem się po sumu [...] od oprawy sztuki drzewa odpowiedziały n. faltor po 2 zll. czyli po 40 zll., a gdy znienacka spytałem maystru powiedziały po 30 zll. y to zdaie mi się wiele. O tych większych interessach ani się radził ani powiedziały ale sam ich według swego zadowolenia uspakoiął. Parobkow y inna czeladz odprawiały przyjmował tym płacił co się podobało bez żadney opowiedzi. Do kąd chciał wychodził albo wyiezdza że często jego niemożna się było dopytać gdzie znajduje się, na mieyscach bywał z nych i pogorszeniem (iako mi swieccy donosili; na to przysięgni żem go w [...] celij za zamknięciem drzwiami sam na sam zastał z młodycą, z parobkom piie nocnie/ co wyswiadczy Jm. X. Głowacki/ powiedziały nieluchaycie starszego bo on dzisiay starszym, a ia jutrom, mnie słuchaycie, ia wasz Pan, iakoż gdym coś rozkazywał iednemu, odszedz y odemnie do drugich powiedziały. [...] bude słuchaty ne ia; u

mene Pan Wikary wielokrotnie ile kassiera wysyłałem po prawdy że a te niechciał wyiechać iednak że, gdzie by więcey zaległa oprócz PP. [...] Szawłowski, Podhorskiego, Kosynskiego kahału ale to dawno przed mnim Jm. P. Zagorowskiemu ile komissarzowi powiatu niemożna się [...], dla jurydyki Jm. P. Oraguński daleko mieszka, a mać niemożna pewnie kiedy zostali Jm. P. Małachowskiego niewiedzieć gdzie szukać etc. Co się [...] upiiania się tego nieprzesza że się zdarzało ale z gośćmi, sam na sam napiie się [...] abym kazał kiedy iedne flaszke przynieść, lubo teraz każe dla zagrzania niepiiac wodki. To iednak moje napiiania się nie były takowe by przepił hluzdy albo walał się, chociaż nie bez choroby.

Ad 3-tium et 4-tum. Prawda to że bywała Kielbasowska w klasztorzu, która na sam przod sprawu[...] dzeł X. Duszynski zalecając ich do klasztoru przychylność prawda y to że by to raz czy dwa z mężem była raz czy dwa sama przy chłopcu bez zamknięcia drzwi ale w dzień, była pod czas prowodow z innemi, była na koniec z niże wspomnioną staruszką Wiszniowiecka przy obecności X. Medema kiedy szynka y kielbasy na swieto wzięte darował, żeby zaś w nocy kiedy umac[...] była parobka Woyciecha po nią posyłałem prośze aby albo pomieniony Woyciech pod przysięgą zeznał albo ia był przypuszczony do juramentu. Prawda y to że ani przed tym ani teraz niesłysza żeby to mieysce było podeyszło nie byłem razy trzy lub cztery w Kielbasowskiego, byłem albo przejeżdżając od samego prawie gwałtem zaproszony, albo dla interesu iako powracać z Począjowa u Wagilia Bożego Narodzenia dla ryb, a w wielki post dla kulbas

Str.2 (zw) //

[...] byłem w trzech karczmach w jednej u Jm. P. Borkoskiego; w drugiej u Jmci pisarza grodzkiego z tym piim gorzałkę, w trzeciej Jm. P. komornika plententa. Jmci pani starościny Niżynskiej, byłam y u Jozefa Cereliba [...] X. Duszynski poco prawda to że mnie tam iedzącego z tym że xiędzem stał pan podstolic Rotharyusz dobrze znajomy, więcey niepamiętam u kogorz zas będą nie przesze żeby przynajmniej nieskosztował gorzałki albo szklanką niewypił miodu y przyszedszy żebym niechorował na palpitacyą i te zaś wyrażone domy jeżeli są nieprzystoyna prośze osadzu. A kobieta nazwisko Wiszniowiecka Bogu duszę winna w tey okolisznosci y mowie na wstyd bym się widząc jey pobożność, prawda że zas do mnie siedzącego przed szpeklerzom y patrzącego na fabryke przyszło, uprzykrzaszniej wospan mnie a Kielbasowska iest teraz u mnie o tuż Waspan sam pudz y mow żeby to było skonczonno. Ja na fundamencie bliskości bo zaraz przy wrotach poszedła naywięcey kwadrans w przytomności tey że Wiszniowieckiej zabawiwszy z dwoma tam stojącymi paleztrantami powrociłem do klasztoru, że zaś Wiszniowiecka mnie niemowiąc wyszła na prog zobaczywszy XX. Patynskiego y Morgulca ocych pod refektarzem upatniących z kąd wyszła ile boiazliwa staruszka zacza słysząc kochanych BB[ratciow] zisła o mnie po miescie przed swieckimi sunie dla tego to uczyniła, ia nic nieuważając powrociłem y to się raz tylko trafiło, ale nie sam na sam y to w dzień, prośze żeby ta staruszką była przynajmniej [...].

Ad 5-tum. Nb. u Kielbasowskiego nie tylko obiada ani sniadania lub podwieczorka nigdy. Niezadly klawzury zachowac niemożna mowic żeby niechciałem ale niemogł zaraz po przyjeździe zaprosił się stać w klasztorze WJm. Pan pisarz grodzki po nim Pan pisarz ziemski do których rozney kondycyi ludzie uczęszczali, forty y firty niemarz wię komu podobało się wchodził, oprócz tego bywały okolicznosci bez tych mieszkancow przyią przychodzących, a gdziez niemaiać izby gosciny.

Ad 6-ta. Owszem mnie swieccy donosza że Jmc o mnie, nie ia o nich, przed swieckimi galdat.

Ad 7-ma. To prawda, bo zabawiwszy się z goscmi do pozna musze dłużej poleżac a wstawszy zaraz interesa, dla których wiele razy pacierze opuszczone prożto iednak zakrystyjan niemiała krzywdy, ponieważ razem więcey iak 120 mszy oddalem.

Ad 8-ma. I to prawda że gdy Jchmość codziennie kiedy im się podoba idie spać, a ia [...] iak to pod czas sądow y teraz do dwonastey łedwie niemdlezac nieגיע albo czas nieszprow

z goscmi zabawic się musze, albo gdy w lesie robile fabryke pilnować musiałem żeby daremny niebył expens, wszak przyznaią /ieżeli nie zachcą/ Jmc X. Jankowski y Jm X. Smotrycz/ ja y przy mnie działo się/ Medem zaraz po obiedzie szedl spać y spał poki się podobało, a na fabryce no iak chciano o to samo będzie w Poczajowie ieżeli sawołyie, a potyh do wygnania y groźność nie będą wykorzenione.

Quos responsiones si opus fuerit puł verae sunt poratum esse ma juxto congrare offero, reserowadz od siebe ut eas melocrare possam, in fidea me subscribo Datt Cremeneći dię 14 9-bris V[etus] S[tylus] 1774 A[nno]

P[ater] J[osafat] Makarewicz O[rdo] S[ancti] B[azilii] M[agni] m[anus] p[ropr]ia

The historical source: State Archiwum of Ternopil Region, f. 258, d. 3, c. 1248, p. 2–2 v

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NEW UKRAINE VS NOVORUSSIA: MYTHS AND REALITIES OF GEOPOLITICAL CHANGES DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVIIIITH – AT THE END OF THE XIXTH CENTURY

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to reconstruct the peculiarities of geopolitical changes, which took place on the territory of southern Ukraine during the second part of the XVIIIth – the end of the XIXth century. The research methodology is based on the principles of scientism, historical methods, verification, author's objectiveness, the frontier theory, a human dimension, regionalism, and also on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that the process of incorporation and colonization of the southern Ukrainian region has been specified on the basis of the documents unknown before. It has been emphasized that the southern*

Ukrainian region had a lot of peculiarities, which differed it from other regions of the Russian Empire. It was characteristic of the spirit of free enterprising; it nearly did not know any serfdom and, besides, through southern ports not only new goods but progressive ideas were spread out from modernized West Europe. The Empire had been striving to implement an artificial project "Novorussia" for a long time, but this policy became a failure. The region was populated by the Ukrainians; it was formed in close economical and socio-cultural relationships with the left and right banks Ukraine and became an integral part of Great Ukraine. In the research the south of Ukraine is characterized as "New Ukraine" to counterbalance Russia's failed "Novorussia" project. The memoirs by West European and Russian political and public figures as well as ordinary travellers round the region have been studied and the attention is focused on the fact that the southern Ukrainian region had nothing in common with backward Russia. The same time, modernization, colonization, cultural and other factors only proved it. **The Conclusions.** As a result of the present research, the conclusions have been made saying that the term "New Ukraine" has more rights to exist as a manifestation of the beginning of "a new life" in many aspects (political, economical, socio-cultural, etc.). The new Ukrainian region from the very beginning was given a strong impetus to development in the West-European direction and the residents of the region did not inherit Russia's values.

Key words: New Ukraine, the south of Ukraine, Steppes' Ukraine, geopolitics, administrative-territorial system.

НОВА УКРАЇНА VS НОВОРОСІЯ: МІФИ ТА РЕАЛЬНІСТЬ ГЕОПОЛІТИЧНИХ ЗМІН У ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XVIII – КІНЦІ XIX ст.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – розкрити й проаналізувати особливості геополітичних змін, які відбулись на території Півдня України в другій половині XVIII – кінці XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи науковості, історизму, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, теорії фронтиру, людиновимірності, регіоналізму, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі невідомих раніше документів уточнено процес інкорпорації та колонізації південноукраїнського регіону. Наголошується, що Південь України мав багато особливостей, що якісно вирізняли його серед інших регіонів Російської імперії. Для нього характерним був дух вільного підприємництва, він майже не знав кріпосного права, а через південні порти поширювалися не тільки товари, а й прогресивні ідеї модернізованої Західної Європи. Довгий час імперія намагалася реалізувати на Півдні України штучний проект "Новоросія", але ця політика зазнала краху. Регіон заселявся українцями, формувалася у тісному економічному та соціокультурному взаємозв'язку із Правобережжям і Лівобережжям, ставши органічною частиною Великої України. У дослідженні Південь України характеризується терміном "Нова Україна" як протизвага невдалому російському проекту "Новоросія". У статті розглянуті спогляди західноєвропейських та російських політичних, громадських діячів і простих відвідувачів регіону, які фокусували увагу на тому, що південноукраїнський регіон не мав нічого спільного із відсталою Росією. Водночас модернізаційні, колонізаційні, культурні та інші фактори це лише підтверджували. **Висновки.** У результаті проведеного дослідження були зроблені висновки про те що термін "Нова Україна" має більше прав на існування як вияв початку "нового життя" в багатьох аспектах (політичному, економічному, соціокультурному та інших). Новоросійський регіон із самого початку існування потужний західноєвропейський напрям розвитку, а мешканці регіону не отримали в спадок російські цінності.

Ключові слова: Нова Україна, Південь України, Степова Україна, геополітика, адміністративно-територіальний устрій.

The Problem Statement. Under present conditions of Ukrainian State's building it is safe to say that historical inheritance is an exceptionally significant integral element of contemporary processes, as the south of Ukraine is of a paramount importance. It includes the territories of the Crimea and the Donbas and the events, which are taking place these years,

without exaggeration, have drawn the attention of the whole world. The problems, which refer to history of this region, take not the least place in an informational war, which gave birth to the archaic “New Russia project”. Under these circumstances a set of problems became actualized, which are connected with history of the southern Ukrainian region of the studied period, as at the very end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth century the Russian Empire commenced a historical destruction of the Ukrainian territory.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. In the sphere of historiography some separate parts of the problem were raised. In the first place among historical research works, which were dedicated to the above-mentioned theme, it is worth mentioning the work of D. Bagaley (Bagaley, 1889). He was a Ukrainian researcher, who started to bring up the question of the southern Ukrainian region being formed in close relationships with right and left banks Ukraine. During the colonization processes in the south of Ukraine there started “a new life” for a plenty of nationalities. In the conclusions he stated that as a result of the three colonization waves there appeared an absolutely new Ukrainian region, which was quickly modernized, having a powerful agrarian, trading, industrial and intellectual potential.

Speaking about the historical studies of the southern Ukraine under conditions of the Soviet regime, it is worth mentioning, first of all, the works of O. Druzhinina, which are very informative in the aspect of trading and industrial development of the region. In the context of the above-mentioned theme of the present article the Soviet researcher’s conclusion is important for understanding that Russia, having united the northern Black Sea regions in the second half of the XVIIIth century and hoping for their fast integration into the Empire, received an equal standing part of Southern Ukraine in the XIXth century instead (Druzhinina, 1955).

N. Polonska-Wasylenko did not fail to pay attention to the history of the southern Ukraine region. In particular, the researcher thought that while the Russian Empire was colonizing these regions, it had already had numerous populations, whose lands were either taken away or residents were imposed with heavy taxes. Russian or foreign colonists had privileges instead. N. Polonska-Wasylenko also stated that the majority of people, who came to the south of Ukraine, were natives of Ukrainian territories, and that all the newcomers started an absolutely new life (“vita nova”) in this region (Polonska-Wasylenko, 1978).

At today’s stage of development and under circumstances of an independent Ukraine an interest in these problems has increased. For example, it is worth paying attention to the researches of southern-Ukrainian region’s history at the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XXth century, presented by O. Danilchenko. In this research there is not only a factual material, dedicated to the ethnic composition of newly united territories of Russian Empire, but also a series of important conclusions: the southern-Ukrainian territories became a unifying link of economical development for all Ukraine; representatives of the majority of peoples, who settled in the south of Ukraine, were aware of being the part of precisely southern-Ukrainian population (Danilchenko, 2009). A substantial contribution to the development of the above-mentioned theme was made by F. Turchenko and H. Turchenko (Turchenko, Turchenko, 2015), who analyzed the circumstances under which an artificial project “Novo Russia” appeared in 1764 as well as the attempts by the Tsar’s regime to realize it, later on by the Provisional Government in 1917 and at present time by today’s Russia. In the context of the analysis of the project made by Ukrainian scientists the 250 years’ long evolution of Ukrainian-Russian relationships has been investigated. At the same time, the authors’

attention is paid mainly to the sources and peculiarities of the contemporary Russian-Ukrainian war, not to special conditions of the southern Ukrainian region.

The purpose of the publication is to prove that for the naming of the region, which the Russian Empire made an attempt to colonize in the XIXth c., the term “New Ukraine” is more appropriate in comparison with the forced by the Russian propaganda name “Novo Russia”. Apart from it, the purpose of the present historical research is also to prove the fact that under the influence of different civilization processes on the territories of the southern Ukraine a new socio-cultural reality was formed.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Traditionally the lands of the southern Ukrainian region constituted a properly Ukrainian territory and had different names: “wild field”, “Steppes’ Ukraine”, “the Territory of Army Zaporozhskiy”. In the course of significant geopolitical changes in the second half of the XVIIIth c. the south of Ukraine was forcefully joined into the Russian Empire. The Tsar’s government broke traditional borders of historical and geographic division of Ukraine’s districts while artificially turning Slobozhanschina and the territory of Army Zaporozhskiy into the whole Novorussia province. The name “Novorussia” itself, as F. Turchenko and H. Turchenko (Turchenko, Turchenko, 2015, pp. 5–14) noted, originated due to the Manifest by Katherine II from March 22, 1764. The Tsar’s government followed a model of West-European states, which formed analogies of their monarchies on the colonized territories: New England, New France, New Holland, etc. But the principal difference from the countries of the Western Europe lay in that the Empresses of Russia presented the joined from the Ottoman Empire region as her own and properly Russian territory, which supposedly belonged to Russia earlier and that later it was unjustly taken by enemies and at the end of the XVIIIth c. returned into native measures of the Russian Empire.

However, it was not specified when the south of Ukraine belonged to Russia and in what way it was taken away. At the same time, the southern Ukraine region was pictured by Russia’s government as a total desert where there was no life; therefore Russia had to bring light of civilization onto those lands. The Novorussia province itself existed until 1783 undergoing substantial territorial changes. It was renewed in 1796 and liquidated in 1802 by dividing it into Mykolaiv, Katherinoslav and Tavria provinces. In 1803 Mykolaiv province was renamed in Kherson one. In 1822 these three provinces were united into one general-gubernatorial territory, which existed for a bit over half a century and before the end of the XIXth c. became archaic. However, some cultural and educational institutions on the territory of the south of Ukraine were still called “Novorussian” until 1917 – 1921.

Beginning from the second half of the XVIIIth c. Russian ideologists derived the name “Novorussia” from the concept New Russia. It is precisely due to joining the region into the Russian Empire the intentions grew to modernize Russia and put it into the world’s leaders. For example, A. Gavriil (Gavriil, 1853, pp. 81–83) emphasized that it was Russia’s government that brought civilization onto the south of Ukraine about which on “wild lands” no one knew anything. O. Platonov paid attention to the “Novo Russia” project too. It was him, who gave birth to the opposition theory of southern-Ukrainian to Northern-Russian territories, which was actively used by the Russian power (for example, Kherson – St. Petersburg, Mykolaiv – Kronstadt, Katherinoslav – Katherinodar).

O. Platonov, contemplating on the significance of the Novorussia project, developed a theory of regions’ opposition, which became the foundation for home policy, according to which the south of Ukraine was opposite to Russia’s North with the aim of surpassing the policy of Great Kyiv Prince Vladimir Svjatoslavich and Russia’s Emperor Peter I.

The opposition of above-mentioned regions was exercised by the way of singling out an informal centre in every region to which other towns gravitated, becoming integral provincial parts of it. Thus, Kherson was opposed to St. Petersburg, Mykolaiv to Kronstadt, Katherinoslav to Katherinodar and Katherinograd. There was no full accord mainly because of absence of an informal centre opposing to St. Petersburg. Its functions in the south were divided among Katherinoslav, Kherson and Odessa. Actually, Odessa became a political, economical and cultural centre of the south around which other towns of the region became provincialized (Platonov, 2001, pp. 112–124).

Thus, the south of Ukraine became a special region in the policy of Russia's government, which was presented as properly Russian in opposition to the north of Russia. Besides, it were the southern towns, due to which there appeared new opportunities for modernization and renovation of all the Russian Empire in particular:

- political – forming a new model of state order and foreign policy;
- economical – orientation of market model onto the ports of the Azov and Black seas, facilitating capitalistic relationships' development;
- social – ruining old and forming new social relationships thus turning town's estates into bourgeoisie;
- world outlook and ideological – forming new philosophy based on rationality's principles (Cheremisin, 2017, pp. 82–83).

Colonization and urbanization processes were to become important components of this policy by the way of which the Tsar's government tried to prove that the region was populated by the Russians properly. That's why substantial concessions were made and exclusive privileges given to new settlers. However, Russia's government failed to colonize the region by proper Russia's population and to totally russificate the territory. The region appeared to be populated mainly by the Ukrainians (up to 60–90 %) (Kabuzan, 1976, pp. 136–149; Danilchenko, 2009, pp. 43–98; Donik, 2011, pp. 86–198), and Russia's settlers were afraid of proper Russian troops, who unmercifully robbed colonizers, moving from Russia's provinces on their way to the south (IMNLV, f. 9, cases 17450–17491, pp. 11–14; IMNLV, f. 9, cases 20745–20750, pp. 2–9). The most numerous nationalities in town's population were the Ukrainians, the Russians and the Jews. Thus, southern Ukrainian towns may be justly called not proper Russian, but Ukrainian-Russian-Jewish. The government of Russia did not manage even statistically to present southern Ukrainian towns as Russian properly. According to statistical data before 1897 it was not possible to discern the Ukrainians, the Russians and the Byelorussians, as these three nationalities were artificially united into "the Russians". In reality, the Russians proper were not a lot, in the comments to statistical data it was noted that the Ukrainians in towns were a great lot. The same time, it was noted in provincial statistics that the Russians constituted 7,09 %, the Ukrainians – 49,3 %, the Byelorussians – 2,8 %. In regional statistics there were data indicating that the Ukrainians were 89 %. Besides, in statistical data it was noted that more substantial influence on the Russian population was executed by the Ukrainians, as new Russian settlers knew quickly a lot of Ukrainian words, sayings and peculiarities of the Ukrainian language (Maikov, 1968, p. 35; Records, 1863, pp. 20–26). According to statistical data from 1897 it appeared that the Ukrainians constituted a dominant number of the population in villages and towns of the region (especially in provincial towns) (Troinitskiy, 1904, pp. 8–12).

As a result, the government failed to form a national composition acceptable to the "Novorussia project", so it made maximum efforts to russificate the region regarding the

Russian language as the only means of communication and a fast adaptation. But this project was a failure from the very beginning, as in most cases the Ukrainians and the Crimean-Tatars opposed russification and did not want to be turned into “Novorussians”. The artificiality of the “Novorussia project” proves pretty well the fact that the population of the region was not turned into Novorussians. The government of Russia pretended that the region was Russian-speaking, whereas the Russian language did not dominate in the region. As a rule, the terms “Malo (Small) Russia” and “Veliko (Great) Russia” were made clear by the fact that the Ukrainians and the Russians, who have their own and different history, traditions, customs, folklore, etc., constituted full-bodied ethnic groups themselves. In the case of “Novorussia” it was not possible to refer to a certain ethnic group, not to restore Novorussia’s history, folklore, customs, etc. They were just absent in history and weren’t existent at the time.

The evidences that the southern Ukraine did not become a properly Russian region can be found in memorial inheritance of the XIXth c. figures. For example, the British travelers M. Gutri, M. Holderness, R. Layall wrote about southern Ukraine as a European region being distinct from the rest of territories of the Russian Empire. An American D. Stephens, a Russian of Sweden origin F. Vigel characterized southern-Ukrainian territories as a link between Russia and civilization (Gutri, 2012, pp. 19–20, 22–91, 100–261). Sometimes even the Russians stressed un-Russian character of southern-Ukrainian towns (for example Zabolotnyi, a Russian public figure) when he described Odessa; Vsevolzhskiy (Tver’s civil gubernator in 1817 – 1826), A. Demidov (Russian academician), P. Sumarokov (Russian writer), F. Vigel (Russian of Sweden origin) (Vsevolzhskiy, 1839, pp. 89–156; Demidov, 1853, pp. 189–267; Sumarokov, 1800, pp. 124–189; Vigel, 2006, pp. 156–168).

Russia’s government stated that it was the State itself, which founded all the towns in the south of Ukraine and that municipal administrations consisted of the representatives of the Russian nationality. But the importance of Russia and the Russians in this aspect is rather overestimated, as Russia did not found towns on vacant (deserted) places but only refounded already existent settlements and military fortresses of Zaporozhskiy Cossacks, Crimean Tatars and used the territories of Old Greeks’ towns for settlement. For instance, a former military fortress Alexander-Schanz, where the Cossacks lived once, became a place for building the city of Kherson, an old-Greek Chersonesus and Tatar settlement Achtiar for Sebastopol, the territory of former Zaporozhska Setch for Alexandrovsk, a settlement Kodak for the city of Dnepro and a Tatar settlement Chadzhibey for Odessa.

According to the materials of the first census of the population in 1897 in municipal administrations of the region the Russians did not always prevail. For example, in municipal self-government of Berislav the Ukrainians constituted 83,3 %, the Russians – 10 %; in Olexandria the Ukrainians were 58,8 %, the Russians – 35 %. in Bobrinets the Ukrainians were 61,9 %, the Russians – 28,68 %; in Olviopol the Ukrainians were 55,6 %, the Russians – 55,6 %; in Majaki the Ukrainians were 55,6 %, the Russians – 44,4 %; in Ochakiv the Ukrainians were 55,6%, the Russians – 44,4 %; in Olexandrivsk the Ukrainians were 58 %, the Russians – 37,7 %; in Bachmut the Ukrainians were 68,9%, the Russians – 22,2 %; in Verchedneprovsk the Ukrainians were 60,7 %, the Russians – 39 %; in Novomoskovsk the Ukrainians were 53 %, the Russians – 38 %; in Slavjanoserbsk the Ukrainians – 50 %, the Russians – 50 %; in Orechov the Ukrainians were 81,8 %, the Russians – 18,2 %.

In Kherson, Mykolajiv, Odessa, Novogeorgievsk, Anan’ev, Elisavetgrad, Voznesensk, Novomirgorod, Ovidiopol, Katherinoslav, Mariupol, Pavlograd, Lugansk, Simpjeropol, Sebastopol, Karasubazar, Nogaïsk, Oleshky, Eupatoria, Melitopol, Perekop, Yalta, Feodosija,

Staryi Krym, Kertch the amount of the Ukrainians in municipalities ranged from 5 % to 40 %. Only in Crimean towns an amount of the Crimean Tatar in municipal self-government dominated – 40,5 %, the Ukrainians – 5,8 %, the Russians – 11,8 % (Troinitskiy, 1904, pp. 275–285, Troinitskiy, 1897, pp. 175–186).

Thus, an amount of the Russians in municipal administrations in the south of Ukraine was prevalent in 26 towns, an amount of the Ukrainians prevailed in 12 towns, in 1 (one) town an amount of the Russians and the Ukrainians was equal and in 1 (one) town an amount of the Crimean Tatar prevailed.

That is why Russia's administration failed to present the southern Ukraine region as Russian or Novorussian; the south of Ukraine did not become an ethnic territory of Russia. Moreover, the term Novorussia was regarded as archaic before the end of the XIXth c.

The authors of the present research carry out ideas of the name New Ukraine as a phenomenon of a new life's beginning and modernization for the Ukrainians properly. It has more rights to exist in comparison with artificially elaborated Novorussia, produced for justification of Russia's aggressive policy. The Ukrainian factor became crucial in the process of turning the south of Ukraine into New Ukraine.

The New Ukrainian region became a stimulating factor, which set all Ukraine into motion economically, culturally, ideologically and united it into Great Ukraine. If early trading relationships of the right bank Ukraine were oriented to Poland, whereas the left bank Ukraine – to Russia, the south of Ukraine directed trading streams from both left and right banks Ukraine to West Europe. It was the south of Ukraine from which ideas of modernization and renovation of all Ukrainian life were spreading. The Ukrainian population received a chance to make use of new standards and go away from traditional and archaic forms of coexistence.

The Russian population underwent modernization too. It was caused by the distance from the capitals and undeveloped transportation system. The Russians understood very soon that it was closer to civilized Europe and it was more attractive, too. Thus, being brought up in traditions of military patriotism and proud of their Russian origin, they learnt foreign languages sooner than they started shaving their beards.

The Ukrainian population was also modernized. The right bank Ukraine (whose trading traditionally was oriented onto Poland) and the left bank Ukraine (with trading interests in Moscow and St. Petersburg) grew actively: from there caravans of goods for sale went to the south from where they arrived on West European markets. However, the traders from other regions seldom came back with money. They gambled money away, gambled everything in southern towns (Vigel, 2000, pp. 57–68). As a result, the resettlement to the south was a symbol of “new”, free from serfdom and burden of feudalism life.

Simultaneous with the development of economical life the south of Ukraine was integrated on a regional level in Western, Eastern and Northern Ukraine. At the same time, particulars of the region's integration into the Russian Empire provided conditions for forming new social-economical, administrative-territorial and national relationships, too. That is why it is absolutely possible to share the thought of I. Lysak-Rudnytskiy that the south united Ukraine, first economically by participating in an international division of labor's process, then on a national level, and on the whole it became the centre of economical gravitation of modern Ukraine (Lysak-Rudnytskiy, 1994, pp. 145–171).

The Conclusions. During the second half of the XVIIIth century the Russian Empire with the help of artificial Novorussia project made an attempt to renew its home policy and to break an international isolation aiming at turning itself into a world-wide power. That was

a chance to organize a better life on new territories and by this way to renew the Empire, to transit it from backwardness to “prosperity and well-being”. The ambitious plans of the Empire appeared to have been unrealized. It succeeded to renew the Empire’s outward appearance only, whereas inward bureaucracy, the officialdom’s escapades, embezzlement of public funds, bribery and corruption drew it back. Novorossia did not become Russian, but it turned itself into New Ukraine instead and it became a unifying economical construct for all Ukraine.

The unfeasibility of Novorossia project was so obvious that at the end of the XIXth century the term became archaic and there remained only a few names.

The Tsar’s ideology made an attempt to implement a myth, to create an unhistorical theory according to which the region was always Russian, although, in reality, during the whole history it was formed as a proper Ukrainian where Ukrainian Cossacks and the Crimean Tatars had lived. Russia’s government attempted to prove that the region was vacant at the time it was incorporated into the Russian Empire; in fact, there lived the Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar population. The Tsar’s government made an attempt to prove that it was Russia, which brought light of civilization in the region, but, in reality, civilization and high level of culture came from Western Europe. The Tsar’s government made an attempt to prove that the region was populated by the Russians only; in reality, up to 60–90% of it was populated mainly by the Ukrainians. Even in towns the number of Ukrainian population was substantial, which was proved by Russian statistics. The fact that the region was not perceived as properly Russian was proved by the Europeans and the Russians calling it Italy, Europe, Florence and constantly making comparison with towns of Western Europe. Russia’s government attempted to prove a myth that in municipal administration of the region were the Russians only; in reality, only in 26 towns the majority of posts were held by the Russians; in reality, in 11 towns the Ukrainians dominated. Only in 1 (one) municipality a number of the Russians and the Ukrainians was equal and in 1 (one) of self-governments the Crimean Tatars were a majority.

Thus, the region for the greater part should be regarded as Novoukrainian, as the Tsar’s government did not answer, who Novorussians were, at the same time, the policy of colonization led to settlement of the region by different nationalities, who did not want to be russified. The greater part of the region was populated by the representatives of the Ukrainian nationality proper (compact groups lived both in towns and in villages) Moreover, it was the Ukrainian population, who to a greater extent, exerted the influence on other nationalities in linguistic and cultural aspects.

It was here that Ukrainian population was able to reach new (modern) patterns of life. It was in the new Ukrainian region where urbanization and modernization started already at the end of the XVIIIth century. The rates of modernization and urbanization processes in the south of Ukraine substantially exceeded the indicators in other regions. Russia’s government did not found towns on vacant places, but it was busy with reconstruction and rebuilding of already existent Ukrainian and Tatar settlements as well as military fortresses. The Russians, the Jews, the Moldavians and others constituted pretty large compact groups of town’s population in whose hands commerce, trading, public service, industry and education were held. It was connected with particulars of a military-administrative and commercial character of activities in southern Ukrainian towns. In the structure of countryside population of the region the Ukrainians also prevailed; they were more mobile on all other territories of Ukraine. They were busy not only in agriculture but were also engaged in salt, fish and cart businesses. In the structure of town’s population the Russians prevailed in officialdom, in municipal and

estate self-government, among intelligence as well. The Ukrainians prevailed in the sphere of agriculture. The towns in the south of Ukraine were multinational but only 3 ethnoses prevailed: the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Jews. The Ukrainian population influenced other ethnic groups in cultural aspect. It were the Ukrainians, whom the Russians, the Serbs and other nationalities took speech and cultural traditions from.

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**HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ON THE PAGES
OF THE JOURNAL “KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY” (1887 – 1918)**

Abstract. *The purpose of publication is to reveal how the process of formation and development of the historical economy – new for the contemporary Polish historiography of the research direction – appeared on the pages of the journal “Kwartalnik Historyczny”. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. The research novelty is that for the first time in historiography an attempt was made to reconstruct the process of the formation and development of the historical economy of Poland as a separate discipline on the pages of the journal “Kwartalnik Historyczny” (1887 – 1918). The Conclusions. A study of the publications of “Kwartalnik Historyczny” shows that the history of the Polish economy for a long time was closely linked to the reflection on the past of Polish society and government. Differentiation of issues in many points was simply impossible, since the state system led to socio-economic relations; on the other hand, the impulses of change in the realm of law and administration were dependent on society. Historians who have specialized in these fields have been forced to focus on all these issues. This entailed the need to broaden the view of certain problems and to*

move to a higher level – from positivist micrographic studies to generalizing, synthetic studies, which in turn led to the modernization of existing models of historical knowledge and brought historical science to another level.

Key words: Polish historiography, historical press, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, historical economy, Lviv.

ІСТОРИКО-ЕКОНОМІЧНА ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА НА СТОРІНКАХ ЧАСОПІСУ “KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY” (1887 – 1918)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – розкрити як на сторінках часопису “Kwartalnik Historyczny” відобразився процес становлення та розвитку історичної економіки – нового для тогочасної польської історіографії дослідницького напрямку. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об’єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає в тому, що вперше в історіографії здійснено спробу реконструювати відображення на сторінках часопису “Kwartalnik Historyczny” (1887 – 1918 рр.) процесу становлення та розвитку історичної економіки Польщі як окремої дисципліни. **Висновки.** Вивчення публікацій часопису “Kwartalnik Historyczny” показує, що історія економіки Польщі тривалий час була тісно пов’язана з рефлексією над минулим польського суспільства та державного устрою. Розмежування проблематики в багатьох пунктах було просто неможливим, оскільки державний устрій зумовлював соціально-економічні стосунки, з іншого боку, імпульси перемін у царині права та адміністрування були залежні від суспільства. Історики, що спеціалізувалися у цих галузях, змушені були враховувати всі ці фактори. Це тягло за собою потребу розширення погляду на проблеми минулого та переходу на інший рівень досліджень – від позитивістських мікрографічних досліджень до узагальнюючих, синтетичних опрацювань, що, своєю чергою, зумовлювало модернізацію існуючих моделей історичного пізнання та виводило історичну науку на вищий, більш узагальнюючий рівень осягнення минулого.

Ключові слова: польська історіографія, історична преса, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, історична економіка, Львів.

The Problem Statement. At the end of the 19th century, on the pages of the Lviv universal history journal “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, episodic studies are began to emerge from the field of Polish economy not yet allocated to a separate branch of the Polish economy. And already at the beginning of the 20th century, when independent studies of this discipline began to emerge, a new stage began in its formation, connected with the activities of F. Bujak, J. Rutkowski, K. Tymeniecki, R. Grodecki and others.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Historiography lacks general research on the formation and functioning of Polish economic history and a special place in this process of Lviv scholars (Inglot, 1937, pp. 377–411). Of particular interest were the issues of the functioning of historical and economic schools (such as the school of Franciszek Bujak) and some of the distinguished researchers in this field (Adam Shchelanhovskiy, Jan Rutkowski, etc.) (Morawski, 2011, p. 15–25; Maternicki, 2009, pp. 404–417; Topolski, 1986). In the historiography there are also enough generalizing works on the history of the formation and development of studies on the economic history of Poland, in particular in the context of the activities of the University of Lviv (Kula, 1963; Kowalski, 2016, pp. 429–459) researches on the history of the activity of some periodicals of educational and economic direction (Rejman, 2019, pp. 239–266), source studies of the press (Landau-Czajka, 2017, pp. 267–282). However, there are still no special studies dedicated to reflecting the emergence of historical economics as a science in the venues of Lviv scientific

historical publications. Of particular interest is the scientific and informational activity of the journal “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, which was published in Lviv from 1887 to 1939 and became a reflection of the development of Polish historical science of the time.

The purpose of publication is to reveal how the process of formation and development of the historical economy – new for the contemporary Polish historiography of the research direction – appeared on the pages of the journal “Kwartalnik Historyczny”.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The end of the 19th is the time when “Kwartalnik Historyczny” is going through its formation – coincides with the appearance of the first researches on the history of the Polish economy. There are no specialists at this time, and the discipline is not yet the subject of systematic university education, but is intertwined with courses in political history or the history of law and culture. S. Inglot wrote about this period the following: “This is a time when historians of law, politics and culture are interested in certain aspects of the history of society and economy” (Inglot, 1937, pp. 377–378). Thus, issues of the history of economics appear in separate studies of Lviv positivist researchers L. Finkel, O. Balzer, F. Papée, and A. Prochaska. Their greatest achievement is not so much their own historical and economic cognitive activity as professional training within the university. They have become the Atlanteans on whose shoulders the next generation of researchers will reach the fruits of such new historical disciplines as historical economics, history of law, history of culture, etc.

And already at the beginning of the 20th century, the first systematic and purposeful studies in historical economics appeared, which was connected with the change of the research paradigm and the introduction of representatives of the second generation of Polish scholars: neo-romantic and modernist directions. It should be noted that the general historical and economic studies of the beginning of the 20th century were the realm of young researchers. Development of research on the history of economics and agriculture, presented on the pages of the journal, related to the activities of F. Bujak, S. Grabski, J. Rutkowski, R. Grodecki, K Tymieniecki. Their interests extended to the history of the Middle Ages and the early modern times, and to the new era and covered both social and economic issues. In addition, they were noted for important methodological decisions and originality of judgment.

The theoretical constructions of S. Grabski actually marked the emergence of a historical and economic direction that has not yet been drawn up. On the pages of the journal, we find a reception of his research on the general issues of the development of Polish economic thought (Gargas, 1902, pp. 635–640). Thus, in the review of S. Grabski’s work on the history of economic research in Poland in the 18th and 19th centuries, it focused on methodological issues. In particular, the reviewer noted that S. Grabski drew attention to the differences between the tasks of the economist and the historian: “What for the economist is a phenomenon, for the historian is regularity. On the contrary, for the historian it is a fact, for the economist it is only a specific manifestation in particular socio-economic conditions. The historian examines literature as a product of the integrity of social relations, and the economist turns to theory for methodical guidance” (Gargas, 1902, p. 635). However, not all of his statements were agreed by the reviewer. Thus, S. Grabski’s views on the national peculiarities of historical and economic science, which he considered to be key one in conducting this type of research, caused ambiguous perception. It should be noted that similar theoretical approaches are widely used by modern historical science in Ukraine (Kornovenko, Svyaschenko, 2019, pp. 34–42; Kornovenko, Telvak, Ilnytskyi, 2018, pp. 133–141).

In the next decade, we are already seeing quite specific, implemented by all the current research rules of work on the history of the economy and the discussions around them. In

the journal during 1912–1913, it was published a study by R. Grodecki "Trebnysky princely parish in the background of the organization of the princely estates of Poland in the 12th century". (Grodecki, 1912, pp. 433–475; 1913, pp. 1–66). This work emerged as a result of a seminar at Jagiellonian University led by S. Kzizhanowski. It is interesting that the work was first published in the journal, and only later, after the return of R. Grodecki from the army in 1918 on its basis his doctorate was defended. The readers of the journal were presented with the development of the princely Trebnysky estate in 1202–1208. In this model research, from many points of view, the author carefully studied the organization of the internal structure of this estate, including its social structure.

On the pages of the journal "Kwartalnik Historyczny", R. Grodecki's study of a polemical character "Studies on the history of economics of the 12th century" was published (Grodecki, 1915, pp. 257–294). In fact, it was a reflection on the work of K. Tymieniecki, whose studies, paired with the studies of R. Grodecki, marked the emergence of systematic studies of the economic foundations of Poland in the 12th century.

The genesis of this type of work was deduced from the researches of K. Potkanski and F. Bujak, since both revealed a strong influence on both R. Grodecki and K. Tymieniecki (Maternecki, 1982, p. 130). And a significant innovation of young scientists was that, under the influence of familiarization with the methodological views of Western European scholars of history, they began to use the achievements of ethnography and sociology in their studies. Therefore, in the mentioned work, K. Tymieniecki, paying tribute to positivism, paid much attention to the authenticity of ancient documents, in particular royal privileges. And then he went on to a features specific analysis of the colonization of Ancient Poland terrains: the nature of land, population density, social and economic relations, etc.

R. Grodecki highly appreciated this study, considering it very important to elucidate the peculiarities of economic history of the 12th century. It raised many pressing issues and it was based on new research methods for the study of colonization. The reviewer noted the weaknesses of the work, not only in his opinion, insufficient elaboration of source materials, but also with their arbitrary interpretation (Grodecki, 1915, pp. 257–294).

Questions of agrarian history of later period were addressed by J. Rutkowski. As J. Kolbuszewska emphasized: "J. Rutkowski was a pioneer in the implementation of theoretical models based on the history of economics. Demonstrating a remarkable erudition and methodological culture, with some superstitiousness he treated factual data, which for him was not an end in itself, but only a starting point" (Kolbuszewska, 2005, p. 196).

On the pages of the journal we see his research "Perestroika reconstruction in Poland after the wars of the 17th century" (Rutkowski, 1916, pp. 309–342). Appealing to the need to use statistical methods in this type of research, we see how the author applies them in the study of royal lustration of the 17th century. Another innovation of J. Rutkowski was the consideration in his study of the role of such an external factor, which had a direct impact on the history of the economy as a natural disaster.

Issues of trade history and finance occupied a significant place on the pages of the journal from the beginning of its activity. One of the first such essays was presented by V. Łoziński. His research "Lviv Merchant of the 17th century" was marked by an innovative approach and was not typical of publications in "Kwartalnik Historyczny". V. Łoziński was not a professional historian and he was mainly engaged in literary activities, journalism and collecting antiquities. Almost all of V. Łoziński's explorations in "Kwartalnik..." were devoted to the social and historical and cultural aspects of Lviv's past. In 1888 V. Łoziński published the story of the life of a "little man" –

a Lviv dealer of the 17th century Petro Kunashchak. Again, this was not typical of a rather dry, academic edition of an incredibly lively, emotional narrative based on the analysis of a source of not much respected by the historians of the era of positivism – the diary. V. Łoziński submitted a description of the business diary of the Lviv merchant, Rusyn P. Kunashchak, which he kept for 33 years – from the time of his arrival in Lviv in 1663 until his death in 1696. A comprehensive analysis of this document allowed V. Łoziński creating a vivid image of the Lviv tradesman of the 17th century and the lifestyle he led (Łoziński, 1888, pp. 355–380).

More characteristic of the journal “Kwartalnik Historyczny” in the 80 – 90s of the 19th century were studies of the type published by A. Prochaska “Protest of the Wilenski merchants of 1621” (Prochaska, 1893, p. 436–446). On the pages of the journal he submitted and commented on a document illustrating the economic relations of the Polish king with the Wilenski merchants in the beginning of the 17th century. This type of publication – short, meaningful, thoroughly commented sources that exemplified the use of positivist techniques – was most characteristic of the journal at the beginning of its activities. We see this type of publication in F. Papée. It was an exploration based on documents from the city books of Krakow that shed light on the economic relations of King Casimir IV Jagiellonchik with the townspeople in 1487 (Papée, 1895, pp. 648–656).

And already at the beginning of the 20th century, in the journal appeared quite different in character historical-financial research, conducted by A. Szelągowski. This Lviv historian was famous for being deeply immersed in economic issues, exploring issues of international politics: he studied the economic interests of individual countries, changes in trade routes, price movements, etc. (Maternicki, 1982, p. 130). It is believed that one of the most important works of A. Szelągowski was the study “Money and the Revolution of Prices in Poland in the 16th – 17th Centuries” (1902), influenced by G. Schmoller – at that time the most prominent representative of a new school in the German political economy (Kowalski, 2016, p. 432). “Raising so many questions in one book, as the modern researcher of his work E. Maternicki notes, the author could not deeply study them all, even looked through a little... However, this was an innovative study, and Szelągowski became one of the pioneers of modern historical and economic studies in Poland” (Maternicki, 2009, p. 91). In general, this work was of great importance for the development of Polish economic history. And modern researcher K. Kowalski even considers the appearance of this book the date of the initial new stage of development of Polish historical and economic studies (Kowalski, 2016, p. 431).

On the pages of the journal A. Szelągowski made his debut with studies on the financial crises in Poland in the 16th – 17th centuries, which were provoked by the fall in grain production and its prices on the foreign market (Szelągowski, 1900a, pp. 585–623; Szelągowski, 1900b, pp. 18–44). Reflecting on the role and importance of economic factor in the history of A. Szelągowski was far from economic determinism, he assigned to economic issues certain functions that were revealing the life history of the people. The researcher successfully identified the monetary issue as a barometer representing the political, social and economic life of a certain time. Thus, such an integrated understanding of historical progress, which implied interconnections between the economy, politics and cultural conditions, became a distinctive feature of his views. Focusing on the causes of the depreciation of the Polish coin in the seventeenth century, A. Szelągowski studied the economic views of Polish intellectuals of the time and sought to explain the economic policy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

J. Rutkowski was another researcher specializing in the history of finance in Lviv. Under the guidance of L. Finkel, J. Rutkowski defended his dissertation on “The Polish Treasury of the

Times of Alexander Jagellonchy”, the main provisions of which were published on the pages of the journal “Kwartalnik Historyczny” (Rutkowski, 1909, pp. 1–77). First of all, we should note that the source of this study (including the Crown Metric royal papers, palace treasury books of receipts, tax registers) looked incredibly solid, providing statistics on the treasury of the king and describing monetary relations in monetary form and countries the royal court. As we can see, J. Rutkowski used a large number of sources, which contained information about mass historical and economic phenomena.

As this topic was covered in Polish historiography for the first time, it was widely distributed to readers through publication in the most authoritative historical journal, which was “Kwartalnik Historyczny”.

As we can see, the overwhelming majority of the journal’s material concerned the history of the Middle Ages and the early modern times. However, works on the history of modern times were published at times. An example is F. Bujak’s polemical study on Austrian trade policy in Galicia since its accession to the Habsburg Empire (Bujak, 1916, pp. 343–356). At its core, it was an overview of G. Grossman’s study of the trade policy of Vienna against Galicia in 1772–1790. F. Bujak quite sharply criticized this work. He noted, in particular, that even from a formal point of view, G. Grossman’s work lacked adequate structure, and its reading was hampered by the lack of elementary scientific indicators. The observer and the lack of the source base of the study noted. He drew attention to the tendency in the coverage of the attitude of the Polish society of Galicia to the Austrian authorities. Given such significant remarks, it is not surprising that F. Bujak proposed to view this work not as a serious historical and economic study, but as “an introduction to an article by a Galician-born Viennese publicist” (Bujak, 1916, p. 350).

Another historical and economic theme that has been raised on the pages of the journal from the first years of its existence was the problem of polluting the lands of ancient Poland and the further colonization expansion of the state. And one of the landmark studies of the topic was O. Balzer’s “Revision of the Theory of Primary Sedimentation in Poland” (Balzer, 1898, pp. 21–64). In this work, O. Balzer, a Lviv resident, one of the most respected Polish historians of law, argued with F. Piekosiński about his theory of the ancestral settlement of Polish lands. F. Piekosiński defended the theory of the expansive origin of the nobility (he, in particular, was the author of the so-called runic theory of the origin of emblematic images, which he derived from the Scandinavian runes), to confirm which he provided a thorough analysis of the influence of external factors on the state of society and the creation of society (Piekosiński, 1890, pp. 674–730). Instead, O. Balzer believed that this theory was not confirmed in the source materials and was a supporter of the view that the ancient Polish state evolved through the evolution of relations of local tribes without the intervention of foreigners (Balzer, 1898, pp. 21–64).

Historiography considers that the 40-page “Revision of the theory of the primary colonization of Poland” by O. Balzer was a turning point in the development of the theory of origin of the Polish people and the state. In addition, this relatively small article contributed to the growing interest in the issues of primary colonization of Polish lands. O. Balzer’s construction is widely recognized in Polish historical science. And, as Adamus, a historian of law and one of the first researchers of O. Balzer’s work, rightly remarked: “This theory would have evolved, but it is unknown if anyone would have argued it” (Adamus, 1958, p. 203).

And another landmark study on historical economics is F. Bujak’s “Studies on the Settlement of Malopolska” (1905). In 1908, A. Winiarz published in the journal an overview of this work, which went beyond the boundaries, because it contained a universal sociological program

of agrarian research (Winiarz, 1907, pp. 466–471). This study was the basis of his habilitation in the historical economy – the first in the history of Polish science, which took place in 1905. At this meeting, for the first time in Polish science, he provided a theoretical justification for a new historical discipline. F. Bujak argued that the history of the development of the people, which reaches all manifestations of his life, “cannot be understood without full coverage of its economic development, which, more sensitive and understandable in itself, facilitates the understanding of spiritual and political phenomena” (Bujak, 1963, p. 498).

The authors of the journal were also keenly interested in the topic of colonization of Ukrainian lands, as the Historical Society and its publishing project, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*” journal, had a particular focus on the history of the lands of Red Russia. In 1893 A. Jablonowski, whose scientific interest also extended to the history of the Russian Voivodeship of the Commonwealth of Poland, published a study entitled “Colonization of Ukraine in the Times of the Last Jagellons” (Jablonowski, 1893, pp. 50–65). The published study was a polemical review of the second volume of the Acts on the Occupation of Southwestern Russia (1890), prepared by M. Vladimirsky-Budanov. A. Jablonowski argued with the author about some aspects of colonization of Ukraine in Lithuanian times (from the end of the 15th century to the Union of Lublin). As the publication was accompanied by a voluminous preface, in which the Russian historian presented his vision of the process of becoming obsolete, the controversy turned out to be quite specific.

The Conclusions. A study of the publications of “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*” shows that the history of the Polish economy for a long time was closely linked to the reflection on the past of Polish society and government. Differentiation of issues in many points was simply impossible, since the state system led to socio-economic relations; on the other hand, the impulses of change in the realm of law and administration were dependent on society. Historians who have specialized in these fields have been forced to focus on all these issues. This entailed the need to broaden the view of certain problems and to move to a higher level – from positivist micrographic studies to generalizing, synthetic studies, which in turn led to the modernization of existing models of historical knowledge and brought historical science to another level.

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**THE COLONIAL EXPANSION OF AFRICA
AND THE FORMATION OF A NEW WORLD ORDER
(THE END OF THE XIXth – THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to investigate the process of colonization of South Africa, namely the colonial rivalry of the world's leading powers, which gave an impulse to another major division of the world. Through the lens of geopolitical transformations of the past, to explain contemporary bipolarity. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of science, historicism, as well as the use of general scientific methods (analysis and synthesis) and special historical methods (methods of historiographic and source analysis). The scientific novelty is that through the prism of one situational colonial conflict the strategic landmarks of the leading countries of the world, which in the future will cause wars during the XXth century; lay the foundations of a modern post-bipolarity. The Conclusions. In the early 90^{ies} of the XIXth century the colonial division of the African continent was completed, making major adjustments to the world politics. In the history of the twentieth-century*

wars, the Boer War was the first, not only statistically, but also one that marked a change in the established world order. Thanks to the new colonial conquest, Germany became a leader in “world politics”, and England, on the contrary, lost its colonial dominance. The Portuguese possessions in the Sunda archipelago were divided between England and Germany. Russia was preparing for expansion in the Far East, Middle East and Central Asia. Thus, the uneven economic development of countries and regions caused the corresponding content of international relations, which focused on the formation of military-political alliances. The ideas of pacifism led to the emergence of such organizations as the Institute of International Law (1873), the Inter-Parliamentary Union (1887), and the Nobel Committee. Two peace conferences were convened in The Hague in 1899 and 1907. Unfortunately, this could no longer stop the interests of monopolies and the ambitions of politicians. The current world politics of appeasement of the Russian aggression by the leading countries, the struggle for impact on the periphery, the peoples' desire for self-determination without taking into account the experience of the historical past, unfortunately, does not add optimism to the future geopolitical transformations.

Key words: international relations, colonial politics, military-political alliances.

КОЛОЇАЛЬНА ЕКСПАНСІЯ АФРИКИ ТА ФОРМУВАННЯ НОВОГО СВІТОПОРЯДКУ (КІНЕЦЬ ХІХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ ст.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – дослідити процес колонізації Південної Африки, а саме колоніальне суперництво провідних світових держав, що дало поштовх до чергового великого переділу світу. Через призму геополітичних трансформацій минулого пояснити сучасну біполярність. **Методологія** дослідження спирається на принципи науковості, історизму, а також використання загальнонаукових методів (аналізу і синтезу) та спеціально-історичних (методи історіографічного та джерелознавчого аналізу). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що крізь призму одного ситуативного колоніального конфлікту показано стратегічні орієнтири провідних країн світу, які в майбутньому стануть причиною світових воєн ХХ ст.; закладуть основи сучасної постбіполярності. **Висновки.** На початок 90-х рр. ХІХ ст. завершився колоніальний поділ Африканського континенту, що внесло суттєві корективи в світову політику. В історії війн ХХ ст. англійсько-бурська війна була першою не лише статистично, а й такою, що знаменувала зміну усталеного світопорядку. Завдяки новим колоніальним завоюванням, Німеччина перейшла в лідери “світової політики”, Англія ж навпаки, втрачала колоніальну домінанту. Португальські володіння в Зондському архіпелазі було поділено між Англією та Німеччиною. Росія готувалася до експансії на Далекому, Середньому і Близькому Сході. Отже, нерівномірності економічного розвитку країн, регіонів зумовили відповідний зміст міжнародних відносин, які були сфокусовані на формуванні військово-політичних союзів. Ідеї пацифізму зумовили появу таких організацій як Інститут міжнародного права (1873 р.), Міжпарламентський союз (1887) та Нобелівський комітет. В Гаазі у 1899 та 1907 рр. було скликано мирні конференції. Та, на жаль, це вже не змогло зупинити інтереси транснаціональних корпорацій та амбіції політиків. Сучасна світова політика з умиротворення російського агресора провідними країнами, боротьба за вплив на периферії, прагнення народів до самовизначення без врахування досвіду історичного минулого, на жаль, не додає оптимізму щодо майбутніх геополітичних трансформацій.

Ключові слова: міжнародні відносини, колоніальна політика, військово-політичні союзи.

The Problem Statement. In the early 90-ies of the XIXth century the colonial division of the African continent was completed, making major adjustments to world politics. The latest diplomatic technologies were outlined, while players, who did not mind “tasting a piece of colonial pie” entered the arena. The colonial history of the British Empire attracted attention of many historians. In the history of the twentieth-century wars, the Anglo-Boer War was the first, not only statistically, but also one that marked a change in the established world order. Despite its considerable distance from Europe, reports about it were widely spread not only in Europe but also in many other countries. It was the most expensive of all the wars that the British had participated in between the Napoleonic wars and World War I. Despite the great

dominance of the British Empire over the small nation, this armed conflict lasted for more than two and a half years, from October 11, 1899 till May 31, 1902.

The war resulted from a rather long colonial rivalry, its exacerbation and struggle in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It brought widespread worldwide popularity to the Boers – a nation that most of the world did not even know existed, although the Boer and British confrontation had begun one hundred years before. It initiated the geopolitical transformation of the next XXth century.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. South African aspects of British colonial politics have been reflected in many scholarly studies. Among the works used by the authors of this work is the multi-volume history of the nineteenth century edited by the French historians E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud (Lavisse, E., Rambaud, A., 1938 – 1939, p. 526), which has not lost its significance even today, the books by the German researcher G. Khalgarten (Khalgarten, 1961, p. 696), English author P. Brandon (Brandon, 2010, p. 983).

Among the foreign historiography, it is worth mentioning meaningful researches, which came out to the centenary of the Boer War and contain the summary theses and in general are historiographical publications. Thus, English researcher Fred van Hartesveldt (Fred Van Hartesveldt, 2010, p. 219) presents the changes in the interpretation of war by British and African historians, emphasizing the national aspect of the latter. The study contains a bibliography of military and partly political history. Well-known researches on the subject was conducted by Bill Nasson (Nasson, 1991, p. 271), (Nasson, 2011, p. 352). The author draws on new material, exploring how the Boer War shaped the future of South Africa and what influence it had on South Africa after apartheid. This is a regional study of the conflict, which shows the drama of the black population, who opposed the white colonialists, their tribesmen, and as a result lost both political and social independence.

The review will not be complete without works of the Dutch scientists. An original study by Vincent Kuitenbrouwer (Kuitenbrouwer, 2012, p. 408), which shows how the stereotypes of the Dutch, in relation to the British, were formed on the example of mass media. The author opens up about the protection of the Boers, organization of the international pro-Boers-movement, the impact on nation's formation both in the Netherlands and South Africa during that period.

The common problems of international relations, in particular the colonial rivalry of the great powers, were investigated by the Soviet scholars of the older generation A. Yerusalimskiy (Yerusalimskiy, 1968, p. 284), the development of English colonial possessions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is presented in the monograph by M. Yerofeev (Yerofeev, 1959, p. 263). Foreign political events related to the Anglo-Boer War are covered in I. Nikitina's research (Nikitina, 1970, p. 218). The monograph of I. Charnyy (Charnyy, 1970, p. 214) is devoted to the development of German colonization in Africa and the beginning of the Anglo-German colonial rivalry. The problems of the Anglo-Boer conflict and war are thoroughly analyzed in the publications of A. Davidson and I. Filatova (Davidson, Filatova, 2000, pp. 31–51).

In contemporary Russian historiography, the publication of S. Bogomolov (Bogomolov, 2010, pp. 159–163) draws attention to itself with an attempt to compare the British industrial and Boer agricultural models of a regional development, as well as the different principles of their relations with African tribes. Another Russian author O. Tsarev (Tsarev, 2010, pp. 3–5), while analyzing the problems of the Anglo-German relations regarding the Boer republics, tries to find out the reasons that forced Germany to take a neutral position in the Anglo-Boer

War, which, in his opinion, led to the persistence of the English-German stubbornness and became one of the causes of World War I.

Significant results were achieved in the study of colonial issues by Ukrainian historians. In this context, numerous scientific developments of the renowned researcher S. Troian (Troian, 2005, pp. 188–206) stand out due to their thoroughness. In the researches, on the basis of a considerable documentary base and the works of foreign scientists, the ideology of German colonialism is analyzed. In addition, author justifies his own concept, in his definition, of the peculiarities of the position and policy of O. Bismarck regarding the aspirations of German supporters towards the creation of a colonial empire, the role of German enterprises, travelers and missionaries in this process, the influence of Germany's colonial conquests on its transition to "world politics", etc.

The development of the Anglo-German contradictions on the African continent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is covered by L. Pytlovana (Pytlovana, 2015, pp. 19–25). She singles out four stages in the process and, in particular, emphasizes that the Anglo-German colonial rivalry is most fully reflected in the Transvaal issue. England's policy in Africa at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is analyzed in the article by Y. Burakov and L. Pytlovana (Burakov, Pitlevanaya, 2016, pp. 20–39).

The Purpose of the Article. In this essay, the authors attempted to explore the process of colonization of South Africa in the late nineteenth century, through the prism of confrontation between the leading world powers, which gave start to another major division of the world. Emphasizing that neither the black man nor the white man in Africa was spoken of at the time.

It is clear that finding something new in the topic is rather complicated, especially after a series of encyclopedic publications to mark the 100th anniversary of the confrontation in southern Africa. We emphasized the fact that there are no small wars, that was confirmed by the well-known conflicts at the turn of the century that transformed into a world war. Now, as well as hundred years ago, world's most economically developed countries, import their own models of civilizational development into the African continent, neglecting the interests of indigenous peoples, that does not accept them, giving rise to new centers of confrontation of civilizations.

The Statement of the Basic Material. After the Portuguese navigator Bartolomeu Dias opened one of the capes on the edge of southern Africa in 1488, which was later called the Cape of Good Hope, many years passed before the European colonists arrived and the news of new lands, their favorable natural conditions reached European countries.

In addition to the Dutch, German Protestants began arriving here, and after the Edict of Nantes was completely abolished in 1685 – the French Huguenots (Evans, 2000, p. 9).

The national composition of the colonists became increasingly diverse, although most of them were still the Dutch. The descendants of the first colonists were called the Boers (Dutch *boeren* – peasants; close by name is German *bauer* – peasant), later Afrikaners (Rodrigues, 2010, p. 237).

The Boers created small settlements, farms scattered over a large area, gradually moving to new lands. Many of them were nomads – colonists in wagons, moving with their families and treasure in wagons pulled by oxen, following their flocks, constantly fighting the local African tribes for pasture and livestock (Brandon, 1781 – 1997, pp. 244–246). At first, European settlers encountered the warlike Hottentot pastoral tribes on the southern coast, and then, as they moved further into the mainland, the Bushman hunters, who lived east

of the Hottentot. After expanding their holdings at the expense of these tribes, the Boers began to oust the tribes of the Bantu group of peoples (Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Swazi, Shona, Xindonga, Matabele, etc.), larger and more developed than the Hottentots and Bushmen (Kirey, 1983, p. 110).

Dutch immigrants considered South Africa as The Promised Land, which they discovered, and they perceived themselves as God's chosen masters of this land. Most of them set up large cattle farms based on slave labor. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Cape Colony, with an area of nearly 650 thousands sq. km, was inhabited by about 20 thousands Boers, 20 thousands Hottentot slaves and 30 thousands imported slaves from West Africa, Madagascar and even South Asia (Rodrigues, 2010, p. 283).

The Boer language (Afrikaans) began to take shape as early as the seventeenth century based on different dialects of Dutch, German, French, English with admixtures of native languages of indigenous South Africa.

In addition to conflicts with local tribes and new settlers over land and pastures, the Boers were increasingly exacerbated by conflicts with owners of the East India Company over control and revenues from transit trade with India and local tribes in South Africa. In 1795, the Boer-colonists overthrew the Company authorities and convened their National Assembly. At the same time, in 1795, when the Napoleonic troops invaded the Netherlands, Great Britain occupied the Cape Colony, which it considered a bridgehead on the way to India, Australia, the Far East. In 1803 the Netherlands regained control of it, but in 1806 the British again occupied it, motivating it by the need for protection against the French (Lavissee, Rambaud, 1938, pp. 139–152). Finally, in 1814, by decision of the Congress of Vienna, the Cape Colony was transferred to Great Britain for "lifetime use". The Netherlands received compensation of 6 million pounds.

In the early 70-ies, four white-ruled states existed in southern Africa: two British colonies – Cape and Natal – and two Boer republics – Transvaal (South Africa) and the Orange Free State. The British colonies were then granted the right to form parliaments, but at the same time considerable powers remained under their governors, appointed by the imperial government (Ayzenshtat, 1999, p. 162).

The attitude of British political and state circles to the idea of unifying the British colonies and the Boer republics changed after diamonds were found in the area of the Vaal River falling into the Orange River in 1867. Since then, the annexation of the Boer republics to the British colonies had become a major goal of British politics in South Africa (Ayzenshtat, 1999, pp. 169–179). In April 1877, an English military detachment occupied Pretoria – the capital of Transvaal, and the British government announced the inclusion of the republic in the British possessions.

The Boer conflict seemed to be settled. However, as noted by the English author M. Carver, this settlement was prevented by two factors. The first was the ambitious dream of Cecil Rhodes – a politician and entrepreneur, one of the organizers of the British colonial expansion in South Africa – to get a monopoly on diamond mining in Kimberley, and the second – the discovery of gold in 1886 in Transvaal (Carver, 1999, p. 7).

After giving up annexation for a while, London began a policy of encircling the Boer republics to cut them off from the outside world. In 1885, in response to German annexation of South-West Africa, the British seized the lands of the Bechuana, who separated the German possessions from the Boer republics, declared them a British protectorate of Bechuana land (present-day Botswana), and thus cut off the Boers from the west (Yerofeev, 1959, p. 153).

In 1886, almost in the center of the Transvaal lands, the Australian gold digger George Harrison found outbreaks of gold-bearing rocks in the Witwatersrand (White Water Range), or simply Rand. In general, this structure was later determined to be 100 km long (Erlikh, 2016, p. 108). Some authors give other figures: 200 km. long, tens of kilometers wide (Bossenbroek, 2018, p. 464). In any case, it was the largest gold deposit (more precisely a group of deposits) in the world.

The discovery of the rich diamond and gold fields made such a stunning impression on the world of the time that it considered to be the second discovery of South Africa. After the discovery of diamonds and gold, the massive inflow of emigrants began to make a significant impact on the development of the South African region. Thousands of gold-diggers, speculators, all kinds of adventurers moved to the Transvaal from England and other countries. The new settlers believed that the patriarchal state of the Boers was completely unfit for free entrepreneurship; the Boers, in turn, considered these “whitelanders” (foreigners) only eligible to pay taxes, and did not want to lose political power out of their own hands (Morton, 1950, p. 404).

South Africa also attracted the attention of the German colonialists. Propaganda of a colonial conquest had been around since the mid-nineteenth century. German travelers, merchants and missionaries took an active part in it. One of the travelers, E. Weber, in the 1870s, proposed the creation of German possessions in South Africa, which, in his opinion, expressed in the letter to O. Bismarck, could become the second homeland for German immigrants, “New Germany”. Weber paid a particular attention in this context to the Transvaal. The foundation for the future prosperity of the Transvaal, where the “blood brothers” live – the Boers, should be.... settlement of German immigrants. The next step would be the Anschluss of the Boers by Germany, and on this basis a huge empire “New Germany” would arise (Troian, 2014, pp. 178–179).

During 1883 – 1884, Bremen tobacco dealer A. Luderitz, landed on the Atlantic coast of the Southwestern Africa in the Angra-Peken bay, acquired new territories and expanded his holdings to 900 sq. mi. In the same year, O. Bismarck instructed the German General Consul General in Cape Town to formally declare that Germany was taking over the colonial possessions of Luderitz. Thus, Germany acquired its first colony in Africa (Aleksandrov, 1963, p. 61). The ownership of Luderitz was later expanded and called “German South West Africa” (Yerusalimskiy, 1968, p. 228).

On September 15, 1884, London’s journal “The Times” used the phrase “Scramble for Africa” for the first time (Vinogradov, 1991, p. 155), and when J. Chamberlain became British Minister of Colonies in mid-1895, the South African issue became dominant in the ministry. At the end of 1895, Berlin was informed of an escalation of the conflict between the government of Pretoria and the British gold miners in Rand. The German Foreign Ministry warned London against armed intervention. The German agents acted so vigorously that in the shortest possible time they were able to raise the flags of the German Empire over territories that were not under German control.

The German-English rivalry and confrontation in South Africa demonstrated that Germany, without a sufficiently powerful navy, could only count on maintaining existing positions in the Boer republics. In order to succeed a compromise with England should have been reached. The search for a mutual understanding, initiated by Germany, ended with the agreement on August 30, 1898, on the division of the Portuguese colonies between the two countries in case if Portugal, that was extremely weak financially, is unable to pay its debts to one

of the contracting parties. It implied that Mozambique's Lorenzo – Marquez harbor, on which England had been obtaining a pre-emptive right for a long time, entered the sphere of English influence, and Portuguese possessions in the West Bank of Africa came under German influence. The Portuguese possessions in the Sunda archipelago were to be divided between the two great powers (Byulov, 1935, p. 135). The secret convention referred to a mutual opposition to any third country that tried to take part in the division of the Portuguese colonies.

The fact that the Anglo-Boer War became protracted was well noticed in other countries. England's prestige was falling, due to its inability to end the war quickly with the small powers and demonstrated the weakness of the English land forces. In addition, the war in South Africa began at the time of the aggravation of the Anglo-Russian and the Anglo-French relations. Tense relations with Russia improved somewhat since an agreement on rail construction in China was reached in 1899 (Khvostov, 1963, p. 460), but remained tough in general. In 1898 the Anglo-French conflict arose which led to the capture of the Egyptian settlement of Fashod in the upper Nile, very important point for African communications for both France and England, by Captain Marshan's French military detachment on July 10, 1898. The incident almost led to the war between England and France. The Anti-English propaganda in France reached its climax after Fashod incident (Khvostov, 1963, p. 465). The articles appearing in the French press were pointed directly against Queen Victoria (eg., under the title "Queen to be hanged"); insulting cartoons, offending the Queen and the representatives of the British Government were displayed on the boulevards, with some cartoons being so brutal that the British ambassador left Paris for a time as a sign of protest. The conflict was resolved as a result of the signing of the Anglo-French Agreement on March 21, 1899 (Klyuchnikov, Sabanin, 1925, p. 291). A. Tirpits believed that the rapprochement between France and England began in 1898 – 1899, with signing the Fashod agreement (Tirpits, 1957, p. 22).

What English diplomacy feared most was German intervention. The 1898 agreement with Germany on the division of the Portuguese colonies was intended to guarantee German neutrality in South Africa, but did not satisfy Germany. In August 1898, Germany raised the issue of the division of the Samoa archipelago, over which, in 1889, the condominium of Germany, England and the United States was established (Bolkhovitinov, 1960, pp. 388–389). The Agreement did not suit the Germans now, and they tried to get either the whole archipelago or the part of it to build a naval base for its fleet. Both England and the Dominions (Australia, New Zealand) were against such a "neighborhood" with Germany. The US position was close to English one. Thus, the German government provoked an internal conflict in the islands to destroy the condominium system. Such situation even caused military demonstrations of the naval forces of rivals in the area of the archipelago. At the beginning of March 1889, the British and American cruisers bombed Apia, the capital city of Samoa, where the Germans had actual control, and damaged the building of German Consulate. This incident caused indignation not only in the Reichstag but also in the broad audience of German society (Byulov, 1935, pp. 138–139).

The conflict over Samoa exacerbated German-English relations. However, the difficult situation of England due to the beginning of the Boer War, forced the British government to give in. On November 14, 1899, the German-English Agreement was signed, under which Germany received two islands of the Samoa archipelago (Khvostov, 1963, p. 469). This somewhat eased the tensions between two countries. At the end of November 1899, William II arrived in London, accompanied by B. Byulov. During their first meeting with British Minister of Colonies, D. Chamberlain, proclaimed that England would not disrupt the

German activities in Asia Minor, and during the second meeting, he also offered a part of the Atlantic coast of Morocco to Kaiser and stated that England would like to receive Tangier. A. Tirpits noted: "The proposals of the colonial possessions that the British neither own nor had the right to dispose, were made based on the Kaiser's temperament ... the mean was too brutal, and the purpose – too transparent" (Tirpits, 1957, p. 241).

Chamberlain's proposals on Morocco and Asia Minor were clearly intended to brawl Germany with France and Russia. The German leadership came to other conclusions from its disputes with England. In his speech to the Reichstag on December 11, 1899, B. Byulov said that while relations with Britain were friendly, Germany needed to build a powerful navy fleet capable of repelling the attack of the strongest maritime nation. And soon Germany became actively involved in the naval arms race.

Moreover, German diplomacy chose the tactics of inciting other nations against England. On October 18, 1899, Byulov, in an interview with the French ambassador, told him that interests of France and Germany in Africa were identical (Puankare, 1924, p. 44).

In a number of German incitements of other countries to act against England, the conversation of William II with the Russian ambassador in Berlin on January 13, 1900 was noticeable. In it, the Kaiser praised the mobilization of the Russian Army Corps in the Caucasus and their transfer to Kushka on the Afghan border. He further added that if Tsar ever had to send his troops to India, he (the Kaiser) would guarantee that no one in Europe would move. He would protect Russian borders. The Emperor also made it clear that such favorable conditions for taming the "imperialist encroachments of England" as now would never happen again. Regarding Russia's ally – France, Wilhelm II said that France aroused mistrust in him (Khvostov, 1963, p. 469).

All of this together created a favorable international situation for Russian expansion in the Far and Middle East, as Russia's main rival here – England – was drawn into a severe colonial war in South Africa. Shortly after its beginning in October 1899, in a letter to the sister, Grand Duchess Ksenii Oleksandrivny, the Russian emperor bragged: he has "a pleasant realization" that he has solely in his hands "... Radically change the course of the war in Africa. This tool is very simple – telegraph the order for all Turkestan troops to mobilize and approach the border. That's it. None of the strongest fleets in the world can stop us from dealing with England right there, in its most vulnerable place". (Nikolay Romanov ob anglo-burskoy voyne, 1934, pp. 125–126).

Russia's direct confrontation with Britain did not occur during the Boer War, but the government of Nicholas II pursued a clearly anti-British policy. Volunteers from Russia fought on the side of the Boers, the entire Russian press stubbornly criticized the actions of the United Kingdom. Nicholas II also hoped to increase the influence on British policies by proposing the mediation of the Continental States. In February 1890, M. Muraviov tried to find out the attitude of the French government to a possible mediation with Germany in the Boer conflict. T. Delcasse agreed to take part in it, but on condition that the initiative would be taken by Germany. Berlin responded that Germany could participate in the mediation on two terms: when Russia finds out about the position of London in this question and if France, Germany and Russia mutually guarantee their possessions (Davidson, 2005, p. 53). For France, this would mean abandoning claims for the return of Alsace and Lorraine, which it did not even suppose. Thus, both the German and Russian diplomats tried to lay the initiative on mediation on one another. Therefore, European states did not interfere in the Boer War and a continental bloc against England was not established.

The Conclusions. Thus, the military conflict between two different European groups of white colonialists for domination in South Africa clearly demonstrated the willingness of the leading countries of that time world to fight deadly for the economic and political spheres of influence that soon was confirmed by the events of the Great War. Increasing unbalanced economic development of countries and regions caused the corresponding content of international relations, which were focused on the formation of military-political alliances. Were there any attempts to minimize the possibility of international conflicts? Yes, there were. It was the ideas of pacifism that led to the emergence of such organizations as the Institute of International Law (1873 p.), The Inter-Parliamentary Union (1887), and the Nobel Committee. Two peace conferences were convened in The Hague in 1899 and 1907 to discuss the issues of disarmament, the resolution of international disputes and the rules of war on land. The International Peace Committee became more active, coordinating the activities of national committees and organizing international conferences, supporting pacifism. Unfortunately, this could no longer stop the interests of monopolies and the ambitions of politicians.

Today's world leaders, too dependent on world corporations, are pursuing a policy that is a hundred years old. France is playing with Russia, fighting for influence in Africa. Italy and Germany have an economic and social factor of dependence from Russia, Turkey (energy, refugees from the East), the US holds the economic balance with China, etc. The world, once again, is on the verge of emergence of a new world order. What it will be depends largely on the extent to which peoples and their leaders, given the experience of the past, are prepared to respect each other's right for a self-determination, to abide by international law and to act in the name of peace.

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TWO TYPES OF INDIVIDUAL ARMED COMBAT OF THE KUBAN COSSACKS BEFORE WORLD WAR I: REASONS, CONTENT AND ESSENCE

Abstract. *The purpose* of the article is to reveal the reasons for the existence and content of two types of individual armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks before World War I and to identify the differences of their distribution and significance in the Cossack environment. **The methodology of the study** is based on the basic principles of historical knowledge (science, historicism, systematic, etc.), associated with the use of a number of general and special-historical methods (the most important were the comparative and typological ones and author's approach to the reproduction and reconstruction of the Cossack individual armed combat. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time, on the basis of little-known sources (in particular, unpublished materials of the archival institutions), the reasons for the appearance and the essence of two types of individual armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks that existed at the beginning of the XXth century have been determined, as well as the differences in their distribution in the Cossack environment and the consequences of this process have been analyzed. **The Conclusions.** At the beginning of the XXth century among the Kuban Cossacks there were two types of individual armed combat due to the traditional division into cavalry and infantry, inherited from previous Ukrainian Cossack formations, and due to new conditions of armed struggle and imperial unification of military training. We mean, first of all, a good use of sabers and rifles by the Cossack cavalrymen, and by the Cossack infantrymen – rifles and bayonets during combat. The Cossacks achieved a high level of a combat skill owing to a long-term training during service and owing to their own militarized environment. The methods of using cold weapons became the basis for the emergence of Cossack martial art (a military-applied fencing using a saber and a bayonet). The individual armed combat of the infantrymen during that time reality was inferior to cavalrymen, but it was a striking manifestation of the identity of the Kuban Cossacks. Under new conditions the individual armed combat of the infantrymen had prospects for a further development. In the future, it is appropriate to continue investigating the individual armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks during World War I and the Revolution.

Key words: *the Kuban Cossacks, cavalrymen, infantrymen, rifle, bayonet, sabors, armed combat, World War I.*

ДВА РІЗНОВИДИ ІНДИВІДУАЛЬНОГО ЗБРОЙНОГО БОЮ КУБАНСЬКИХ КОЗАКІВ НАПЕРЕДОДНІ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ: ПРИЧИНИ, ЗМІСТ І ЗНАЧЕННЯ

***Анотація. Мета статті** – розкрити причини існування і зміст двох різновидів індивідуального збройного бою кубанських козаків напередодні Першої світової війни та виявити відмінності їх поширення й значення у козацькому середовищі. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на основних принципах історичного пізнання (науковість, історизм, системність тощо), пов'язаних із застосуванням низки загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних методів (найважливішими стали порівняльний і типологічний, а також авторський підхід до відтворення-реконструкції прийомів індивідуального козацького збройного бою). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі маловідомих джерел (зокрема, й неопублікованих матеріалів архівних установ) розкрито причини появи та сутність двох різновидів індивідуального збройного бою кубанських козаків, що існували на початку ХХ ст., проаналізовано відмінності їх поширення у козацькому середовищі та наслідки цього процесу. **Висновки.** У Кубанському козацтві на початку ХХ ст. завдяки традиційному поділу на кінноту і піхоту (пластунів), успадкованому від попередніх українських козацьких формувань, новим умовам збройної боротьби та імперській уніфікації військової підготовки існували два різновиди індивідуального збройного бою. Йдеться про вправне застосування у бою козаком-кавалеристом передовсім шашки і гвинтівки, а козаком-піхотинцем (пластуном) – гвинтівки і багнета. Козаки досягали високого рівня бойової майстерності завдяки тривалому навчанню під час служби та у власному воєнізованому середовищі. Прийоми використання холодної зброї стали основою для виникнення козацького бойового мистецтва (військово-прикладне фехтування шашкою і багнетом). Індивідуальний збройний бій пластунів у тогочасних реаліях за рівнем престижності поступався кінному аналогу, але був яскравим виявом самобутності Кубанського козацтва і в нових умовах збройної боротьби мав перспективи для подальшого розвитку. В майбутньому слушно продовжити дослідження індивідуального збройного бою кубанських козаків у роки Першої світової війни та революції.*

***Ключові слова:** Кубанське козацтво, кавалерія, пластун, гвинтівка, багнет, шашка, збройний бій, Перша світова війна.*

The Problem Statement. At the beginning of XXth century the Kuban Cossack army was one of the largest in the Russian Empire. Due to the preservation of the heritage of the Black Sea Cossack army (the largest Ukrainian Cossack formation during the first half of the XIXth century), which became the basis of the Kuban Cossacks, the latter had also numerous infantrymen before World War I. I would like to emphasize that at that time the other Cossack formations did not have any infantry, they had the cavalry only. Under such conditions, only the Kuban Cossacks were divided into cavalrymen and infantrymen, who were significantly different in their military specialization, when preparing and carrying out their military service. This division involved mastering various military-applied skills and abilities, including the use techniques of individual rifles and knives. Its set and the use priorities for the cavalryman and the infantryman differed significantly, as did the content of the correspondent training. All this contributed to the creation of different in content and prestige types of an individual military applied art of an armed combat in the Cossack environment. The analysis of the causes, content and consequences of the creation of the above-mentioned types of armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks before World War I will have not only a scientific cognitive context but also a military-applied context in view of the possibility of applying the certain conclusions and recommendations in a modern military-applied training.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the causes of appearance and existence of two types of an individual applied art of armed combat; to reveal the content of two types of an individual applied art of armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks before World War I, as well

as to identify common and different trends of distribution and its importance in the Cossack military-privileged environment.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The military history of the Kuban Cossacks attracts attention of more and more scientists gradually. Most often, the researchers studied the issues of the appearance and further development of this formation, as well as the fate of its atamans. F. Shcherbyna and E. Felitsyn were the first representatives of the cultural elite of the Kuban Cossack army (Scherbina, & Felitsin, 2007; Scherbina, 2012). Modern historians continued to investigate the similar issues too, but taking into account the latest developments in special historical disciplines and a wider range of sources (Avramenko, Frolov, & Chumachenko, 2007; Malukalo, 2003; Ratushnyak, 2006). There is also the study of the participation of the Kuban Cossacks in the military conflicts (Bardadym, 1993; Matveev, & Frolov, 2007). I will also note a rather detailed study of B. Frolov on the issue of the Cossack weapons (Frolov, 2009). The attempts are made to analyze and train the Cossack units, but without paying attention to the issues of an individual Cossack warrior training (Shahtorin, 2008). The author of the article has investigated the military traditions of the Kuban Cossacks and their use of cold weapons for a long time (Zadunaiskyi, 2006; Zadunaiskyi, 2008; Zadunaiskyi, 2018). Thus, in historiography there has not been done yet a comprehensive analysis of the causes and consequences of the formation and development of two types of individual armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks in the context of their military specialization under the influence of their own traditions, the imperial reality of that time and the new demands of war. That is why these issues will be analyzed in the article presented. The above-mentioned issues determine the topicality and novelty of the study.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Kuban Cossacks were formed in 1860 on the basis of the Black Sea Cossack army, of which more than a half was Cossack infantry (Avramenko, Frolov, & Chumachenko, 2007, p. 395). Then to the latter was added a part of the Caucasian Cossack troops, consisting mainly of cavalry. Nevertheless, the Cossack infantry still played an important role in the Kuban army. Subsequently, the situation changed and instead of 13 infantry battalions that existed in 1861, after the reorganization of 1870 only 2 remained (Kazin, 1992, pp. 120–125). But the peculiarities of the military organization and combat experience of most Cossacks, the specifics of their region of application and the socio-economic realities of life changed the position of the Russian Empire. Since 1882 there had been a steady increase in the number of infantry battalions. Therefore, at the beginning of World War I, the Kuban Cossack army had a powerful infantry again. This is evidenced by the composition of the main units and divisions of the first line of service of the above-mentioned army: 11 horse regiments, 6 infantry battalions, 2 hundred of Emperor's convoy, 2 hundred Kuban Division and 5 cavalry divisions (Eliseev, 2001, p. 44). In terms of numbers, infantry battalions were slightly larger than the cavalry regiments, that is why the infantry Cossacks made up more than a third of the total number of Cossacks of the Kuban Cossack army.

By the way, due to the division of the Cossack military service into three lines, the combat potential of each of the 11 troops was significantly reduced during peacetime. After 1882, the above-mentioned service lasted for 12 years and was divided into three stages of 4 years each, of which only the military units of the first line were permanently in order, and those belonging to the second and third lines were dissolved and were sent home (Kazin, 1992, p. 128). This approach was partly correspondent to the current trends in the state resources saving by the formation of mobilization reserves in case of a large-scale war. For example,

since the outbreak of World War I the Kuban Cossacks sent to the front 37 cavalry regiments and 51 separate hundreds, 24 infantry battalions and other units (Avramenko, Frolov, & Chumachenko, 2007, p. 404). Because of this division, the Cossacks were able to deploy three times the number of military units in a short time. I would like to emphasize separately that the mobilized Cossack contingents significantly outnumbered the usual reservists' combat capability because they consisted of the first-class warriors.

As you know, becoming a good warrior is not easy – it takes a long time to master the appropriate skills and abilities and gain a combat experience. It should be emphasized that combat training of a warrior depends directly on his military specialization, which determines the content of an individual military-applied art of the use of personal weapons during the combat. Similar approaches were topical for the Kuban Cossacks.

The presence of the Cossack cavalry and infantry units in the Kuban Cossack army naturally caused the existence of qualitative differences in the military specialization of those, who served in them. The Cossack cavalry still focused on prioritizing the combat using horses. The well-known General A. Shkuro recalls the realities of an everyday combat training in the Kuban regiments during 1907 – 1910 (Shkuro, 2004, pp. 55–56). Instead, the infantrymen fought exclusively without horses, in a pedestrian way. To carry out such combat missions, each cavalryman and infantryman had a suitable weapon. The first ones were armed with sabers, daggers and Cossack “Mosin” carbines (the model of 1891 without bayonets); the second – “Mosin” rifles (the model of 1891 with bayonets) and daggers (Zadunaiskyi, 2008, p. 22; Frolov, 2009, pp. 67–73). As we can see, the arms of the cavalry and the infantry were significantly different. The reasons for this were due to their different combat specialization.

Before reviewing the content of the individual training of the Kuban cavalrymen, I briefly analyze the general trends in the development of cavalry training at the beginning of the XXth century. The classical cavalry in the second half of the XIXth century was still aimed at conducting the combat riding a horse and having a cold weapon. The use of a carbine was also mandatory, but it retained signs of minority, especially during the combat. However, due to the active spread of new firearms models from the end of XIXth century changing the “picture” of the combat changed. A rapid fire reduced the significance of a horse-ridden action by the use of cold weapon. The new circumstances of a combat clash required from the classic rider to use firearms more often and be ready to fight on foot. And such priorities of military use of cavalry constantly expanded in Europe. A clear testimony to this fact was the French command's approach to combat use of the cavalry, with an emphasis on its supporting role (for infantry) in the order, which dates back to 1905. (*Prakticheskoye rukovodstvo dlya sluzhby frantsuzskoy kavalerii v pole 1905 g.*, 1907, p. 6). The Charter of the German cavalry (1909) is about the need to fight not only by means of cavalry but infantry as well (*Novyyi stroevoy ustav nemetskoy kavalerii 1909 g.*, 1910, p. 8). By the way, the Charter was immediately translated into Russian and published in the Russian Empire to study the military training of cavalry of a hypothetical enemy. Therefore, at the beginning of World War I, these tendencies increasingly dominated in the military-applied training of the cavalry of European leading armies.

At the beginning of the XXth century more and more attention was paid to the use of firearms in the Cossack cavalry training, similar to the use of firearms in the infantry units. I would like to emphasize that under such circumstances it was precisely the Kuban Cossack cavalry that could study the experience of the fraternal infantry. However, even then, in case of a close-handed fight, the Cossack cavalrymen used sabers (*Nastavleniye dlya vedeniya*

zanyatiy s kazakami v uchebnykh sborakh, 1911, p. 2464). The reason for this was not only that they always carried these weapons, but also the lack of bayonets in the Cossack carbines. This way out was quite logical and functional.

Thus, the priorities of the military-applied specialization of the Kuban cavalry determined the primacy of riding a horse during the armed combat, and then fighting on foot. The combat collision was carried out primarily by means of a sapor and then a carbine. It is clear that this was directly related to the skillful riding, which also had its own specificity. It is not only about an excellent horse equipment and how to control a horse, but also the technique of training (including the Cossack jiggling) and the behaviour of the Cossack during the combat (“Iz kozatskoi mynuvshyny” (spohady ukrainskykh kubanskykh kozakiv), 2006, p. 9). All this differed significantly from the analogs of the army cavalry, even in the Russian Imperial Army.

I briefly dwell on the peculiarities of the military specialization of the Kuban Cossack infantryman. The very being an infantryman implied the need to fight on the battlefield on foot. It was also very important that the combat specifics of an infantry soldier included the use of a rifle as the main weapon. That is, there was a greater unification of arms. An infantryman had to use his rifle not only for firing (a special attention was paid to it), but also for a close-handed (bayonet) fight (State Archives of the Krasnodar Region – SAKR, f. 443, d. 1, c. 22, p. 15). Therefore, the individual armed combat of the Kuban infantryman was only associated with a rifle, and firing was of a paramount importance, although a bayonet combat.

By the way, all Kuban Cossacks (both cavalymen and infantrymen) still had daggers. The presence of these weapons emphasized their military-Cossack affinity. However, the actual combat use of the dagger at this time was of a secondary importance because of the correlation of its parameters and the needs of the cavalry and infantry combat (Zadunaiskyi, 2018, pp. 256–260). Therefore, the presence of a dagger did not have a significant impact on the military-applied training of the Kuban Cossacks, which was focused on the formation of basic skills of an individual armed combat both in cavalry and infantry.

A particular attention should be paid to the fact that the military-applied specialization of the Cossack cavalymen and infantrymen caused a clear difference in the use of certain methods of the armed combat. It means that the infantrymen used their weapons for both fire and a hand-to-hand combat being on foot, and all the time they were trained for such a combat. As for the cavalymen, they preferred the use of a sapor during the combat, and shooting was more typical of an infantry combat. Taking into account the above-mentioned facts, I think that the infantrymen training was not only more unified, but it also provided the highest quality of the correspondent combat conditions. Instead, the training of the cavalymen was varied, but not equivalent. The consequence of this difference could be that the cavalymen had higher conditions during the cavalry combat, especially having sapor, and they were weaker in shooting and fighting.

Thus, the differences in the military specialization of the Kuban Cossacks cavalymen and infantrymen became one of the decisive prerequisites for the formation of two separate types of an individual armed combat. And it is quite interesting, the fact of presence of the Kuban Cossack infantry, and therefore the corresponding type of armed combat, became a fundamental difference between the military life of the Kuban Cossacks and the rest of the Cossack troops. All other Cossacks remained cavalymen before World War I.

By the way, the content of the Cossack military-applied armed combat was not completely unified and concerned the general principles of warfare with the help of individual standard

firearms and cold weapons. It is clear that the psychophysical properties of a particular Cossack warrior affected the certain aspects of the use of weapons, depending on the characteristics of a particular Cossack environment. Not only family, village and military-historical features (a certain ancestral combat heritage) are meant, but also an excellent military service experience in specific regiments and battalions. F. Yeliseyev, the authoritative Kuban Cossack colonel drew attention to all this (Eliseev, 2001, pp. 18–20). But a particular combat experience of each Cossack warrior gained a special importance. The imperial military leadership, together with the Cossack command, controlled the unification and fixation of only the foundations of the correspondent individual armed combat, and did not restrict its improvement. Therefore, the realities of the Cossack military privileged being of that period should have contributed to this as well.

Continuing to analyze the types of the Cossack individual armed combat, it is worth mentioning the differences in the military-applied training of the Kuban Cossacks cavalrymen and infantrymen. It should be admitted, this training was the most similar when it was organized in the service department (primarily, of the first line service). In the service department the cavalrymen and infantrymen were daily engaged in a specialized training, including studying the basics of the armed combat. This training was quite diverse and intensive, taking about 5 hours a day (SAKR, f. 396, d. 1, c. 8563/2, pp. 433–35; f. 404, d. 1, c. 46, pp. 3–4). Moreover, this training had its specificity depending on the time of year. In autumn and winter, a stationary training dominated, and in summer it was focused was on field camps, where training was as close as possible to a real fighting. There were also some military-applied competitions organized (SAKR, f. 396, d. 1, c. 8563/1, pp. 162–165). All this laid the foundations for the high individual and collective combat ability of the Cossacks. It is clear that the differences also occurred, but they were manifested in the direction of a military specialization, not the intensity and prestige of the training itself – it was equivalent.

By the way, similar approaches to training can be found in the regular troops of the Russian Imperial Army. One of the evidences of this is the conduct of training in 1911 during the summer period. The training was organized for the guards army cavalry in the form of military-applied competitions (Central State Historical Archive of Ukrain in Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 1219, d. 2, c. 1149, p. 1). But the content, the intensity and the interest in the correspondent training of the above-mentioned military unit had signs of a minor character.

I would like to emphasize that the military profile training of the Cossacks, unlike the rest of the military population of the Russian Empire, was not limited to the time of service in the units of the first line service. Due to the militarized way of life of the Cossack community, its representatives were trained before and after their service in these units. And the most widespread and unified was the system of the Cossack military training camps. Before World War I, there were only district centers for combat training and retraining of the Cossacks within the correspondent administrative territorial units (Kuban region had 7 districts / divisions). These are the annual Cossack training camps for the privileged units of the second line of service (the third one was exempted from recurrent combat training), a separate category of Cossacks, aged 21 – 25 (released for special reasons from a compulsory peacetime service) and 20-year old young men (during one year they studied extensively the basics of military affairs for further service) (*Nastavleniye dlya vedeniya zanyatiy s kazakami v uchebnykh sborakh*, 1911, p. 2456). The camps functioned annually for 4 weeks and provided the Cossacks with the proper level of skill in both individual armed combat and unit combat.

Let us dwell on the study of the basics of individual military-applied art of the armed combat by the Cossacks. In the camps, the training approach was similar to the first-line

service units, but more intense because of time constraints. Therefore, a considerable attention was paid to both the use of cold weapons and fire use training. The latter was considered a very important component of the armed combat. This was evidenced not only by the daily preparatory training (the techniques, aiming and shot simulation) of up to 15 minutes, but also by firing. So, in the above-mentioned Instruction it was clearly stated about the need for up to 2 shootings per week (*Nastavleniye dlya vedeniya zanyatiy s kazakami v uchebnykh sborakh*, 1911, p. 2457). In this case, the intensity and duration of the training depended on the age and combat experience of the correspondent category of the Cossacks. Those, who were just preparing to serve in the first line priority units (ages 20 – 21) studied more the initial techniques of an individual firing training and they had a minimum number of combat firing (*Nastavleniye dlya vedeniya zanyatiy s kazakami v uchebnykh sborakh*, 1911, p. 2472). Instead, experienced Cossacks fired more and imitated the use of firearms while practicing the techniques of tactics in the unit, hundred and regiment.

Despite a considerable attention to the Cossacks fire training, the above-mentioned Instruction confirmed the priority for the cavalymen of combat use of cold weapons. Therefore, training in the use of sabors (blows, pricks and protective actions) dominated fire training in its intensity and duration. I will note not only the daily practiced training of combat techniques during an individual and collective horse riding, but also a much greater amount of time for such training. (*Nastavleniye dlya vedeniya zanyatiy s kazakami v uchebnykh sborakh*, 1911, pp. 2478–2480). In addition, as it was mentioned above, when learning about infantry tactics, cavalymen also had to use their own sabors in case of a close-handed fight. All this not only provided the Cossack art of an individual armed combat with clear features of a military use, but it also testified to the priorities of the Cossack cavalymen training in special camps.

A particular attention is also paid to the fact that in the Kuban Cossack army these camps were held jointly for cavalry and infantry. For example, in 1901, a joint camp was organized for two local cavalry regiments and two infantry battalions of the second and third service ranks near Slavyansk (SAKR, f. 418, d. 2, c. 156, p. 8). Despite the joint camps, not only the content of the training, but also its intensity was clearly different taking into account a correspondent military specialization. For example, the cavalymen from the second line of the service were called for training for 4 weeks, and the infantrymen – only for 3 weeks. That is, the training intensity of infantry privileged categories in comparison with cavalry was significantly lower (30% lower). I assume that the reason for this was the greater complexity of the military-applied Cossack cavalry skills, both at the individual and collective levels. All this was true of the armed combat training. In other words, the above-mentioned difference emphasized the greater importance of the military-applied training of the Cossack cavalry, which increased the prestige of the respective direction of the cavalryman individual armed combat in comparison with the infantry.

Next I will mention the Cossacks training of basic individual military-applied skills outside the military units of all service lines. The need for this kind of training was due to the fact that the certain measures particularly affected the excellent prestige of two types of the Cossack individual armed combat in a wider Cossack environment. First of all, I mean a daily military gymnastics in the village (*stanytsya*) schools, which was officially introduced among the Kuban Cossacks since 1910 (*Zadunaiskyi*, 2012, pp. 303–307). Twice a day (1 hour totally) the gymnastics was done by boys of the Cossack origin. Among various components of this gymnastics, a special attention was paid to getting acquainted with a sapor and a rifle (SAKR, f. 396, d. 1, c. 10027, p. 149). The very fact that boys, regardless

of their future military specialization, were taught the basics of the combat – the use of sabors, testified to the priority of cavalrymen training over the training of infantrymen.

It should not be forgotten that the youth learned the basics of the Cossack armed combat from their relatives and their coevals (“Iz kozatskoi mynuvshyny” (spohady ukrainskykh kubanskykh kozakiv), 2006, p. 10). This practice was based not only on family customs, but also the realities of the militarized lifestyle of the Cossack community, because it was prestigious to become a skilled warrior. Taking into account the fact that the basics of individual armed combat can only be learned with the use of weapons, it is a very important evidence of certain priorities – the Cossacks had the weapons. In accordance with the imperial requirements for the Cossacks military service, they were required to keep their weapons at home constantly. Such weapon was a savor and a dagger for the Kuban Cossacks cavalrymen, and only a dagger for the infantrymen (Eliseev, 2001, p. 47). The Cossacks did not have “Mosin” rifles and carbines, because firearms were received from the state only during the military service and during the war. Moreover, the imperial authorities controlled the obligatory availability of cold weapons to every service Cossack. It was the very fact that provided the study by the Cossack youth and practicing the skills by the Cossacks only the basics of the combat with the use of sabors (to a lesser extent with the use of daggers). That is, there were grounds for studying the basics of the very types of the individual armed combat of the Cossack cavalryman. Under such circumstances it was quite difficult to study the basics of shooting and melee combat. Thus, the above-mentioned realities contributed to the cavalry profile training of young people and older Cossacks.

Similar tendencies were observed during military-applied competitions. The latter took place several times a year in the first-line service units, training camps and Cossack villages (stanytsya) (SAKR, f. 396. d. 1, c. 8563/1, p. 165; f. 418, d. 1, c. 3084, p. 1; d. 3, c. 58, pp. 1–3). The military-applied competitions were organized on main Orthodox and military holidays. If in the military units the cavalry and infantry had similar conditions for displaying their level of art of individual armed combat, the situation was quite different in the Cossack settlements. In the latter, only horse racing, jiggling and combat use of the savor took place: cutting of willow and clay, pricks in the ring, etc. In other words, the art of an armed combat of the Cossack cavalrymen was predominant as compared to the art of infantry armed combat. This was influenced by the above-mentioned features of military gymnastics in village (stanytsya) schools and the state of affairs with weapons. The activities within the Kuban Cossack Army of a special formation – the “Cavalry Assistance Society” also indirectly influenced this process (SAKR, f. 418, d. 1, c. 5893, p. 10). On the initiative of the society, in 1904, 10 separate horse races were conducted. Such approaches corresponded to the general imperial tendencies. The above-mentioned facts testified to the dominance of the field conditions for military-applied training of the Cossack cavalrymen, rather than infantrymen, which also determined a greater prestige of the correspondent skills of the individual armed combat.

In the context of the above-mentioned, attention should be also paid to the foundations emergence of the military-applied martial art based on a unified basis of a complex armed combat art. It was manifested in a skillful use of only cold weapons, taking into account the correspondent moral, ethical and spiritual values of the military-privileged Cossack environment (Zadunaiskyi, 2006, pp. 66–69). Therefore, the Kuban cavalry Cossacks were masters of fencing with the use of sabors and the infantrymen – with bayonets. Such realities led to the existence among the Kuban Cossacks of two separate, but typologically related types of applied military martial arts, based on the correspondent varieties of an individual armed combat and were their constituents.

Finishing the analysis of two types of an individual armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks, I emphasize the obvious fact – the higher the level of an appropriate Cossack skill was, the greater were the chances of survival in the battle and destroying the enemy. It is quite evident, the collective combat capability of any Cossack unit also largely depended on the combat skill of each warrior. The military history of the Kuban Cossack formations is full of such examples, and these examples are observed during World War I.

The presented analysis of the content of the Cossack armed combat gives grounds to reflect on the problem of its tradition and prospects for a certain environment. I mean the following: the fact that the infantry tradition seems to be correspondent to the essential foundations of the Black Sea (Ukrainian) Cossack heritage among the Kuban Cossacks. Nevertheless, because of the unification of the military system and the tendencies of the Cossack training, this type of armed combat (based on it and military-applied martial arts) was less developed and systematized, and infantry was inferior to the prestige of the cavalry. However, the prospects of the combat during World War I changed these priorities in favour of the infantry because of the significant restriction on the use of cavalry in the combat. In other words, despite the certain advantage of the prestige of the Cossack cavalry armed combat, the military-applied experience of an individual Cossack infantryman armed combat was not only more traditional but perspective.

The Conclusions. Before World War I, among the Kuban Cossacks, owing to specialization in cavalry and infantry, there were two types of an individual armed combat (both with the use of firearms and cold weapons). The cavalryman used mostly a sabre and a rifle during cavalry and infantry combats. The infantryman fought on foot using a rifle and a bayonet above all. The existence of these types of the armed combat was due to the interaction of the Kuban Cossack environment (preserved Zaporizhya-Black Sea (Ukrainian) heritage of the Cossack infantry, which was not typical of the rest of the Cossack formations of the Russian Empire), the new requirements of a combat resistance (strengthening the role of fire and lessening the importance of cavalry) and the imperial unification (uniformity of weapons and bases of military-applied training of the Cossacks). The Cossacks gained a sufficient level of skill in armed combat owing to a long military service and living in a militarized Cossack environment. A high level of an individual combat capability of the Cossacks was to ensure the combat quality of their military units. Appropriate skills in the use of cold weapons became the basis for the emergence of the Cossack martial arts (military-applied fencing by using swords and bayonets). The imperial standards and the realities of life at that time caused a greater prestige of the Cossack cavalry, but it was the individual armed combat of the infantrymen that became a clear manifestation of the military self-sufficiency and identity of the Kuban Cossacks and, taking into account the urgent needs for hostilities, it had the prospects for a further development.

The analysis of two types of an individual armed combat of the Kuban Cossacks illustrates the prospect of a further study of these two types development during World War I and the Revolution.

It seems reasonable during the individual training of modern warriors to pay more attention to fostering some confidence by mastering the techniques of a hand-to-hand combat (including a bayonet combat) following the example of the Kuban infantrymen. It will be also useful to introduce military sports competitions for reservists and youth following the Cossack model.

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FOOD SUPPLY OF THE FRONTLINE CITIES OF THE VOLHYN GOVERNORATE IN 1914 – 1917

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the state and the main factors that influenced the food supply of the frontline cities of the Volhyn Governorate in 1914 – 1917. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, the effectiveness of systematic and scientific using national (analysis, synthesis, scientific abstraction) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. The Research Novelty. For the first time a comprehensive analysis of the food supply of the Western Volhyn's cities during the First World War is made; price fluctuations at the level of individual frontline cities are investigated; major pricing factors for staple foods are identified. The Conclusions. Most of the losses in the Russian Empire from the effects of the First World War were in the frontline areas, including five counties (Kremets, Dubno, Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynskiy and Kovel) of the Volhyn Governorate. The severity of the situation associated with the devastating effects of hostilities has been compounded by the crisis in the region's economy. Mass mobilization of the able-bodied male population, large-scale requisitions and purchases for the needs of the army of livestock and grain resulted in a significant reduction in acreage and the profitability of farms in general.*

The inability of the Russian government to meet the army's food needs at the expense of remote regions has led to the food depletion of the frontline governorates. Population of the Volhyn Governorate frontal districts suffered most from the food crisis. The crisis was aggravated by such crisis phenomena of the Russian economy as militarization, lack of able-bodied population, inflation, devaluation of the Russian ruble, loss of purchasing power of the population, etc. Attempts of the Russian government to prevent crisis phenomena through the introduction of martial law, fixed prices for basic goods, monopolies for the sale of bread, the introduction of a card system of goods distribution, did not produce the desired results. Frontline cities have suffered from a semi-starvation.

Key words: World War I, food supply of the frontline cities, food prices, food crisis.

ПРОДОВОЛЬЧЕ ЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННЯ ПРИФРОНТОВИХ МІСТ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ В 1914 – 1917 рр.

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати стан та основні фактори, які впливали на продовольче забезпечення прифронтових міст Волинської губернії у 1914 – 1917 рр. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності системності і науковості із використанням загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, наукова абстракція) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше комплексно проаналізовано стан продовольчого забезпечення міст Західної Волині у роки Першої світової війни; досліджено цінові коливання на рівні окремих прифронтових міст; визначено основні фактори ціноутворення на головні продукти харчування. **Висновки.** Найбільше збитків у Російській імперії від наслідків Першої світової війни зазнали прифронтові райони, серед яких п'ять повітів (Кременький, Дубнівський, Луцький, Володимир-Волинський та Ковельський) Волинської губернії. Скрутність становища, пов'язаного із руйнівними наслідками воєнних дій, поглиблювалася кризою економіки регіону. Масова мобілізація до війська працездатного чоловічого населення, масштабні реквізиції та закупівлі для потреб армії худоби і збіжжя вплинули на значне скорочення посівних площ та рентабельності господарств загалом.

Неспроможність російського уряду забезпечити продовольчі потреби армії за рахунок віддалених від військових дій регіонів, призвела до продовольчого виснаження прифронтових губерній. Найбільше від продовольчого визиску постраждало населення прифронтових повітів Волинської губернії. Скрутність становища поглиблювалася такими кризовими явищами російської економіки, як мілітаризація, нестача працездатного населення, інфляція, девальвація російського рубля, втрата купівельної спроможності населення тощо. Спроби російського уряду запобігти кризовим явищам шляхом запровадження воєнного стану, фіксованих цін на основні товари, монополії на продаж хліба, введенням карткової системи розподілу товарів, бажаних результатів не дали. Прифронтові міста потерпали від напівголодного існування.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, продовольче забезпечення прифронтових міст, ціни на продукти харчування, продовольча криза.

The Problem Statement. The First World War led to mass destruction, an imbalance of the economy, the militarization of all spheres of social activity, and a decline in the standard of living of the population. In particularly acute forms, this was evident in the frontline governorates, among which was Volhyn. The article analyzes one aspect of the socio-economic crisis – the state of food supply of the frontline cities of the Volhyn Governorate, namely the county centers: Lutsk, Rivne, Dubno.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Comprehensive research into the issue of food supply for the Russian Empire during the First World War was carried out by such researchers as I. Belov (Belov, 2014, pp. 59–68), B. Mironov (Mironov, 2017, pp. 463–480), M. Kondratev (Kondratev, 1991). Some aspects of this issue have been analyzed in a series of scientific studies by Oskin (Oskin, 2017, pp. 190–209; Oskin, 2015, pp. 164–171; Oskin, 2019, pp. 14–19). The works of O. Reient and O. Serdiuk (Reient, 2004), V. Molchanov

(Molchanov, 2014, pp. 92–102), S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2014, pp. 114–133) are devoted to the problems of economy development of the Dnieper Ukraine during the First World War. Economic, social and military-political aspects of life of the cities of Western Volhyn and Podolia before and during the years of military conflict are covered in the complex researches of O. Pryshchepa (Pryshchepa, 2010) and O. Demianiuk (Demianiuk, 2011), T. Herasymov (Herasymov, 2016, pp. 37–39; Herasymov, 2016a, pp. 7–16).

The purpose of the article is to analyze the state and the main factors that influenced the food supply of the frontline cities of the Volhyn Governorate in 1914–1917.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Volhyn Governorate in the pre-war period was divided into 12 counties. Their centers were small towns. In the early twentieth century, in Lutsk there were 20,232 inhabitants, in Rivne respectively – 34,319, Dubno – 15,694, Kovel – 21,789, Volodymyr-Volhynskiy – 12,555 (Goroda Rossii, 1906, pp. 93–95). Having the same administrative-territorial status, the district cities of Volhyn were different in level and character of development. In 1911, Volodymyr-Volynskiy budget was 39,243 rubles, Kremenets – 44,179 rubles, Dubno – 46,009 rubles, Kovel – 56,020 rubles, Lutsk – 64,117 rubles, Rivne – 80,036 rubles (Pryshchepa, 2010, p. 165). Subsequently, especially in times of war, the difference in the financial capacity of cities increased significantly. For example, in 1915 Dubno budget was 50,421 rubles, and Rivne – 265,000 rubles (SARR, fonds 165, description 1, case 29, pp. 2–5, 40–41; SARR, f. 616, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 1–7 verso, 10–10 verso). The budget increasing of the frontline cities was a positive phenomenon; however, it did not affect the state of the economy and the overall living standards of their residents. The war brought with it the militarization of the urban way, inflation, the rise in price of goods and services, the imbalance of trade, etc.

In the first months of the war, the military operations for the Russian army were quite successful on the front line near Volhyn. It succeeded in occupying Galicia and eliminating the threat of loss of the frontline governorates of the Southwestern region. However, in early 1915 the situation changed dramatically. In August – September 1915 the Western Volhyn was occupied by Austro-Hungarian and German troops. Part of the population, property and documentation of the Russian authorities had to be evacuated (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 204–204 v, 259–259 v). The troops of the Fourth Union controlled Lutsk, Rivne, Dubno for nine months. In May – June 1916, the Russian army succeeded in reclaiming the front line 100–200 km wide and stabilizing the front line. The Russians regained control of Lutsk, Rivne and Dubno, but Kovel and Volodymyr-Volynskiy remained in control of the German and Austro-Hungarian troops.

During the First World War, the population of cities of the Western Volhyn constantly fluctuated. First of all, this was influenced by the evacuation of a part of the locals by the Russian authorities during the onset of enemy troops; the eviction of the local population by the Austro-Hungarian administration into the pre-war borders of Austria-Hungary; mobilization; refugees; de-evacuation; difficult socio-economic conditions; hostilities. The total number of residents of the frontline cities did not decrease significantly, but often on the contrary – it increased (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 542, p. 263; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 9–9 v, 71–71 v; SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 44–45). The refugee and displacement of local civilians (primarily Jews forcibly evicted from the front line by Russian authorities) were offset by the temporary presence of military personnel there. Frontline cities served as a sort of transshipment base of the army. In February 1915, the Dubno city assembly officials reported that about 7,000 servicemen passed through the city every day (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 219–219 v; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 10–10 v; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 18–20 v).

The militarization of the urban environment has led to transport and infrastructure problems, a shortage of all important goods and products. The crisis was exacerbated by the fact that despite the frontline status of the Volhyn Governorate, the government continued to purchase grain and meat here for the needs of the army, which were provided through local warehouses as a matter of priority. Favorable pricing contributed to this. The cost of meat established by the authorities of the frontline cities in the spring of 1915 was only 75% of the price at which purchases were made for the army (Belov, 2014, pp. 61–63; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 312–317). A significant increase in food demand and prices has led to a rise in the cost of living and deficit. As the Russian historian O. Oskin successfully noted, “the fighting of the first year of the war in the border area was depleting the frontline resources without affecting the main part of the country... In the campaign of 1915, the Russian army at the cost of virtually complete extermination was fed by the cattle of only the western governorates”. Due to the retreat of the Russian army, a large number of cattle together with the people was evacuated (partially requisitioned) in the first half of 1915. Moreover, despite the numerous requests by the governors of the frontline governorates and the decision of the central authorities to buy cattle throughout the empire, the needs of the army for meat continued to be met mainly at the expense of the frontline areas (Oskin, 2019, pp. 15–16). Volhyn lost the largest number of cattle and pigs among all other Ukrainian governorates. Only in 1915, because of the threat of occupation and the associated mass purchase of cattle, losses of cattle in Volhyn reached 450,000 heads (54% of the total livestock population). In addition, there was a significant reduction in acreage and yield (Oskin, 2019, pp. 15–18; Trudy..., 1924, p. 107; Reient, 2004, pp. 126–127; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1617, p. 64).

In the front line governorates, grain purchases have also increased significantly. In 1916–1917, Volhyn Governorate purchased 2,053 thousand poods of grain. Massive purchases of grain, meat and other products in these areas significantly affected the market for products and their prices (Reient, 2004, pp. 137–140; Trudy..., 1924, p. 424; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 17–20, 25–29). Combined with the ban on the use of railways for the transportation of essential food and a number of other military circumstances, this led to an increase in food shortages in the Volhyn Governorate and a lack of attention to residents’ needs of the frontline regions.

The issue of commodity provision was extremely painful for the Western Volhyn cities at that time. Urban residents felt all the woes of wartime especially acute. Let’s consider the situation with the provision of local meat. Due to the mentioned mass purchases of cattle for the army’s needs in the governorate already in 1916, the meat was catastrophically lacking (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 7–7v; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1578, pp. 10–10v; Oskin, 2017, pp. 202–203). In accordance with the decisions of the Congress of representatives of Zemsky and public organizations for the purchase of cattle for the army (May 4–5, 1916), the provincial authorities tried to be flexible in this matter. All county and city agencies were encouraged to promote the idea of raising pigs and rabbits to the public. Governorate officials insisted that such practices should be implemented at all institutions (especially orphanages and hospitals) (Oskin, 2019, p. 16; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1578, pp. 10–10v). In a situation of deficit, the authorities had to reduce the meat consumption. According to the estimates of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1916, the urban population’s meat consumption was about 31% of its pre-war level. This trend continued in the future (Oskin, 2019, p. 17; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, p. 71).

The constant companion of the deficit was the arbitrary rise in prices and speculation. The first examples of speculation were already present in the autumn of 1914. Their volumes and numbers increased significantly after the autumn of 1915 due to the deterioration

of the functioning of the railway connection (Herasymov, 2016a, pp. 8–9; Herasymov, 2016, p. 38). Police and city governments tried to control the sellers' compliance with prices, but since the first months of the war, speculation became a regular feature. The rise in prices of goods in one city inevitably led to higher prices in another one. The imposition of high fines and criminal liability could not prevent this. For raising fixed prices it was 3 months in prison or a fine of up to 3,000 rubles (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 312–314 v, 362–362 v, 499; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 92–92 v). In January 1915, the Dubno ispravnik complained to the city government about “absolutely arbitrary prices for all, without exception, vital products”. Often, sellers resorted to conscious and unconscious sabotage. In the face of a steady increase in demand and difficulty in purchasing, certain types of goods were exported to cities where prices were higher or kept in warehouses until official appreciation (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, p. 28).

An important factor in impoverishment was inflation. Before the war, the Russian ruble was one of the hardest currencies in the world. However, since the second half of 1914, inflationary processes in the country began to appear more and more. In 1915, the value of the Russian ruble was halved, and subsequently its decline accelerated (Reient, 2004, p. 164). During the war, prices for some basic necessities increased 30 times, as evidenced by the table and chart of the price ratio for products (see Table 1, Chart 1).

These statistics show that prices for staple food in frontline cities were rising relatively fast not only in the first six months of the war. However, in the first months of the war, prices for staple food in non-frontline areas fell. This was due to a significant reduction in agricultural exports. There was no such effect in the frontal regions (Orlyk, 2014, pp. 115–116). In the spring of 1915, as the front approached Volhyn, the spread of panic among the population, and the deficit of foodstuffs, their prices began to rise steadily. The highest level of inflation reached winter in 1916/1917 (see Chart 1).

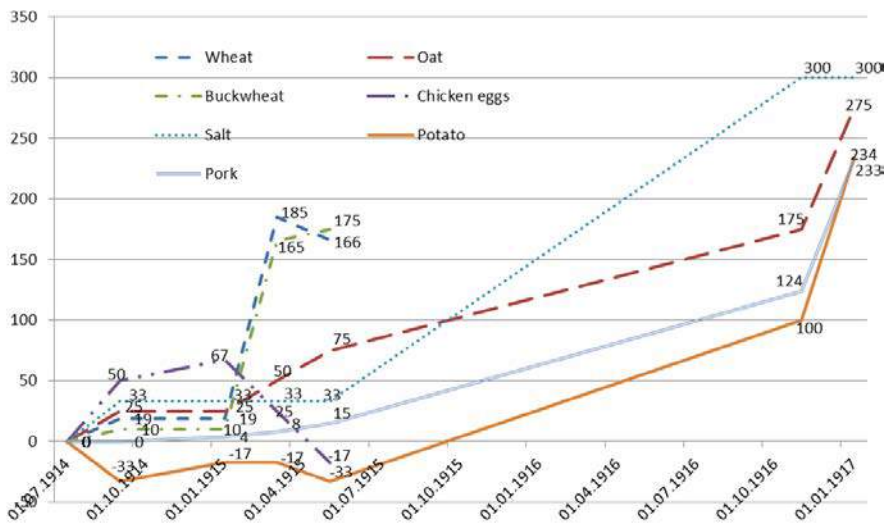


Chart 1. Price fluctuations in Lutsk in 1914–1917.

(SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1052, pp. 292, 314, 327, 391, 400; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1298, pp. 201, 203, 239; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1615, pp. 26–30, 57–61, 78–83v, 290–294v, 496–499; SAVR, f. 158, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 58–59).

Table 1

Prices for some major products in Lutsk, Dubno and Rivne in July 1914 – September 1915

Product Name and Weight / Quantity Unit	Ціна за періодами, в карбованцях													
	July-August 1914		September 1914		January-February 1915			March-April 1915			May 1915		July 1915	
	Lutsk	Dubno	Lutsk	Dubno	Lutsk	Rivne	Dubno	Lutsk	Rivne	Dubno	Lutsk	Dubno	Rivne	Dubno
Pood of winter rye	0,95	0,8-0,95	1,05	0,9-0,95	1,05	1,3	1-1,05	-	1,3	1,2-1,3	-	1,45-1,5	1,15	1-1,1
Pood of wheat	1,05	1-1,05	1,25	1,05-1,15	-	1,7	1,2-1,3	1,23	1,7	1,75-1,85	2,80	2,15-2,2	1,5	1-1,1
Pood of barley	0,80	0,8-0,9	0,80	-	0,80	1,1	0,85-0,9	-	1	1-1,05	-	1,1-1,15	1	0,9
Pood of oat	0,80	0,9-1,051	-	-	1	1,3	0,9-1	-	1,3	1,15-1,2	1,40	1,3-1,35	1,3	1
Pood of rye flour	-	1-1,4	-	1,05-1,5	-	1,4-2	1,25-1,85	-	1,55-2,2	1,4-2,15	-	1,75-2,45	1,3-1,9	1,4-2
Pood of wheat flour	-	1,6-2	-	1,75-2,5	-	2,5-3	2,08-2,25	-	2,6-3	2,7-3	-	3,15-3,45	2,3-2,7	2,55-2,85
Pood of millet cereal	-	-	-	-	-	1,6-2,4	1,9	-	2,7	2,2	-	2,7	1,6-2,6	2,6
10 chicken eggs	-	0,15	0,27	-	0,30	0,3	0,25	-	0,2	0,2	0,15	0,18	0,25	0,2
Pood of salt	-	0,5-0,6	0,80	0,02f.	0,80	0,5-0,6	0,7-0,9	-	0,6-0,7	0,7-0,9	0,80	0,7-0,9	0,6-0,7	0,95
Pood of potatoes	-	0,20	0,20	0,15	0,25	0,25	0,2	0,25	0,2	0,25	0,20	0,25	0,25	0,2
Pound of sugar	-	0,11	-	-	-	0,12	0,14	-	0,13	0,12	-	0,14	0,13	0,14
Pound of butter	-	0,3	-	0,35	-	0,4-0,6	0,4	-	0,35-0,55	0,45	-	0,4	0,4-0,6	0,4
Pound of beef	-	0,1-0,12	0,13	-	-	0,14-0,15	0,1-0,12	-	0,15-0,18	0,11-0,13	-	0,13-0,15	0,13-0,15	0,11-0,13
Pound of pork	-	9 p.	0,13	-	-	0,12-0,22	0,13-0,18	0,14	0,14-0,22	0,13-0,18	0,15	0,15-0,2	0,12-0,2	0,12-0,18

Source: created by the authors (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1052, pp. 292, 314, 327, 391, 400; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1298, pp. 201, 203, 239; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 312-317, 361-362, 379-379 v, 491-492 v, 497-499; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 37-38, 48-49, 174-176, 241-245; SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 22-23, 80-82, 147-149).

Another important factor in the commodity and food crisis in the cities of Western Volhyn was the loss of purchasing power of the population. After the return of the Russian authorities to Dubna, Lutsk, Rivne in June 1916, the authorities of the city government ascertained the complete insolvency of the inhabitants of the cities due to the considerable losses of the farms. Most of the city buildings were destroyed, burned or damaged. This, in turn, has led to an increase in debt and lack of money (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 9–9v, 50, 102–102v, 138–138v, 160–160v).

With the decline in local agricultural efficiency, the constant requisition of food and livestock to support the army, the economic stability of the frontier governorates depended on the timely supply of essential goods in areas not covered by the fighting. However, the war demonstrated the inability of the railway, as the main mode of transport, to meet the needs of the economy and the army at the same time. Despite the official statistics that increased passenger and freight traffic in 1914–1916, there were serious problems with their timeliness, especially when it came to transporting goods to civilians. Most notably, this affected the delivery of goods and products to the frontline cities (Mironov, 2017, pp. 471–472, 474; Belov, 2014, pp. 192–195).

Important role in the system of supply of goods to the population in times of war was given to shops and markets. Through them, the central and local authorities tried to provide the citizens with the necessary goods, introducing various mechanisms for this purpose. Thus, in December 1916, to provide Lutsk kerosene, the city government identified eight places where it could be sold in limited quantities. The Dubno city government went down the same path with the only difference being that they decided to sell food and kerosene at a separate shop for which they started renting premises in the central part of the city (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1583, p. 30; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 72–72v). In addition to shops, an important role in the sale of products was given to urban markets. For example, there were three markets in Lutsk. One of them (Pokrovskiy) functioned constantly, though it was quite small. Villagers from the surrounding villages usually traded a variety of agricultural, dairy and meat products from morning to afternoon (SAVR, f. 158, d. 1, c. 6, p. 99; SAVR, f. 158, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 99, 255–255v). In the food distribution system, various establishments engaged in the sale of hot drinks and lunches (dining, tea, and coffee) played a particular role. Due to the large number of officers and soldiers who made up the majority of the visitors and the introduction of the “dry law” at the end of 1914, their number increased sharply in January–March 1915. However, the clients of such establishments were mostly middle-income people. The overwhelming majority of urban residents could not afford to visit dining rooms and pubs (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 7–16 v, 18–19, 37–39v; Molchanov, 2014, pp. 96–97).

In the current circumstances, it was not possible to stabilize and improve the situation with the commodity and food supply due to the lack of coordination of the central, provincial and local authorities’ actions. In the first months of the war, the Russian authorities shifted the economy to war rails, creating the necessary mechanisms for its manual regulation: the introduction of “firm” prices initially only for some, and eventually – for most food; it was forbidden to export a number of raw materials abroad; most industrial enterprises were reoriented to military needs. The result of the militarization of the country’s economy was that at the end of 1916, only 447 enterprises (19% of the total) were engaged in the production of goods for civilians (Belov, 2014, pp. 61–63).

The effectiveness of the small number of institutions aimed at improving the food situation in the frontline area was rather poor. Usually, such bodies were bureaucratic and had

poor coordination. Given the number of problems in the organization of food supply, the government delegated a number of powers in this field (Kondratev, 1991, pp. 167–177; Oskin, 2017, p. 195).

One of the first steps in preparing the country for war before its official start was the introduction of a martial law on July 26, 1914 in the Kyiv military district, which included Volhyn. Among the priority measures to stabilize the economic situation in the country there was the introduction of control over pricing. City managers have been obliged to prevent price increases in local markets. For this purpose, it was suggested to discuss and set allowable prices (“fees”) not only for bread and meat, but also for other staple foods. Price list of agreed prices was posted in prominent crowded places (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 312–317; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 181–183).

At the beginning of April 1915, on the initiative of the Volhyn governor, city committees began to set up city committees, whose main task was to provide the population with food and monitor their prices (SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 75–75v). In 1914–1916, the governor and members of the provincial and city governments jointly set prices, and from 1917 it was made by members of the city self-government bodies and city merchants. Attempts to regulate prices through so-called “fees” – the maximum (sometimes the minimum) value of the goods were ineffective and inactive. Western Volhyn City Governments constantly received collective requests from sellers to increase the tax on basic products (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1052, pp. 334, 392; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 361–362v, 379–379v; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 25–25v; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 142–142v). The arguments of the mills of Dubno, set out in a petition dated December 29, 1914, are indicative in this regard. In their view, large-scale government purchases of grain have led to a shortage (“nominal famine”) of wheat and rye in the city. A certain role in this was played by the prohibition of the district committee, which oversaw the delivery of grain from other regions, to local suppliers to buy it in other governorates of the empire (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1052, pp. 292, 314, 327, 391, 400; SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1615, pp. 26–30, 57–61, 78–83v, 290–294v, 496–499; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 312–317, 380; SARR, f. 359, c. 13, pp. 17–20; Belov, 2014, pp. 62–63).

If at the beginning of the war the authorities were concerned with providing food only to the army, then since 1915 the situation gradually forced to pay increasing attention to civilians (Oskin, 2017, p. 190). On February 28, 1915, the governor of Volhyn recommended all state institutions to purchase the most important goods for the population on their own in order to alleviate the food shortage. He also offered to borrow from the City and Land Loan Offices, promising support in getting them (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 83–85; SARR, f. 165, d. 1, c. 28, pp. 48–49). In the future, all city governments and meetings of the city commissioners of the governorate to handle the most pressing issues with food and goods used bank loans.

The Russian government resorted to direct assistance to the regions that were most affected by the effects of the war on goods and famine-scarce regions. The plan of the Ministry of Food Affairs provided such assistance to cities of the Volhyn Governorate. Since the beginning of the revolution in Russia, the situation with the centralized assistance of the necessary goods in the frontline areas has worsened. Most of this assistance was required by the Zhytomyr Governorate Center and the Western Volhyn County Centers, which had been at the center of protracted fighting between the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian troops for several years (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1694, pp. 83–83v).

The situation was complicated, and in November 1916 prices for most of the goods in the cities of Western Volhyn were no longer established. First of all, it was caused by great

difficulty in supplying flour and grain from other governorates. In Lutsk, as of November 1916, rye and wheat flour, some cereals and salt remained in the products of small quantities. A similar situation occurred in Dubno (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1298, pp. 201, 203; SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 14, pp. 142–142v). In fact, cities were facing the threat of famine.

Another method of stabilizing the food market was the introduction of a state monopoly on grain sales. The state monopoly on bread was officially introduced on March 25, 1917 (SARR, f. 359, d. 1, c. 13, pp. 81–81v; Oskin, 2015, p. 166). All bread (grain and flour) was to be passed on to the food committees specially created for this purpose by the government, any trade in bread was forbidden. However, the monopolization of the market for products and goods, which had to stabilize the food situation in the country, had the opposite effect. In practice, the number of cases where peasants illegally removed grain from state control through winemaking, the “black market”, etc., increased (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1617, pp. 105, 127; Oskin, 2015, pp. 165–167).

In the face of total deficit, bread monopoly and low purchasing power of the population, the Russian government in March 1917 introduced a card system for staple food. In its classical form, it was used in many countries during the First World War (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 1697, pp. 1–1v). The introduction of such extreme measures has not yielded the desired results. The war-torn Russian Empire in the winter of 1916/1917 found itself on the brink of economic collapse and social uprising, the direct consequence of which was the revolution and defeat of the war.

The Conclusions. Most of the losses in the Russian Empire from the effects of the First World War were in the frontline areas, including five counties (Kremets, Dubno, Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynskyi and Kovel) of the Volhyn Governorate. The severity of the situation associated with the devastating effects of hostilities has been compounded by the crisis in the region’s economy. Mass mobilization of the able-bodied male population, large-scale requisitions and purchases for the needs of the army of livestock and grain resulted in a significant reduction in acreage and the profitability of farms in general.

The inability of the Russian government to meet the army’s food needs at the expense of remote regions has led to the food depletion of the frontline governorates. Population of the Volhyn Governorate frontal districts suffered most from the food crisis. The crisis was aggravated by such crisis phenomena of the Russian economy as militarization, lack of able-bodied population, inflation, devaluation of the Russian ruble, loss of purchasing power of the population, etc. Attempts of the Russian government to prevent crisis phenomena through the introduction of martial law, fixed prices for basic goods, monopolies for the sale of bread, the introduction of a card system of goods distribution, did not produce the desired results. Frontline cities have suffered from a semi-starvation.

A promising area of research for this topic is to compare the food supply of the frontline cities of Volhyn, Podilia and Minsk governorates during the First World War and to track the role of local economies in supplying the army with the necessary food and goods.

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**GENERAL SECRETARIAT (MINISTRY) FOR POLISH AFFAIRS
OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC AT THE TIME OF THE CENTRAL
RADA: FORMATION STAGES AND STRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Research. However, there is still no separate article that would comprehensively cover the process of structural formation of the Polish minority office as a central executive body. Therefore, the purpose of the article is to study the structure formation and development process of the General Secretariat (Ministry) for Polish affairs of the UPR. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of scientific knowledge, objectivity, historicism and general scientific (analysis, synthesis, comparison) and special-historical methods (comparative-historical, historical-systemic). **The Research Novelty.** For the first time, the process of structural formation of the Polish minority office as the central executive body was systematized, and the stages of this process were determined. **The Conclusions.** The General Secretariat (Ministry) for Polish affairs of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (the UPR) went from a structural unit within the General Secretariat of Interethnic (Foreign) Affairs

to a separate central body of an executive power. The establishment formation was closely interrelated with the development process of Ukrainian statehood on the path to independence. This made it possible to single out two periods in the establishment formation, to determine their chronological framework, and also to identify two stages of this institution organizational development during the second period. The structure of the general secretariat (ministry) for Polish affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic reflected the activities that were most relevant to the ethnic Poles, who lived in Ukraine. The most successful was the work of the establishment in support of Polish school education. At the same time, some tasks, such as the creation of the national unions for the implementation of the national personal autonomy principles, could not be implemented. The general secretariat (ministry) for Polish affairs of the UPR was able to act effectively thanks largely to its leader, M. Mickiewicz, and the well-chosen staff.

Key words: the Central Rada, national minorities, the Poles, authorities, the General Secretariat (Ministry) for Polish affairs of the UPR, structure, establishment, department.

ГЕНЕРАЛЬНЕ СЕКРЕТАРСТВО (МІНІСТЕРСТВО) З ПОЛЬСЬКИХ СПРАВ УНР ЗА ДОБИ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЇ РАДИ: ЕТАПИ ФОРМУВАННЯ ТА РОЗВИТОК СТРУКТУРИ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – виявлення процесу формування і розвитку структури генерального секретарства (міністерства) з польських справ УНР за доби Центральної Ради та визначення етапів його становлення. **Методологія дослідження** побудована на принципах науковості, історизму, об'єктивності, що дало змогу реалізувати загальнонаукові методи аналізу, синтезу й узагальнення. Особливості структури відомства з польських справ у продовж діяльності Української Центральної Ради розкрито, спираючись на порівняльно-історичний та історико-системний методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше здійснено спробу систематизувати процес структурного становлення відомства у справах польської меншини як центрального органу виконавчої влади, визначивши етапи цього процесу. **Висновки.** У своєму розвитку відомство пройшло шлях від структурного підрозділу у складі генерального секретарства міжнародних (міжнародних) справ до окремого центрального органу виконавчої влади. Становлення відомства було пов'язане з процесом розвитку української державності на шляху до незалежності. Структура генерального секретарства (міністерства) з польських справ УНР відображала напрями діяльності, які були найактуальнішими для етнічних поляків, що мешкали в Україні. Найбільш успішною виявилася діяльність відомства, спрямована на підтримку польської шкільної освіти. Водночас деякі завдання, як наприклад, створення національних союзів для реалізації принципів національно-персональної автономії, втілити у життя не вдалося. Генеральне секретарство (міністерство) з польських справ УНР діяло результативно, завдячуючи своєму керівникові – М. Міцкевичу та добре підібраному кадровому складу.

Ключові слова: Центральна Рада, національні меншини, поляки, генеральне секретарство (міністерство) з польських справ УНР, органи влади, структура, відомство, департамент.

The Problem Statement. The historical events that took place in the Ukrainian lands during the days of the Central Rada (1917 – 1918) can be unequivocally attributed to the most researched by scientists. This long-lasting interest is explained by the exceptional place of the first experience of a national statehood formation in Ukraine in the XXth century. The large number of sources and the constant updating of the scientific investigations allow the researchers to cover the events and characterize the processes that lasted from March 1917 till April 1918 more thoroughly. A certain tendency for detailing the researches is observed concerning the authorities and administrations that functioned at that time. If at the initial stage the Ukrainian Central Council was of great interest of scientists and the general public, in some period of time, the attention was paid to the work of the Government (Secretariat-General), its individual general secretariats (ministries), the activities of the local governments, public organizations and movements.

A special place among the central executive bodies during the period of the Central Rada is occupied by the offices for the national minorities affairs – secretariats (ministries) for the Jewish, Polish and Russian affairs of the UPR. The short period of their existence and the atypical nature of their activities, determined by the range of problems of a particular nation, aroused a considerable interest of the scientists in the activity of these departments. At the same time, their activities were considered by the scientists in the context of the history of the correspondent nations, their socio-political activities, the ethno-political processes of that era, the peculiarities of humanitarian politics, etc. In accordance with this approach, the information on the structure formation and the activities foundations of the secretariats (ministries) for the national minorities affairs turned out to be somewhat scattered, fragmentary, which actualizes the issue of its systematization.

The specific nature of the activities of the national minority offices makes it impossible to compare their structure with that of other central executive bodies during the period of the Central Rada. As for comparing the formation structure of the national minority offices with each other, it will only emphasize their "individuality", the variety of tasks that were set up for individual national minorities in Ukraine of that period, as well as the difference in potential for implementation. Therefore, we consider it appropriate to analyze a specific office for the national minorities in the course of its administrative and organizational transformation. In this context, the most appropriate is the analysis of changes in the structure of the General Secretariat (Ministry) for the Polish affairs of the UPR.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The Ukrainian historians created a powerful array of the scientific works, dedicated to the Central Rada, a leading place among which are V. Verstyuk's studies (Verstyuk, 1997; Verstyuk, 2017), V. Soldatenko's studies (Soldatenko, 2008; Soldatenko, 2010; Soldatenko, 2011), O. Reyent's studies (Reyent, 2016).

From the whole range of the scientific researches, only those works were singled out, which covered the aspects of the structure formation of the General Secretariat (Ministry) for Polish affairs of the UPR. This fact greatly narrowed the scope of the research and allowed us to single out a number of works by O. Bilobovets (Bilobovets, 2018), T. Zaretska (Zaretska, 2003), O. Kalakura (Kalakura, 2007), M. Lazarovych (Lazarovych, 2013), V. Skalsky (Skalsky, 2008), M. Potapenko (Potapenko, 2010). A brief review of the basic elements of the departments structure for national minorities, including the Poles, was presented by O. Myronenko in the reference and encyclopedic publications (Myronenko, 1996; Myronenko, 1997).

A special place is occupied by the scientific work of A. Kudlay (Kudlay, 2008), dedicated to an in-depth analysis of the activities of the office for international affairs, which for some time included the Polish affairs office.

The integrity of the investigated issue is substantially supplemented by the archival documents, including those recently introduced into the scientific circulation by the experts (Lebedieva, 2015), and the materials of the press of that period.

The Purpose of the Research. However, there is still no separate article that would comprehensively cover the process of structural formation of the Polish minority office as a central executive body. Therefore, **the purpose** of the article is to study the structure formation and development process of the General Secretariat (Ministry) for Polish affairs of the UPR during the period of the Central Rada and to determine the stages of this formation.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Nowadays, it is almost a textbook fact that the very idea of protecting the rights of the national minorities was normalized during the period of the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) (the law on national and personal autonomy – 1917,

January 9 (22), the Constitution of the UPR – 1918, April 29 (section VIII “National Unions”)) and put it into practice by means of the creation of the appropriate central executive bodies for the affairs of the national minorities.

The activities of the General Secretariat (Ministry) for Polish affairs of the UPR reflected fully the complexity of the historical moment and the peculiarities of the socio-political life of the Poles of Ukraine. According to the statistics department data of Kyiv city government, in April 1918, the Poles were the least assimilated nation. In the course of that study, it was found out that among 42,821 interviewed people 38 495 (89,8 %) spoke their mother tongue – Polish. For comparison: this figure among the Ukrainians – 75,1 % (of 56 225 persons – 42 220), among the Jews – 70,5 % (of 87 246 persons – 61 516 spoke Yiddish) (Po dannym statisticheskogo otdela kievskoy gorodskoy upravy, 1918). Such a high level of a national self-identification helped the Poles to perceive really their position in Ukrainian society at that time.

It should be noted that the establishment of departments for the Jewish, the Polish and the Russian nations took place simultaneously. We consider it appropriate to divide this process into two periods during which the significant changes in the structure, the tasks and the staff of the offices took place, in particular:

1. The formation as a structural unit of the central executive body – Vice-Secretariat of the General Secretariat of National (International) Affairs of the UPR.

2. The activity in the governmental structure in the status of a separate office – the General Secretariat, and subsequently – the Ministry.

With the formation of the General Secretariat as a governmental institution on June 15, 1917, long-lasting work began on the formation of the central executive bodies in Ukraine, including in the affairs for the national minorities. The importance of attitude to the minority community is evidenced by the fact that at the meeting of the Minor Council on July 15, 1917, the Secretariat for international affairs was suggested being called “the Secretariat for the protection of the rights of the national minorities”, and not one but two representatives from each nationality were submitted (Verstyuk, 1996, p. 179). The following day, the Charter of the Supreme Administration of Ukraine was adopted by the Minor Council, Item 4 of which established the General Secretariat of International Affairs and determined the posts of three comrades of the Head of the Office for the affairs of the Jews, the Poles and the Russians.

In fact, from July 16, 1917, the first stage of the formation and activity of the national minority offices began, during which they were structurally linked to the UPR General Secretariat for National (International) Affairs. On this basis, it is appropriate to refer to the work of O. B. Kudlay. The scientist investigates the activities of the General Secretariat thoroughly, and one of the sections of the work is directly devoted to the organization of the internal structure (Kudlay, 2008, pp. 9–21).

The researcher elucidates the content of the “Regulation on the Secretariat-General for National Affairs”, which defines the principles of activity of both the Secretariat itself and the limits of the competence of the Vice-Secretariats for national minorities: the participation in meetings of the General Secretariat with an advisory vote; the right to cast a decisive vote on matters within their sphere of competence; all orders of the Secretariat-General and its organs concerning the domestic life and rights of the national minorities will be issued only after they have been referred by their respective companions of the Secretary-General for National Affairs; the language of the domestic use must be the language of a particular national minority; the posts of the local commissioners for national affairs were introduced (Kudlay, 2008, p. 16).

According to O. B. Kudlay, “this document is a more detailed recapitulation of the Secretary-General’s order on the interethnic affairs to the secretary’s comrades of July 27, 1917” (Kudlay, 2008, p. 15). We consider it necessary to specify that the order, consisting of nine paragraphs and approved by O. Shulgin – the head of the General Secretariat for National Affairs (the name of the Office as in July 1917), indicated the date of July 22, 1917. On the document there is a manuscript record about its correspondence to the original, signed by P. Khrystyuk, a general clerk, and dated July 29, 1917. (Central State Archive of the Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine – CSAHAAU, f. 2592, d. 1, c. 67, p. 4).

The confirmation of such a date and an explanation of its occurrence can be found in another archival document – “the Draft Instruction on the appointment of Comrade Secretary-General for national affairs and their functions” (CSAHAAU, f. 1748, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 1–16). The document is stored in the fund of the Ministry of Jewish Affairs of the UPR. The text of the order is also given and an interesting commentary is given on its occurrence. It is noted that at the first meeting of the Secretary-General for National Affairs with his companions from the national minorities the question arose about the tasks and essence of the activities of these offices. After several meetings, the order was approved in the version, proposed by a companion, who dealt with the Jewish affairs (CSAHAAU, f. 1748, d. 1, c. 3, p. 3).

It is noted that after the order was signed on 22 July 1917 by the Secretary-General for National Affairs, the work on the document was continued because of its specific legal nature. By its legal nature, the order was directed by the head of the department to his subordinates. That fact raised concerns that the change in leadership might cause significant changes in the order itself or its complete cancellation, “simultaneously changing the very nature and competence” of the post of comrade secretary for the national minorities (CSAHAAU, f. 1748, d. 1, c. 3, p. 9).

Taking into account the situation objectively, the Secretary’s companions for the national minorities suggested that the order be approved not by their department, but by the General Secretariat. In favour of such an approach there was the very content of the order, some provisions of which essentially went beyond the competence of the General Secretariat for National Affairs. In particular, this concerned a number of issues that were of a national nature: the official language of communication in the apparatus of a comrade for national affairs, the appearance of normative legal acts of other secretariats, if they concern the inner affairs of the correspondent nation, etc. In the end, the government decided that both the Secretary-General for national affairs and his two comrades (for Jewish and Polish affairs, since the Comrade Secretary for Russian affairs would only join in October 1917) would receive this order from the Clerk as the extract from the protocol of the General Secretariat meeting of 25 July 1917 (CSAHAAU, f. 1748, d. 1, c. 3, p. 10).

We should emphasize that the very order was the primary document, the content of which was included into the text “Regulation on the General Secretariat for National Affairs”. The author of the “Draft of Instruction ...” wrote quite rightly that such attention to the order was dictated by the presence in its content the elements of a national personal autonomy (CSAHAAU, f. 1748, d. 1, c. 3, p. 8). Prior to the adoption of the relevant law, the basic rules for the protection of the national minorities rights were formulated in the decree and subsequently were included into the “Provisions”.

Some more important nuances should be noted, based on the text of “Draft of Instruction ...”. Firstly, their author uses the term “vice-secretariat” as the name for for the national minorities offices, which is quite common in the scientific literature and memoirs. In all legal acts of that period, the official title of the post is that of a Comrade Secretary-General, and the

name of the Office is not actually used, because it is rather the Office of Comrade Secretary-General. Secondly, in the "Drafts of Instruction...", the first attempt was made to systematize the work on the establishment of offices for the national minorities. From the test of the document it is not clear whether the author divides the direct activities of the department into stages, or simply delineates the material itself. Nevertheless, the text of "Drafts of Instruction ..." is divided into the stages or blocks: the first one is untitled, indicated by the period: July, 15 – September 1, 1917; the second one is entitled "Determination of the Competence of the Vice-Secretariat for National Affairs" and is dated: September, 1–25 October, 25 (CSAHAAU, f. 1748, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 1, 9). From the content of the document, it follows that a certain criterion for such a division into stages was the normalization of the status of comrades in the affairs for the national minorities. It should be also noted that the starting date of the first stage, specified in the archival document, is in a full correspondence with the date proposed by us – July 16, 1917.

Analyzing the "Regulation on the Secretariat-General for National Affairs", it should be noted that, unlike the order, it contains more data on the structure of the Vice-Secretariats: each secretary's companion had his own office; three national councils were set up under authority of Secretary's Comrades (Kudlay, 2008, p. 16).

The activities of the Vice-Secretariats for National Minorities, O. B. Kudlay, analyzes on the example of the Polish Affairs Office. Based on the report of Comrade Secretary, the researcher notes that in the autumn of 1917, in the Vice-Secretariat there functioned:

- the department for education: it was engaged in collecting the data on pupils and compiling appropriate questionnaires, analyzing them for the organization of school education of the Poles; a Board of Education was created to involve specialists in this matter, which established Polish teachers' seminary to train teachers for Polish elementary schools;
- the economic department, concerning which we have only a generalized formulation – "it collected the data on the economic needs of the Polish people";
- the general department "handled the current issues, the government orders and elaborated the law on the use of the national minority languages" (Kudlay, 2008, p. 17).

V. Skalsky gives the detailed information on this period of the Office work: "The organization of the Vice-Secretariat work lasted for a long time. It started functioning only in October 1917" (Skalsky, 2008, p. 195). The researcher points out that "the informal head of the institution, who supervised all the cases was E. Starchevsky, who, for some reason, preferred not to participate in the work of the Vice-Secretariat officially" (Skalsky, 2008, p. 195).

The deputy secretary and head of the General Office was Roman Knoll. From the latter it follows that in the structure of the department, in addition to the above mentioned departments, a general office was created. V. Skalsky's information is full of personalized data and certain clarifications, in particular, regarding the names of departments: not "general" but "general affairs"; not "economic" but "economic cooperative". The scientist indicates the names of the heads of departments (the general affairs department – J. Starchevsky, the economic and cooperative department – Z. Petkevych, the department for education – S. Kalinovsky) and the names of the individual employees of the education department: L. Grohol-sky, G. Ulashyn, G. Yuzefsky, V. Gunter and B. Ivinsky (Skalsky, 2008, p. 195).

As for the characteristics of the activities of these departments, the work of the education department is recognized as "rather theoretical", and the work of the general department "was limited to the attempts to protect persons of Polish descent from requisitions and pogroms". The mechanism of such protection was the provision of monument security

documents for the Polish estates. “Moreover, it was done without any analysis of their true value. Such massive fabrication of documents led to the levelling of the very concept of monument” (Skalsky, 2008, p. 195).

Describing the activities of the Vice-Secretariat as a whole, O. B. Kudlay notes that “the very work of the Polish “department” of the secretariat was still at the stage of organization, but more Poles turned to it for help in their own affairs” (Kudlay, 2008, p. 17). Such a conclusion does not coincide with the opinion expressed by V. Skalsky, who emphasizes that “the Polish minority had two forms of autonomy in the Ukrainian lands. The first one – by means of a state-legitimized but of a low-impact Vice-Secretariat for Polish Affairs within the Secretariat-General. The second one – by means of the PEC, which was essentially a state in the state, with its local authorities, the tax system and the armed forces” (Skalsky, 2008, p. 195).

Under the abbreviation “PEC” we mean the Polish Executive Committee in Rus, which was formed in Kyiv on March 6, 1917, at the Congress of all Polish public organizations (the representatives of 39 organizations were present) and communities in several provinces of Ukraine (Potapenko, 2010, p. 92). In fact, it was a powerful socio-political association that created its own structures quickly, including the local areas. It aimed at protecting the rights and representing the interests of the Poles in Ukraine and it was well known to the Polish public both in the capital and in the province. In this rivalry, the competitive advantages were not on the side of the Polish Secretariat for Polish Affairs.

In fact, from the time of its creation and throughout the period of existence during the days of the Central Rada (Council) for the Polish Affairs Office, its permanent leader was Mieczysław (Vyacheslav) Kazimierzowicz Mickiewicz, whose biography was published in 1918 in an abridged form. He was born in 1879 in the town of Kamianets-Podilsky in the family of a government official, and he received his secondary education in the same city. He graduated from the Law Faculty of Odesa University in 1904. In the same year he joined the Lawyers’ Association and started a rather successful professional activity. Since his studies at the university, he joined the “secret democratic Polish organizations”, for the cooperation with which he was arrested in St. Petersburg in 1907 (Pro Tsentralnu Radu i Radu Narodnykh Ministriv, 1918, pp. 87–88). Such a professional and revolutionary experience only added to M. Mickiewicz the socio-political weight and promoted him to a high-level position in the General Secretariat. While working for the Ukrainian civil service, he remained a Polish public figure at the same time. That is why he reacted sharply to the provisions of the Third Universal of the Central Rada concerning the land issue and caused a negative reaction of some Polish politicians. It is known that in connection with these events M. Mickiewicz resigned, but in a month he returned to the government work and headed the Polish Affairs department until its liquidation.

In the course of this first stage of the departments establishment for the national minorities the issue of payment for the Vice-Secretaries was also solved. From July 15 to August 1, 2017 M. Mickiewicz and his Jewish colleagues were assigned 250 rubles each, and for the work during August – 500 rubles each (CSAHAAU, f. 2592, d. 2, c. 6, p. 9). Based on the archival documents, which were not so long ago introduced into the scientific circulation by I. Lebedeva, we can compare the data concerning the amount of salary payment in other departments. For example, the amount of salary of the Secretary General for Land Affairs for one and a half month was 750 rubles, i.e., 500 rubles per month (Lebedeva, 2015, p. 113); the salary of the Secretary General for Education for the period from June 25 till August 1, i.e., for 37 days, was 600 rubles (Lebedeva, 2015, p. 114). The analysis of the salaries illustrates

the following: the salary of the Vice-Secretaries corresponded to the amount of salaries of the individual Secretaries-General. The very fact also emphasized their much higher status as compared to the status of the average deputy heads of the departments.

With the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic on November 7, 1917, at the Third Universal of the Central Rada, the status of the national minority offices, including the Polish Vice-Secretariat, rose to the level of other general secretariats as central executive authorities. The Change of the status of the office gives us grounds to consider it as the second stage in the process of its establishment. As for determining the initial date of functioning of the new secretariat-general, we suggest focusing on November 27, 1917, because it was on this day that Order No. 1 of the reorganized office agency was dated (*Prykazy po Sekretarstvu Polskykh Sprav*, 1917). The very next day, on November 28, 1917, at the meeting of the General Secretariat, M. Mickiewicz was appointed the Secretary General for Polish Affairs. This fact is registered in the protocol. On that day, the personnel issue of the department's work was considered, and V. L. Rudnytsky was appointed the deputy of the Secretary General on the advice of M. Mickiewicz (Verstyuk, 1996, p. 482), who actually began performing his duties earlier – from November 22, 1917 (*Прикази 1917*). Beginning from December 1917 and spring 1918, V. L. Rudnytsky regularly substituted M. Mickiewicz at the government meetings. On his submission (at the meeting of Ministers' Council on March 27, 1918) it was approved to “give days-off to Catholic government officials for two days” on the occasion of the Easter celebration (Verstyuk, 1996, p. 235). It's true, this fact caused a wave of indignation in the press. The newspaper “The Renaissance” wrote that the Catholics lived among the Ukrainians, but such governmental decree did not concern the Ukrainians (*Pryvileiovana volia viry*, 1918).

Investigating the structural changes in the Secretariat-General for the Polish affairs of the UPR, it should be noted that its divisions also increased their status: the former deputy secretariats were reformatted into departments, and later on into units. In fact, during the period of activity of the General Secretariat for Polish Affairs of the UPR (December 1917 – the beginning of January 1918), the departments of the General Office and the Department for Education functioned. The General Office was the most complete with a clear hierarchy of posts. According to Order No. 1 of the General Secretariat for Polish Affairs of the UPR of November 27, 1917, the following persons started working in the department: Jan Starchevsky – a clerk of the office, Kazimierz Domoslowski – an assistant clerk of the office, the 2nd-grade clerks – Titus Poplowski, Franz Jaworski, Maria Kochler, the office clerks of the 3rd rank – Claudia Ushakova, Wanda Petkevich (*Prykazy po Sekretarstvu Polskykh Sprav*, 1917).

According to the same Order No. 1, Zenon Petkevich was given the post of the clerk “with the scope of activity – the head of the statistical and economic department”. Under the name of “the economic cooperative department”, this unit functioned in the structure of the Vice-Secretariat under its leadership. Later on, the department, headed by Zenon Petkevich, was transferred to the newly created department of the national self-government (Skalsky, 2008, p. 196).

In addition, there was a military department of the General Office and Stanislav Hrabinsky was appointed the military commissar, i.e., the chief of the staff, and his assistant – Stanislav Petkevich, the ensign, and later on Leonard Stanishevsky was appointed the clerk of the department (Order No. 4, December 2, 1917) (*Prykazy po Sekretarstvu Polskykh Sprav*, 1917). During this period, the department of the General Office also included the Press and Information Department (Myronenko, 1995, p. 158). In the spring of 1918 this department didn't exist in the structure of the Polish department.

The Department for Public Education of the General Secretariat for Polish Affairs of the UPR had a structure that clearly reflected the main areas of its work: the elementary school department (G. Ulashyn), the secondary school department (M. Kulczycki), the extracurricular department (V. Matuszewski), the technical department and applied arts (O. Sosnovsky), the department for culture and arts (L. Groholsky) (Lazarovych, 2013, pp. 216–217; Skalsky, 2008, pp. 197–198). S. Kalinovsky was in charge of this department (he headed this department in the Vice-Secretariat, his appointment was renewed on November 27, 1917). In one of the departments for education Antonina Kryzhanivska became the office clerk of the 3rd category (according to Order No. 4, December 2, 1917) (Prykazy po Sekretarstvu Pol'skykh Sprav, 1917). The structure of the department for education remained unchanged throughout the lifetime of the department.

According to Order No. 4, in the departments of the General Secretariat for Polish Affairs the clerical officials came to offices: Olgerd Izdebsky, Kazimierz Jelowiecki, Richard Mikulla, Elena Dombrowska, Tadej Manieczewski. The information on the staff of the department can be obtained owing to a certain political tendency for publicity in the work of government agencies. In particular, the departmental orders, entirely concerning the personnel issues, were published in December issue of “The Bulletin of the UPR Secretariat-General” (1917). (Prykazy po Sekretarstvu Pol'skykh Sprav, 1917).

The declaration of independence of the UPR on January 9, 1918 at the IVth Universal of the Central Rada was accompanied by the reorganization of the General Secretariat into the Council of People's Ministers, and, accordingly, the General Secretariats were transformed into Ministries. We do not single out this period of the department formation into a separate stage, because the department continued its activity as an independent administrative unit, but at a new level. On January 13, 1918, the department of a national self-government was established in an updated agency to implement the principles of the law on a national and personal autonomy. The department was set up the task to work on summoning the Polish Constituent Assembly in Ukraine and the organization of the Polish National Council (Union). At first, the department was headed by Leon Tręcyak, a lawyer, and later on by K. Rozhnovich. The latter headed the organizational unit of this department. Z. Milkevich was his deputy in the department (Skalsky, 2008, p. 197). In contrast to the Ministries of Jewish and Russian affairs, the Polish Ministry did not suppress the organization of the National Council. According to contemporaries, the problem consisted in “the reluctance of conservative groups, which make up a significant percentage in the Polish society”, to promote the work (Protest poliakiv, 1917).

The activity of the Ministry of Polish Affairs of the UPR was interrupted by the Bolshevik invasion in January-February 1918. The department was not evacuated and remained in the capital with the leaders: M. Mickiewicz, V. L. Rudnitsky, S. Kalinovsky. The Ministry's premises were destroyed during the fighting and the part of the documents was destroyed too. The military and statistical economic departments were hit the hardest (Bilobrovets, 2018, pp. 78–79).

After the return of the Ukrainian authorities to Kyiv in the government, headed by V. Holubovych, the portfolios of the national ministries were “reserved” but lacked actual filling. And only on April 9, 1918, at a meeting of the Minor Council, a separate question “On the approval of ministers for Jewish and Polish affairs” was considered. The Ministers were approved at the request of the Prime Minister (Verstyuk, 1997, p. 259). Although the formal appointment of the authority of the department was delayed for a long time, it did not pre-

vent from improving of the ministry organization. It was at this time that the general office grew into a full-fledged department, headed by L. Trecyak, and had the following structure: a personal staff department (K. Domoslawsky), a business department (an accountant – K. Jelowitsky; a cashier – B. Rozvodowsky), a general department (J. Starchewsky), a legal department (a legal adviser – P. Khojnowsky) (Skalsky, 2008, p. 198), a military department (acting chief – S. Grabiansky) (Bilobrovets, 2018, p. 81). Concerning the post of a legal adviser, in March 1918 it was occupied by Ivan Karlovykh Navrochynsky, who was recommended to the Supreme Court of Appeal of the UPR during the same period (CSAHAAU, f. 1115, d. 1, c. 6, p. 42).

In April 1918, the official governmental publication “*Visnyk Rady Narodnykh Ministriv UNR*” (“*Bulletin of the Council of People's Ministers of the UPR*”) published the structure list of the Ministry of Polish Affairs (Pobudova ministerstva, 1918). The department had 80 employees at that time (Kalakura, 2007, p. 129; Bilobrovets, 2018, p. 81), and its budget was 41 100 rubles per month (Zaretska, 2003, p. 183). At the same time, a large article was published on the pages of the newspaper “*Narodnoye Delo*” in the Ministry of Polish Affairs, which can be called a detailed report on the work of the department (В министерстве 1918). In the context of this research, the article is interesting in the fact that it was mentioned about the functioning in the department of the General Chancellery of another department – in the sphere of “*cultural needs of refugees*”. This department of the Ministry cooperated with the refugee department of the Ministry of the Interior Affairs of the UPR. The authors of the article reported that, according to the national agency, up to 300,000 Polish refugees gathered on the borders with Poland, whom the German military authorities did not allow to return home. The refugees' condition was “*tragic and there are many cases of starvation*” (V ministerstve po polskim delam, 1918). In the studies on the refugee problems we do not find the confirmation fact for functioning of this department, although it is clear that the number of refugees among the Polish population was considerable. But, as L. Zhvanko points out, an appeal to the Polish department took place back in December 1917 when its representative was invited to a special commission on refugee affairs, organized by the UPR Secretariat-General for International Affairs (Zhvanko, 2013, p. 162).

The Ministry of Polish Affairs of the UPR ceased to function in accordance with the law of Hetman P Skoropadsky of July 9, 1918. This act terminated the law on a national and personal autonomy and abolished the ministries of the national minorities. It was decided to submit the materials of these departments for culture and education to the Ministry of Public Education and other documents – to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The latter was instructed to set up a special commission in its Department of General Affairs to carry out the liquidation proceedings. The clerks of the offices, including those, who specialized in Polish cases, who were not appointed to the civil service, received a financial aid in the amount of a two months' salary (CSAHAAU, f. 3690, d. 1, c. 13, p. 8).

During the liquidation of the Ministry, Professor G. Ulashiyn, a Slavic scholar of a Polish origin, addressed to the Ukrainian authorities with an open letter. After the liquidation of the department, he requested to keep the Polish Department for Education as a separate unit, because its work was so important as well as the influence on the educational environment of the Poles in Ukraine (Zaretska, 2003, p. 184).

The liquidation of the Ministry, the date of adoption of the relevant legislative act, July 9, 1918, is the end of the second period of the Office activity according to the periodization, suggested by us. It is noteworthy that the Ministry functioned for several months longer than the Central Council itself.

As mentioned above, in the course of its activities, the Polish Affairs Office had a significant competitive influence on the part of the departments formed by the Polish democratic organizations. M. Potapenko divided the process of development of the Polish democratic movement in the Dnieper Ukraine into three stages: “1. March – the middle of June 1917: the formation of a network of legal departments of the Polish democratic movement. 2. The middle of June till the beginning of November 1917: the unification of the Polish Democratic Organizations into the Polish Democratic Central Ukraine. 3. The beginning of November 1917 – April 1918: the exacerbation of contradictions of the PDC political course in Ukraine and its split” (Potapenko, 2010, p. 102). As it can be seen, the second and third stages coincide chronologically with the periods of the formation of the Polish Affairs Office. Such synchronization is absolutely objective, since the historical influences of the large-scale changes of the Ukrainian Revolution were decisive. As for the third stage of the development of the Polish democratic forces, which was marked by a split and a recession in their activities, it is inversely proportional to the development of the Polish Affairs Office at the same time. This is explained by the significant changes in the status of the General Secretariat (Ministry) of the Polish affairs of the UPR as a governmental institution with a clear structure, a recognized leadership, a professional staff and well-established authority among the Polish public of Ukraine. The protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the national minorities, the creation of appropriate authorities and governing bodies were a significant trend of the revolutionary era, and in practice they were to reinforce the proclaimed slogans of equality and brotherhood. The corresponding processes continued in different areas of the Ukrainian ethnic lands. In particular, in November 1918, Bukovyna National Council in Chernivtsi proclaimed the need for the formation of both legislative and executive bodies with the participation of the national minorities in the region (Vidnyanskiy, 2012, p. 26).

The Conclusions. The analysis done within the framework of this research, a number of the archival documents and the press materials show that, in fact, less than a year of hard work in Ukraine during the days of the Central Rada, the structure of the Polish Affairs Office was formed as the central executive body. The actual structural development of the department is divided into periods according to the criterion of organizational independence of this institution. Thus, the process of formation and structural establishment of the General Secretariat (Ministry) for the Polish Affairs of the UPR took place during two periods:

1. July 16, 1917 – November 26, 1917, when the Office was formed as a Vice-Secretariat within the structure of the General Secretariat for National Affairs.

2. November 27, 1917 – January 9, 1918; March 1918 – July 9, 1918, the General Secretariat (Ministry) for the Polish Affairs already functioned as an independent central body of the executive power. During this period, we single out two stages objectively – the stage of activity in the status of the General Secretariat (November 27, 1917 – January 9, 1918) and the stage of activity in the status of the Ministry (March 1918 – July 9, 1918), which was reflected on the structure and affected the personnel of the department.

The periods, singled out by us, are quite consistent with the steps of the Ukrainian state-making process: from autonomy to independence. These changes were accompanied by a constant internal improvement of the structural formation of the department. The latter was formed according to both: the standard components (for example, the general office with the departments of a legal counsel, information and press, economic, etc.), and the elements that reflected the essence of a national personal autonomy – a certain “state in the state” for the national minorities (for example, the Department for Education alongside with the General

Secretariat (Ministry) of Education, the military department alongside with the Ukrainian military institutions, etc.). The structural apogee of the minority independence can be considered in the creation of a national self-government department, which was called to life by the relevant law and had to put into practice its basic rules.

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**W. WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE BEGINNING
OF THE POLISH-UKRAINIAN CONFLICT IN EASTERN HALYCHYNA
(NOVEMBER 1918 – FEBRUARY 1919)**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Article. *The involvement of the United States in the process of the Polish-Ukrainian armed conflict is among rather unexplored aspects. This armed conflict began in November 1918, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The purpose of the article is to elucidate this issue in detail. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography the attempt has been made to analyze the American policy on the Polish-Ukrainian armed conflict in Eastern Halychyna at the end of 1919 – the beginning of 1919, based on the analysis of the US Department of State official published documents concerning this issue. The Conclusions.* *During November 1918 – February 1919, Washington acted as an arbiter in the process of resolving the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Eastern Halychyna, which resulted from the efforts of both sides to implement the idea of creating an independent state using the US-proclaimed principle of “the right of nations for self-determination”. Both Poland and the ZUNR, claiming the control of the region, engaged in the international struggle actively, including the appeal to the White House, seeking for the recognition of their claims as legitimate. This activity turned out to be quite effective for the ZUNR. Owing to the repeated appeals for help to W. Wilson's administration, the declarations that the proclamation of the Ukrainian state was the realization of the principle of the nations' self-determination, the Western Ukrainian government made sure that its interests were no longer ignored, despite Washington's support of Poland.*

Key words: *the ZUNR, Eastern Halychyna, the White House, W. Wilson, the Right of nations to self-determination, the Paris Peace Conference.*

АДМІНІСТРАЦІЯ В. ВІЛЬСОНА ТА ПОЧАТОК ПОЛЬСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОГО КОНФЛІКТУ У СХІДНІЙ ГАЛИЧИНІ (ЛИСТОПАД 1918 – ЛЮТИЙ 1919)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – висвітлення участі США у процесі польсько-українського збройного конфлікту у Східній Галичині, який розпочався у листопаді 1918 р., після розпаду Австро-Угорської імперії. **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 у українській історіографії здійснено спробу комплексного розгляду американської політики щодо польсько-українського збройного конфлікту у Східній Галичині наприкінці 1918 – на початку 1919 р. на основі аналізу опублікованих офіційних документів Державного департаменту США, які стосувалися цієї проблеми. **Висновки.** Протягом листопада 1918 – лютого 1919 рр. Вашингтон виступив одним із арбітрів у процесі врегулюванні польсько-українського конфлікту у Східній Галичині, який виник, у тому числі, і внаслідок намагання обох його сторін реалізувати ідею створення незалежної держави, користуючись проголошенням США принципом “права нації на самовизначення”. І Польща, і ЗУНР, претендуючи на контроль над регіоном, активно включилися у міжнародну боротьбу, зокрема апелювали до Білого Дому, домагаючись визнання своїх претензій легітимними. Досить результативно ця діяльність виявилася для ЗУНР. Завдяки постійним зверненням про допомогу до адміністрації Вільсона, заяви про те, що проголошення української держави є реалізацією принципу самовизначення націй, західноукраїнський уряд добився того, що його інтереси більше не ігнорувалися, незважаючи на те, що Вашингтон схилився до підтримки Польщі.

Ключові слова: ЗУНР, Східна Галичина, Білий Дім, В. Вільсон, Право нації на самовизначення, Паризька мирна конференція.

The Problem Statement. As the recent events in Ukraine illustrate, related to the military conflict in the East of the country, the international support factor is one of the main in the process of developing the mechanisms for the military conflict resolution. In this context, it is important to consider the history of Ukrainian foreign policy activity during the period of the national liberation competitions of 1917 – 1921, when the Ukrainian authorities tried to ensure the existence of a newly created state, appealing to the leading states in order to obtain an international legitimacy and guarantees of their existence.

The Purpose of the Article. The involvement of the United States in the process of the Polish-Ukrainian armed conflict is among rather unexplored aspects. This armed conflict began in November 1918, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The purpose of the article is to elucidate this issue in detail.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. It should be mentioned that this issue was not analyzed properly by Ukrainian scientists. That is why, during the analysis of the events under research, we used the source materials, in particular, the published documents of the US State Department, which covered the certain events, related to the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Eastern Halychyna in 1918 – 1919.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In November 1918 the countries of the Fourth Union were on the verge of a military defeat in World War I (1914 – 1918). The economic exhaustion caused a significant reduction in the political authority of the central states governments, both internationally and domestically. This tendency was particularly noticeable in the national enclaves of the empires, in particular, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The national movements of the several nations, conquered by Vienna during the previous centuries,

saw in the weakening of the imperial power the opportunity to create their own independent state. Their desire was also reinforced by the declared intentions of the Entente States and their main ally the US – to promote the formation of the national states.

However, the desire of non-independence gave rise to many new problems in the regions, which were claimed by the several previously enslaved peoples. The very conflict eventually erupted in Eastern Halychyna, which had been under the rule of the Vienna Monarchy since 1772. The dominion of the region was immediately encroached upon by the two nations, who sought for independence under conditions of the gradual collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On the one hand, it was claimed by the Poles, considering Western Ukrainian lands to be the part of Poland from the XIVth century. They (the Poles) were opposed by the local Ukrainians who, on the eve of the end of the Great War, reached that level of development of their national movement, when the ideology of the national isolation from the Poles or the Russians was formed finally, and the course was chosen for reunification with the Dnieper Ukraine within the framework of an independent and unified state. It is common knowledge that at this first stage of the national revolution in Eastern Halychyna, it was the local Ukrainian Halicians, who were more determined. On October 31, 1918, a centurion of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, Dmytro Vytovsky (1887 – 1919), called on the Ukrainian movement to take up arms, as the Poles would soon do so. “If we don’t conquer Lviv tonight, the Poles will conquer it tomorrow,” he stated.

Already on November 1, 1918, a squad of “ususy”, consisting of 1500 people conquered all main administrative buildings in Lviv, and there was a blue and yellow flag over the city-hall tower. The Ukrainian National Council, which “raised the crown that fell on the city’s paving stones”, declared itself to be a new government.

Such promptness, among other things, was probably caused by the desire to acquire the international subjectivity as the state on the eve of the formation of a new global order. The new world order, according to the statements of the potential victors, envisaged the creation of a large number of national states in the land of the vanquished empires. First of all, the US, whose president – Woodrow Wilson (1856 – 1924) – insisted on publicly proclaiming the justice of only such a “peace”, in which every nation and people had the right for a national self-determination. This was especially true of the peoples of the former Austro-Hungary. The White House believed that its final disintegration into the national “flaps” would not only provide a fairer system but also contribute to the “DePrussiation” of Eastern Europe.

The Halician Ukrainians, proclaiming their own state, believed that in this way they would ensure the development of the events in their native land in the context of W. Wilson’s ideology and the international support would protect them from the Polish claims better than the power of weapons, which in fact lacked. Both political forces sought to establish power in Halychyna – the Ukrainian and Polish National Committees – hoped for the international support from the beginning of the conflict and appealed to Washington. In this diplomatic rivalry, the Poles were more prompt. As early as on November 13, 1918, the Polish National Committee sent a special memorandum to the US Embassy in Paris, expressing its own position on the territorial affiliation of eastern Halychyna. They emphasized that the attempts of the Ukrainians to build their own country were nothing more than the German intrigue. *“The Polish National Committee considers it to be its duty to bring the following facts to the knowledge of the Allied Governments and the Government of the United States: Germany and Austria, forced by the Allies to capitulate, and seeing that the Polish question will not be solved in accordance with their plan, are endeavoring, with the aid of the Ukrainians,*

devoted to their cause since the beginning of the war, to obstruct the unification of the new-born Poland” (The Polish National Committee to the American Ambassador in France (Sharp), 1942, p. 411), – the document ran.

The Poles insisted that during the seizure of power in Halychyna (Galicia), the Ukrainians were actively assisted by the German armed forces and German military experts. “*Since Galicia proclaimed its separation from Austria in order to form a single independent State united to the other Polish territories, German armed forces, followed by Ukrainian detachments and acting, it is alleged, in the interests of the Ukrainian cause, occupied, after a struggle with the Polish Legionnaires, the cities of Lwow and Przemysl*” (The Polish National Committee to the American Ambassador in France (Sharp), 1942, p. 411), – it was emphasized in the document.

The authors of the Memorandum argued that Berlin’s main task in the Polish issue was to weaken Poland by establishing the Ukrainian state, under the patronage of Germany. They considered it necessary to remind the Entente and the United States of the Brest-Lithuanian peace treaty, concluded by the Ukrainian government, one of the points of which was the transfer of Chelm region by the UNR – “*the province of Chelm which has always been a part of the kingdom of Poland and whose Polish character was proven even by the Austrian census*” (The Polish National Committee to the American Ambassador in France (Sharp), 1942, p. 412).

Accordingly, the Polish National Committee declared its protest against such German attempts to disrupt the integrity of the Polish territory, which in turn violated the Entente’s interests in Eastern Europe (The Polish National Committee to the American Ambassador in France (Sharp), 1942, p. 412).

It’s quite evident, from the context of the Memorandum, the Poles did not insist on denying the right of the Ukrainians for a national self-determination, but they pressed another “painful side” of Washington. Considering the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian state as a geopolitical intrigue of Germany, then the plan of “dePrussiation” of Eastern Europe was threatened, the realization of which was insisted by W. Wilson and Colonel E. House (1858 – 1938), his closest advisor on foreign affairs.

There were other aspects that the Poles insisted on in their relations with Washington. In particular, they rejected allegations of the Jewish massacres (pogroms), which likely took place with the beginning of the conflict against the Ukrainians. In general, the Polish National Committee did not reject the responsibility for certain manifestations of anti-Semitism, but explained those manifestations by the fact that the Jews often supported the enemies of Poland. In particular, the Poles tried to convey such an interpretation to the Italian government, which in turn informed the views of the Committee to Nelson Page (1853 – 1922), the American Ambassador to Italy. In his letter to the State Department of December 5, 1918, it was noted: “*Polish Committee in Italy anxious regarding alleged activities of enemy in spreading exaggerated reports of anti-Semitic pogroms in Galicia. This committee concedes riots have taken place, but that they were small affairs due to Bolsheviks’ influence, and were between Poles and Ukrainians, Jews having sided with Ukrainians, who are controlled and directed by Austrian generals*” (The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Acting Secretary of State, 1942, p. 346).

The same message also reported another desire of the Polish National Committee – the introduction of the US military contingent to the territory of Poland, due to the possible passing of a large number of former prisoners of war. “*Committee also worried over tendency in international circles to reduce territorial holdings of new Polish States. They assert*

that over three million prisoners will pass through Poland, and they urge sending American troops to Poland to reestablish order and check spreading of Bolshevism" (The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Acting Secretary of State, 1942, p. 346), – Nelson Page wrote.

From the very beginning of the liberation movement in Eastern Halychyna, the Ukrainians also appealed to the White House. Already on September 17, 1918, the telegramme from the newly formed Ukrainian National Committee was transmitted to the State Department through the US Embassy in Switzerland. In the telegramme, the Ukrainian socio-political figures, who were abroad, expressed their hope that Washington would support the national aspirations of the Ukrainians, their desire to build their own state, in accordance with the principle of the nations' self-determination, declared by W. Wilson. *"Ukrainian National Council just founded in Switzerland of representatives of almost all political parties of the Ukraine for the defense of the Ukrainian national and democratic cause abroad formulates its best wishes to you, Mr. President. It places itself entirely on the basis of your program in which it sees the best guarantee for the continued free existence of the independent Ukrainian state. We are sure that the entire Ukrainian people is at one with us in placing its entire confidence in your defense of our independence before our enemies"* (The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State. Berne, 1942, p. 698), – the telegramme ran.

On November 26, 1918, another document was transmitted to the White House by the former Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Sweden – another telegramme from the Ukrainian National Committee. In the telegramme, the leaders of the Ukrainian state insisted that the events, that had taken place in Halychyna, were nothing more than a scenario of the peoples' national determination, whose support was repeatedly stated by the US president. *"The provisional Government of Halycz the province of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire united to an independent Ukrainian State permits itself, aware of the call issued by you, Mr. President, to the peoples now freed from the oppression of the former Monarchy, to address to you, Mr. President, the following appeal for support"* (The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State, 1942, p. 195), – the document ran.

The members of the Ukrainian government insisted that they represented the interests of the purely Ukrainian people, which is the dominant nation in Halychyna. It was noted that in defining the borders of the state, it did not include any territory dominated by other population. *"The provisional Government of Halycz the province of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire united to an independent Ukrainian State permits itself, aware of the call issued by you, Mr. President, to the peoples now freed from the oppression of the former Monarchy, to address to you, Mr. President, the following appeal for support"* (The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State, 1942, p. 195), – noted in the document.

Then, the Ukrainian National Council stated that it had given up any provocative actions and hostile acts against other peoples, who try to seize the territory of Halychyna (the Poles, the Romanians, the Hungarians), thus causing hostility of the Ukrainian population. The members of the Council insisted that they continue acting this way until the peaceful settlement of existing contradictions (The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State, 1942, p. 195).

As we can see, the text of the message was written in a peaceful spirit – it required only an international solution to the problems between the Ukrainians and the Poles. However, it is known that the conflict between the two hostile nations only grew, forcing the ZUNR government to appeal again to Washington in search of a fair solution. On December 29,

1918, the message was sent to the White House by Eugene Petrushevych (Petrouchevitch) (1863 – 1940), the ZUNR President. In the message he protested against the hostilities of the Polish side. *“The Polish Government at Warsaw is continually sending troops in large number to Eastern Galicia. Its object is to overthrow by military force the former Ukrainian state of Halytch reestablished within its territory by the Ukrainian nation in the exercise of the peoples’ right of self-determination and at present constituted as the “Western Ukrainian Republic” and to annex it by violence to the Polish kingdom.”* (The President of the National Council of the Western Ukrainian Republic (Petrouchevitch) to the Acting Secretary of State, 1942, p. 420), – the Ukrainian leader wrote.

In the letter the Polish general Tadeusz Rozwadowski (1866 – 1928), the head of the local Polish military formations, was accused of leading the movement for Halychyna’s accession to Poland. The ZUNR chairman accused the latter of ordering the arrest of the Ukrainian civilians as hostages and sanctioning the brutal pogroms. (The President of the National Council of the Western Ukrainian Republic (Petrouchevitch) to the Acting Secretary of State, 1942, p. 420).

Eugene Petrushevych (Petrouchevitch) also noted that together with the repressive actions in Halychyna, *“Polish emissaries carry on with the Governments of the Allies and in the press a campaign of most incredible slander and lying against the Ukrainian nation of the Western Ukrainian Republic to prevent any neutral step being taken by the Governments of the High Allies”* (The President of the National Council of the Western Ukrainian Republic (Petrouchevitch) to the Acting Secretary of State, 1942, p. 420).

Eugene Petrushevych (Petrouchevitch) also accused Romania of aggression against Ukrainian Bukovyna. *“The Roumanian army has likewise occupied the Ukrainian parts of Bukowina and annexed them to Roumania in the name of King Ferdinand”* (The President of the National Council of the Western Ukrainian Republic (Petrouchevitch) to the Acting Secretary of State, 1942, p. 420), – E. Petrushevych wrote.

All these acts of aggression by Poland and Romania were interpreted by the President of the ZUNR as the principles violations of the nations’ self-determination, proposed by the US President W. Wilson. He hoped that the United States, which was one of the leading initiators of the final collapse of the “scrappy empire” into nation states, would help withdraw Polish and Romanian troops from the territory, where the Ukrainian population was predominant. Eugene Petrushevych’s message ended in the call for the respect for the state aspirations of the Ukrainians (The President of the National Council of the Western Ukrainian Republic (Petrouchevitch) to the Acting Secretary of State, 1942, p. 420).

It is clear that the conflict between the Poles and the Ukrainians, which flared up in the eastern regions of the former Austro-Hungary, became an important factor in destabilizing the international situation in the region. W. Wilson’s idealistic principles concerning the right for self-determination did not, in reality, become a universal mechanism for resolving the local national problems, since the peoples, who wanted to exercise this right, were more in number than Washington calculated, taking into account the US geopolitical interests. Undoubtedly, W. Wilson’s administration accounted on Poland, which seemed to be an ideal means of “de-Prussiation” and “de-Bolshevization” of Eastern Europe. On the other hand, the state, which was the main initiator of the principle implementation of the right of nations for self-determination, could not ignore the appeals of the Ukrainian people, even because it “tarnished” its participation in the German project of the national states. This dilemma was to be resolved in the nearest future.

It should be noted that during this period, Washington did not have a sustainable action plan for the national future of Eastern Halychyna. The group of intellectuals was formed in

September 1917, in W. Wilson's administration. The members of the group "The Inquiry" were to work out the foundations of the postwar world order and in May 1918 they could not yet determine the context, in which the political processes in the region could be considered – in Ukrainian or in Polish. In particular, in the organization's report on May 10, 1918 it was mentioned that "*the nationalist questions involved in Galicia are being studied as part of the Polish question, though the group of men working on Austria-Hungary study Galicia in its political and economic relations to the Austro-Hungarian Empire*" (Report on the Inquiry, 1942, p. 83).

Since the beginning of the military conflict between the Ukrainians and the Poles in Eastern Halychyna, its resolution was identified by "The Inquiry" as one of its priorities. In particular, in the note of one of the leading members of Captain Walter Lipman's organization to S. E. Moses, the head of the organization, of December 5, 1918, it is stated: "*Very serious troubles have occurred in Lemberg between the Poles and the Ruthenians, raising in an acute form the problem of eastern Galicia*" (Captain Walter Lippmann to the Chief of the Section of Territorial, Economic and Political Intelligence of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Mezes), 1942, p. 320).

The diplomats had to be responsible for the case. In particular, Archibald Cerry Coolidge (1866 – 1928), an American diplomat, a member of "The Inquiry", was given the task to make clear the situation in the city. A. Coolidge was considered an expert in Eastern European affairs, who had performed the diplomatic missions in Russia during the recent months. On December 27, 1918, he was sent to Vienna with a special mission. One of his tasks was to appoint an American agent in Lviv to monitor the situation in Eastern Halychyna (The Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Professor A. C. Coolidge, 1942, p. 219).

On January 9, a special message was sent to the White House, in which the diplomat outlined his vision of the development of the political situation in Eastern Halychyna and his recommendations regarding the resolution of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. In particular, he proposed to grant autonomy to the already declared ZUNR government, at least until the final resolution of the Ukrainian issue at the international peace conference. A truce had to be declared between Poland and the ZUNR before the end of the conference. "*A promising suggestion that has been made is that a truce should be concluded between the Poles and the Ukrainians under the terms of which eastern Galicia should be left as an autonomous district in the hands of its present Ukrainian possessors, and Lemberg be ruled by a government half Pole and half Ukrainian, until the Peace Conference shall have determined the final boundaries*" (Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace, 1942, p. 227), – it was mentioned in the document.

A. Coolidge believed that the military forces of both sides, involved in the conflict, could be used to fight with the Bolsheviks.

It should be noted that A. Coolidge was not the only one supporter of the truce establishment in Eastern Halychyna. In particular, from the very beginning of the conflict, the same position was taken by official London, Washington's chief ally. On November 15, 1918, the government telegramme was sent to the State Department, stating: "*His Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires has been informed that His Majesty's Government would view with serious displeasure any military or other action of the Polish Government in East Galicia or elsewhere of a nature to prejudice or forestall the decisions of the Peace Conference*" (The British Chargé (Barclay) to the Secretary of State. Memorandum, 1942, p. 346).

In the end, taking into account the totality of the external and internal factors that influenced the US policy towards Poland and Eastern Halychyna, it was decided to consider it in detail in the format of the Paris Peace Conference, which began its work on January 18, 1919. Several “Great 5” meetings (the USA, the UK, France, Italy and Japan) were held during January and February. The Polish representatives were also invited. Finally, at two meetings, held on February 12 and 26, 1919, the creation of a special Polish commission was announced to develop the mechanisms for resolving the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Eastern Halychyna. By the end of this process, the truce was established between the warring sides.

The Conclusions. During November 1918 – February 1919, Washington acted as an arbiter in the process of resolving the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Eastern Halychyna, which resulted from the efforts of both sides to implement the idea of creating an independent state using the US-proclaimed principle of “the right of nations for self-determination”. Both Poland and the ZUNR, claiming the control of the region, engaged in the international struggle actively, including the appeal to the White House, seeking for the recognition of their claims as legitimate. This activity turned out to be quite effective for the ZUNR. Owing to the repeated appeals for help to W. Wilson’s administration, the declarations that the proclamation of the Ukrainian state was the realization of the principle of the nations’ self-determination, the Western Ukrainian government made sure that its interests were no longer ignored, despite Washington’s support of Poland.

The US policy on the further resolution of the Polish-Ukrainian military conflict will be analyzed in the next scientific articles.

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**THE FORMATION OF NON-FORMAL GROUPS OF NOMENCLATURE
IN THE USSR DURING THE 1930-IES (ON THE EXAMPLE
OF THE SOVIET PARTY LEADERSHIP IN DNIPROPETROVSK REGION)**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Research. The main purpose of the research is to cover principles of the existence and functioning of the Soviet party leadership in Dnipropetrovsk during the 1930-ies – at the beginning of the 1940-ies. **The Methodological Basis.** The research is based on the principle of systematicity, anthropologist and interdisciplinary. **The scientific novelty** lies in the fact that it was the first time in the Ukrainian historiography that on the background of the memoirs and archival documents analysis the attempts to clarify the reasons of the Dnipropetrovsk nomenclature formation during the end of the 1930-ies – the beginning 1940-ies as well as to demonstrate the consequences of the “nomenclature revolutions” in Dnipropetrovsk region were made. **The Conclusions.** It was clarified that during the 1930-ies in the environment of Dnipropetrovsk party nomenclature occurred a short-term consolidation around the top figure in the region – Mendel Khataievych. The

local version of a “leader cult” formed in the region. That process was interrupted by political repressions in 1937 – 1938. During the “Great Terror” almost all Soviet party nomenclature of the region was killed. The so-called “staff revolution” launched “political mobility” that opened wide opportunities to promote alive lower levels leaders. After that “cleaning”, the highest management of Dnipropetrovsk region was reached by Leonid Brezhnev, Kostiantyn Hrushevii and etc. There were names who would the so-called “Dnipropetrovsk clan” be associated with since the 1950-ies up to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the representatives of the clan held the highest party and government posts used to give tone to the political system of the USSR. Renovation of the party system in Dnipropetrovsk region connected with Mykyta Khrushchov and his appointees Demian Korotchenko and Semen Zadionchenko.

Key words: Dnipropetrovsk, nomenclature, regional elite, “Great Terror”, “staff revolution”, КР(б)У, “cultism”, patron-clientelism.

ФОРМУВАННЯ НЕФОРМАЛЬНИХ ГРУП НОМЕНКЛАТУРИ В СРСР 1930-Х РОКІВ (НА ПРИКЛАДІ ПАРТІЙНО-РАДЯНСЬКОГО КЕРІВНИЦТВА ДНІПРОПЕТРОВЩИНИ)

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Основною метою статті є висвітлення принципів існування та функціонування партійно-радянського керівництва Дніпропетровщини у 1930 – на початку 1940-х рр. **Методологічна база дослідження.** Робота ґрунтується на принципі системності, історизму, антропологізму, міждисциплінарності. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії, на основі аналізу мемуарної літератури та архівних документів було здійснено спробу з’ясувати, яким чином відбувалося формування дніпропетровської номенклатури кінця 1930 – початку 1940-х рр. та показати наслідки “номенклатурної революції” на Дніпропетровщині. **Висновки.** Нами було встановлено, що протягом 1930-х рр. у середовищі дніпропетровської партійної номенклатури відбувається короткострокова консолідація довкола першої особи в регіоні – Менделя Хатаєвича. Тут формується локальна версія “культу вождя”. Цей процес був перерваний політичними репресіями 1937 – 1938 рр. Під час “Великого терору” була вибита майже вся партійно-радянська номенклатура регіону. Ця так звана “кадрова революція” запустила “політичні ліфти” – відкрила ціллим керівникам нижчих рівнів широкі можливості для просування вгору. Після цієї “чистки” до вищого керівництва Дніпропетровщини потрапили Леонід Брежнев, Костянтин Грушевий та ін. Саме з іменами цих діячів буде асоціюватися так званий “дніпропетровський клан”, представники якого клану, з кінця 1950-х рр. і аж до розпаду Радянського Союзу займали найвищі партійно-державні посади, “задавали тон” політичній системі СРСР. Відновлення партійного апарату на Дніпропетровщині пов’язано з Микитою Хрущовим та його висуванцями – Дем’яном Коротченком і Семеном Задіонченком.

Ключові слова: Дніпропетровськ, номенклатура, регіональна еліта, “Великий терор”, “кадрова революція”, КР(б)У, “культизм”, “патрон-клієнтелізм”.

The Statement of the Problem. One of the most urgent problems of the modern Ukrainian state is political corruption. Partially, the people of Ukraine inherited it from the Soviet Union along with a modernized planned economy, absence of civic institutions as well as bureaucratized political system which is riddled with the non-formal connections. Till 1991, these non-formal mechanisms of state power and exchange supported more or less the sustainable social, economic and political situation in the USSR. After the collapse of “the Red Empire”, the situations radically changed. There was a break with the United Centre which had been coordinating almost all spheres of the state life. In the consequence of this break-away, the collapse inside the regional elite, which had their patrons in Moscow, occurred. These most influential clients entered into a struggle against their patrons regarding resources and leading roles in the independent country, Ukraine. Along with its political practice, the

Soviet elites transit slows down the democratic progress of Ukraine. Successful freedom from such a Soviet legacy requires a thorough knowledge of a political elite that Ukraine has inherited from the Soviet Union. Taking this fact into consideration, the research of the regional elite of Dnipropetrovsk region of the 1930-ies is essential regarding its future establishment as the Dnipropetrovsk clan.

The Analysis of the Research. A huge number of scientific works is dedicated to the research of political nomenclature of the Ukrainian SSR of the 1930-ies. Particularly, the research of Zaporizhzhian scientist Mykola Frolov should be mentioned (Frolov, 2011). According to the research, most attention paid to the formation problem and functioning of the Soviet Ukrainian political system during 1920 – 1930-ies, the sources and mechanism of the nomenclature formation of the Ukrainian SSR elite are shown as well. An essential contribution concerning the research of party nomenclature was made by Mykola Doroshko. In his key research “Nomenclature: the ruling elite of Soviet Ukraine (1917 – 1938)”, the history of the origin and feature of the Communist-Soviet nomenclature of the Ukrainian SSR during 1917 – 1938, as well as motives of the party officials’ elimination by Stalin’s regime in 1937 – 1938 reveals (Doroshko, 2008). In the investigations of Valerii Vasiliev, the conflict between the senior leaders of the Ukrainian SSR and USSR which resulted in the destruction of personnel of the sub-centre power during “the Great Terror” are disclosed (Vasyliev, 2014).

Viktor Mokhov, a Russian scientist, pays particular attention to a theoretical rethinking of practices that are typical for the Soviet regional elites (Mokhov, 2000; Mokhov, 2003). In the important work of Oleg Khlevniuk “Master of the House: Stalin and His Inner Circle” the author “illuminates the secret inner mechanisms of power in the Soviet Union during the years when Stalin established notorious dictatorship” and gives the detail analysis of “how and why the party and government purges and large-scale repressions of 1937 – 1938 carried out” (Khlevniuk, 2008). Among recent works published in the series “The History of Stalinism”, the researches of Archibald Getty (Getti, 2016), Gerald Easter (Ister, 2010), Evan Mawdsley and Steven White (Modkli & Uayt, 2011) should be mentioned. Through three investigations with some variations, the problem of non-formal practice in the framework of party elite of the Soviet Union is described. At the same time, gained experience regarding studying non-formal groups and practices of nomenclatures requires precise revision/verification on the particular examples. Taking all mentioned-above into account, the great relevance and interest in studying Dnepropetrovsk party clan should be stated.

The Purpose of the Research. Dnipropetrovsk nomenclature of the 1920-ies – the beginning of the 1930-ies particularly had been formed with “Varangians” (Burenkov, 2018, pp. 281–287). The purpose is to identify whether the principle of local leadership nomenclature selection had changed during the 1930-ies.

The Statement of the Basic Material. From February 1933 to March 1937, the senior secretary of Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee was a “barbarian” Mendel Khataievych, who was transferred to Dnipropetrovsk region from the position of the secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U (Russian State Archive of Socio-political History, f. 17, d. 3, c. 914, p. 13). Khataievych as a representative of the higher Soviet party elite in Ukraine used to support collectivisation and was one of the Holodomor 1932 – 1933 organisers. In that period, there was a formation of the so-called “Khataievych cult” in Dnipropetrovsk. Such regional “cultism” was reflected in the names of enterprises, collective farms, streets and parks. The name of Khataievych was given to the newly built palace of pioneers and “Central park of culture and leisure” (currently Lasar Globa Park) in Dnipropetrovsk city

(Brezhnev, 2019; Kavun, 2019). Such “cultism” was extended to all levels of leadership elite of the USSR (Getti, 2016, p. 78).

On March 17, 1937, Khataievych was dismissed from the position of the senior secretary of Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee and appointed as the second secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U. However, he did not stay on the new post for a long time, so on 9 July 1937 he was arrested for a fabricated case as a participant the so-called “Centre of Rightists and Trotskyites”. On 29 October 1937, the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced him to death for “the participation in a counter-revolutionary and terrorist organisation” – execution (Martirolog zhertv, 2019).

The withdrawal of Khataievych from the cohort of the regional party elite and later from the political field of the Soviet Union as well was caused by another campaign regarding a fight against the internal party enemies and Stalin personally. In many types of the research, some scientists try to prove that Khataievych was repressed due to the fact that he at one of the plenum sessions of the Regional Committee, in August 1936, claimed: “Practically, our leadership have elements of authoritarianism. Obviously, our organisation is not an exception as the elements of authoritarianism have not met liquidation in other organisations too. Against such declaration, grovelling in front of an individual, the manifestation of autocracy, I personally... always opposed the agitated ascension and any other rituals that were introduced and implemented in many places uselessly” (Ivanenko, 2019). To our mind, there is no need justifying physical destruction of Mendel Khataievych only for his critical declaration on one of the plenums. The main reason was the general direction to the total elimination of the nomenclature “old guards” as an influential and relatively independent from Stalin political elite of the USSR.

Khataievych belonged to the cohort of leaders, who thought “they deserved the status of an elite member due to their former “merits for the party”, tried to create conditions for their unprecedented participation in the state managing through regional sub-centres (Ister, 2010, p. 27). Stalin made considerable efforts in the fight against interparty groups. Speaking on the plenum of the Central Committee which was held in February and March 1937, he sacrificed the practice of personnel resources based on the principle of a personal commitment to the patron: “... sometimes people are selected by political and business principles, but with the point of view of personal acquaintance, devotion, friendly relationships, generally on account of the conventional character, features which should not be in our practice... What does it mean to carry a whole group of friends...? It means that you have received a kind of independence from local organisations and, if you want, some independence from the Central Committee. It has its own group, I have mine, they are devoted to me personally. This method of people selection is not good. This method is not a Bolshevik-like, I must say, anti-party-like method of people selection. Comrades must get this method over while it is not too late” (Zakliuchitelnoe slovo, 2019). Therefore, the motives to remove M. Khataievych were obvious.

Around the whole territory of the USSR in 1937 – 1938, there was a wave of the “Great Terror”. That murderous policy of “cleanings”, which was launched with the initiative and direct participation of Stalin, touched all population groups and did not pass any regional party elites. According to different estimates, in the result of cleaning from 50 to 70% of the Soviet nomenclature representatives were killed. Consequences for the political system of the USSR in 1937 – 1938 are often evaluated as the “staff revolution”.

Two waves of political repression in Dnipropetrovsk region should be singled out. The first wave of repression is relatively limited to the period from May to July in 1937,

the second one occurred in October 1937 – January 1938. The result of the cleaning campaign was a particular elimination of a local political elite, which used to belong to the teams of first secretaries of the Dnipropetrovsk the Oblast Committee of M. Khataievych and N. Marholin.

The first wave “washed away” region the party leaders of Dnipropetrovsk region along with the First Secretary of the Oblast Committee of CP(b)U M. Khataievych from the political map of the whole region. There was a long list of repressed members of the Regional Committee such as S. Oleksandrov (Head of the Propaganda Department), P. Vetrov (the Second Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk City Committee), H. Oleksiienko (the Deputy Head of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Executive Committee), I. Rumiantsev (the Head of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Court), S. Dayn, V. Yablonskii, S. Taran, A. Nosach, as well as Yu. Makieiev, N. Tanyhin and M. Matveiev (thereafter secretaries of Dniprodzherzhynsk, Kryvyi Rih and Zaporizhzhia City Committees). During the first wave of repressions, 13 secretaries of the regionals CP(b)U committees became victims. An important source that helps to find out the motives of the elimination of those Dnipropetrovsk leaders is a letter of the communist Kuliakin to the Central Committee of All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (AUCP(b)) concerning M. Khataievych: “1. The Comrade Khataievych, as an “observant communist” claimed, brought the Red one and turned out to be the public enemy; 2. Brought Leyser and turned out to be the public enemy; 3. Brought Levitin and turned out to be the public enemy; 4. Lehkyi, head of the regional department of the local industry – the public enemy; 5. The Head of the Regional Executive Committee Havrylov – the public enemy; 6. The Deputy Head of the Regional Executive Committee Broun – the public enemy; 7. The Secretary of the Regional Executive Committee Vronskiy – the public enemy; 8. Lehkyi, Head of the Local Industry department – the public enemy; 9. Aleksieienko, the Head of the Regional Planning – the public enemy; 10. The Deputy Goltenberg – the public enemy; 11. Sabsai, the Head of Trade – the public enemy; 12. Filippov, an employee of the Regional Committee – the public enemy; 13. Mykhailov – the public enemy; 14. Leibenson, a Secretary of the City Committee – the public enemy; 15. Komarovskiy, an employee of the City Committee – the public enemy; 16. Yahnetynska, an employee of the City Committee – the public enemy; 17. Holubenko, the Head of the City Council – the public enemy; 18. Akhmatov, the Regional Prosecutor – the public enemy; 19. Hetman, a bank director – the public enemy; 20. Hyurin, Budkevych...” (Archive of the President of the Russian Federation, f. 3, d. 24, c. 316, pp. 113–116).

During the second wave of the arrests, the newly appointed personnel of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee bureau headed by the First Secretary Natan Marholin and Mykola Nikitchenko, the heads of departments, secretaries of the cities and regional committees of the party, secretaries of party committees of large enterprises, as well as the heads of executive committees were sentenced to the prisons of the NKVD (Tereshchenko, 2002, p. 139). In addition, O. Viktorov, the first Secretary of Dnipropetrovsk LCSYU (Lenin’s Communist Society of Youth of Ukraine) and his follower Ye. Heiro, as well as I. Yanutan, the secretary of the Nikopol City Committee, were arrested and executed (Tereshchenko, 2002, p. 140). I. Fediaiev and his followers were shot away (Ivanenko, 2001, p. 23).

Generally, during the whole period of repressions, 59 out of 87 members of the Regional Committee, which put together 67 % of the overall members, were shot away (Ivanenko, 2001, p. 23). That “cleaning” of regional elites and Dnipropetrovsk one, in particular, launched “political mobility” that opened wide opportunities to promote alive personnel of management. There was a necessity to fill the «office gap» which occurred in the result of those cleanings.

After the “Great Terror”, Mykyta Khrushchov, who on 27 January 1938 was appointed as the First Vice Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, was assigned to renovate regular work of the CP(b)U. The situation in Ukraine impressed Khrushchov very much (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 163, c. 1181, p. 115). In his memoirs, Mr Khrushchov described the situation he had seen accordingly: “It seems that Mamai has passed Ukraine. As he told, there were neither secretaries of the regional committees in the republic, nor heads of the regional executive committees” (Khrushchev, 1997, p. 35). On a personal commission from Stalin, Khrushchov had travelled all over the republic and controlled selection process of new appointees on the positions of repressed predecessors. Stalin paid particular attention to Dnipropetrovsk. Why? Khrushchov answered that question with his own suggestion: “Maybe, he was worried about the situation in Dnipropetrovsk as he was afraid of being an industrial collapse” (Khrushchev, 1997, p. 37).

Before the arrival to Dnipropetrovsk region, Mykyta Khrushchov had a personal conversation with Stalin, who proposed him to appoint Demian Korotchenko the First Secretary of Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee (Khrushchev, 1997, p. 37). So that happened. Post of repressed Natan Marholin was taken by his old acquaintance Korotchenko who used to work in Bauman district in Moscow during the 1930-ies. Meanwhile, Marholin was a secretary of a district committee, D. Korotchenko was a Head of the district executive committee (Zverev, 1973, p. 131). It should be noticed that M. Khrushchov used to work in the same district committee. In our opinion, it was he, who had lobbied Korotchenko to be appointed as the First Secretary of Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee.

During his travel all over Dnipropetrovsk region, Khrushchov visited other big industrial cities of the region which were Zaporizhzhia and Dniprodzerzhynsk. In Dniprodzerzhynsk, the head of the republic first met Leonid Brezhnev and Leonid Korniets (Khrushchev, 1997, p. 37). In his memoirs, Khrushchov recalled that acquaintances poor enough, without any details: “we began to nominate the latter for party work, form party management. Then, Korniets was promoted. He was a secretary of a district committee in one of the Dnipropetrovsk villages. Except for Brezhnev, one more appointee from Dniprodzerzhynsk was nominated to the Propaganda Secretary of the party regional committee” (Khrushchev, 1997, c. 37). D. Korotchenko, a newly appointed head of the Ukrainian SSR government, recommended Khrushchov to promote L. Korniets. In the summary of 21 February 1938, prepared by the department of CP(b)U Central Committee executives, it was mentioned next: “Comrade L. R. Korniets has reasonable experience in party management, is knowledgeable in agriculture, Soviet work. Currently, he is working as the First Secretary of a large CP(b)U District Committee in Melitopol. Comrade Korotchenko characterizes him as a responsible and proactive worker. He might be promoted as a Second Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk CP(b)U Regional Committee” (Kerivnyky uriadiv, 2019). In fact, Korniets worked on that position from February to August in 1938. After short-term work on the position of the Second Vice Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee, Khrushchov pushed him to the position of a Head of Presidium in Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR (Lozyskyi, 2005, p. 203). In July 1939, a position of the Third Secretary of the CP(b)U Central Committee was established which was held by Dmytro Korotchenko, and Leonid Korniets started to serve as a Head of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (Lozyskyi, 2005, p. 74). Therefore, Khrushchov used to actively help his nominees to held high posts on the ruling Olympus of the republic.

Taken the post of the Vice First Secretary of the Regional Committee, D. Korotchenko did not serve there for a long time. No sooner than two months, he had been promoted with

the help of Khrushchov. On 19 February, on the session of the Politbureau of the CP(b)U, the decision was made: “to approve comrade D. S. Korotchenko as a Head of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR dismissing him from the duties of the First Vice Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk CP(b)U Regional Committee” (Kerivnyky uriadiv, 2019).

In February 1938, the First Secretary of Dnipropetrovsk CP(b)U Regional Committee was appointed Semen Zadionchenko, who took the position till July of 1941. He was a “barbarian” in the local nomenclature, was in friendly relationships with two of his processors N. Marholin and D. Korotchenko. All three used to do a party work at the same time in Bauman district in Moscow (Zverev, 1973, p. 131).

The election of S. Zadionchenko was the beginning of local party organization renovation after the “cleanings” 1937 – 1938. The formation of a new elite in the region started.

The Soviet party government bodies began a centre of local nomenclature consolidation. The most influential government body in the region was a Regional Committee bureau, which consisted of 9 members and 2 candidates to members (State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk Region, f. 19, d. 3, c. 324, pp. 17–18). In 1941, on the First Plenum of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee new members of the bureau were elected regarding Semen Zadionchenko as the First Secretary, Second and Third were Kostiantyn Hrushevii and Pavlo Naidenov; Leonid Brezhnev as an agitation and propaganda secretary; Mykhailo Kuchmii as a human resources secretary; Kostiantyn Karaiev as a head of the Regional Executive Committee; Mykola Menziuk as the Second Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk City Committee; Kostiantyn Dobrosedov commander of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army (Red Army) Corps stationed in the region, as well as Leonid Lukych as a Head of the Industrial Department. H. Shevchenko (Head of the Agricultural Department) and H. Belchenko (Secretary of the LCSYU Regional Committee) were chosen as candidates to members of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee Bureau.

All mentioned-above members and candidates to the members of Dnipropetrovsk CP(b)U Regional Committee were the representatives of the so-called new generation of the region leaders, who substituted the previously eliminated elite.

The Conclusions. Summarising, during the 1930-ies inside the environment of Dnipropetrovsk party nomenclature occurred a short-term consolidation around the top figure in the region – Mendel Khataievych. The local version of a “leader cult” was formed in the region. That process was interrupted by political repressions in 1937 – 1938. In our view, the specificities of forming and functioning of a regional “cultism” in the USSR require a separate and more detailed study.

During the “Great Terror” almost all Soviet party nomenclature of the region was killed. “Personnel Revolution” of 1937 – 1938 provided significant opportunities for career advancement of the survived leaders of the lowest levels. The so-called “staff revolution” launched “a political mobility” that opened wide opportunities to promote alive lower levels managers. The renovation of the party system in Dnipropetrovsk region was tightly connected with Mykyta Khrushchov and his nominees Demian Korotchenko and Semen Zadionchenko. Except the above-mentioned leaders, Leonid Brezhnev became the most influential and Dnipropetrovsk clan was formed around him.

In the following researches, it is important to observe the further fortune of the «local» representatives of Dnipropetrovsk Soviet party nomenclature and identify their influence on the republican and all-Union levels. After studying these questions, we would have an opportunity to explain features of formation and functioning of the so-called Dnipropetrovsk clan.

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STATUTE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COSSACK MOVEMENT (UNAKOR) (1935) AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to publish and analyze the statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) (1935) as a source for the history of the specified organization and legal culture of the Ukrainian Cossack movement. The research methodology – principles of scientificity, objectivity, historicism, methods of external and internal critique of sources. The research novelty is that the Statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) (1935) was first published and analyzed as a historical and historical and legal source. The Conclusions. Thus, the Statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) was approved on 1 June 1935 by the UNAKOR Military Authority and signed by military clerk I. Voloshyn and military osavul V. Zolotareno. Although this document is known to researchers, it has not been analyzed separately as a historical source. The statute in its original version is kept in the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine and the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine in Kyiv. In this article we use a document from the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine. The Statute is divided into three sections: I – a historical sketch of the movement (10 subparagraphs); II – UNAKOR program (26 subparagraphs); III – UNAKOR Regulamine (19 subparagraphs).*

We consider it an important historical source for the history of the functioning of the whole Cossack movement and the history of the development of domestic legal thought.

The document is published in the original language. The edition retains the vocabulary, authoring and editorial features of the source as much as possible. Own and geographical names are presented without changes. Only the most obvious grammatical errors were corrected. The document is accompanied by a legend, indicating the place of its storage (the name of the archive, the number of the fonds, descriptions, cases, pages).

Key words: UNAKOR, Volhyn, Ivan Poltavets-Ostrianytsia.

СТАТУТ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО КОЗАЦЬКОГО РУХУ (УНАКОР) (1935 Р.) ЯК ІСТОРИЧНЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО

Анотація. Мета дослідження – опублікувати і проаналізувати статут Українського національного козацького руху (УНАКОР) (1935) як джерело до історії зазначеної організації та правової культури українського козацького руху. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, об'єктивності, історизму, методи зовнішньої та внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що уперше публікується Статут Українського національного козацького руху (УНАКОР) (1935) та здійснюється його аналіз як історичного та історико-правового джерела. **Висновки.** Отже, Статут Українського національного козацького руху (УНАКОР) було затверджено 1 червня 1935 р. військовою Управою УНАКОР та підписано військовим писарем І. Волошином і військовим осавулом В. Золотаренком. Попри те, що цей документ відомий дослідникам, він окремо не аналізувався як історичне джерело. Статут в оригінальній редакції зберігається у Галузевому державному архіві Служби безпеки України і Центральному державному архіві вищих органів влади та управління України в м. Київ. У цій статті використовуємо документ із Галузевого державного архіву Служби безпеки України. Статут складається із трьох розділів: I – історичний нарис руху (10 підпунктів); II – програма УНАКОР (26 підпунктів); III – регулямін УНАКОР (19 підпунктів). Вважаємо його важливим історичним джерелом до історії функціонування цілого козацького руху та історії розвитку вітчизняної правової думки.

Документ публікується мовою оригіналу. У виданні максимально збережено лексику, авторські та редакторські особливості джерела. Без змін подано власні та географічні назви. Виправленню підлягали лише найбільш очевидні граматичні огріхи. Документ супроводжується легендою, в якій зазначено місце його зберігання (назва архіву, номер фонду, опис, справи, аркуші).

Ключові слова: УНАКОР, Волинь, Іван Полтавець-Острияниця.

The Problem Statement. Participants of the national liberation competitions of 1917 – 1921 who went to emigration did not abandon the idea of continuing the struggle. In January 1923, I. Poltavets-Ostrianytsia founded the Ukrainian National Cossack Society (UNAKOTO) in Munich. This military organization aimed to unite and restore the independence of Ukraine to lead, which was to be headed by a hetman with unlimited power. UNAKOTO used elements of national-socialist ideology. In the programming documents, democratic principles of government were rejected, and discriminatory provisions were introduced against representatives of other nationalities. In 1923 – 1924, UNAKOTO had its own printed body – the illustrated monthly “Ukrainian Cossack” (Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), f. 2, description 8 (1959), case 3, p. 130). The need to intensify the Cossack movement, to attract new members, to modernize the program forced I. Poltavets-Ostrianytsia to liquidate UNAKOTO and to create UNAKOR instead (Burim, 2013, p. 189).

Searching for allies, in the early 1920s, I. Poltavets-Ostrianytsia established contacts with the leaders of the National Socialist Movement in Germany, A. Hitler and A. Rosenberg. Several letters of I. Poltavets-Ostrianytsia to A. Hitler (20 April 1923, 27 May 1935) showing these contacts have been preserved. In them, the UNAKOR leader expressed readiness

to cooperate with Germany, subject to the obligations of the Brest-Lithuania Peace Treaty. In the 1920s – 1940s, contacts were made with the German side with varying intensity and effectiveness. Since the outbreak of the German-Soviet War, UNAKOR has supported the occupiers (Bondarenko, 2016b, p. 26).

Serious image damage of UNAKOR was caused by an open trial against a group of its members accused of anti-Polish subversion and espionage in favor of Germany. In September 1936, Polish police arrested leading figures of the movement. On 27–30 April 1937, a trial of 44 UNAKOR members and their leader I. Voloshyn took place in Lutsk. Only two defendants were acquitted, the rest were imprisoned for a long time. On 15 July 1939, 13 members of the UNAKOR centers in Zapillia village of the Liuboml district of Volyn region were arrested, eight of whom were imprisoned (Tronko, 2010, p. 17).

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The problem of studying Ukrainian emigration in general and the activities of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement have been the subject of research by a number of Ukrainian researchers. In particular, a thorough research on the impact of interwar Ukrainian political emigration on the social life of the Volyn Voivodeship was prepared by Ruslana Davydiuk (Davydiuk, 2016; Davydiuk, 2018). The development of scientific and educational activity of Ukrainian emigration was investigated by A. Portnov (Portnov, 2008). In the context of the study of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Western Ukrainian lands, UNAKOR was analyzed by M. Hon (Hon, 2005). The works of V. Kosyk, H. Prokoptschuk, Yu. Kaliberda, O. Savchuk, and T. Ostashko are devoted to the studies of the life and battle path of Ivan Poltavets-Ostryanysia (Kosyk, 1993; Prokoptschuk, 1958; Kaliberda, 2011; Savchuk, 1993; Ostashko). Ivan Poltavets-Ostryanysia's little-known letters to Adolf Hitler were published by D. Burim (Burim, 2013). The works of V. Bondarenko, V. Lobodaiev, T. Ostashko, and V. Troshchynskyi are devoted to the issues of formation, transformation and peculiarities of Cossack movement activity in Ukraine and abroad (Bondarenko, 2016a; Lobodaiev, 2010; Ostashko, 2000; Troshchynskyi, 1994). The documentary array of Ukrainian emigration is analyzed in the work of Tetiana Boriak (Boriak, 2011). The researchers from Ternopil Andrii Kryskov and Volodymyr Hruzyn devoted their work particularly on the formation of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (Kryskov, Hruzyn, (n. d.)). In these works, the statute of the Society was often mentioned, but no attempt was made to analyze it in detail.

The purpose of the research is to publish and analyze the statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) (1935) as a source for the history of the specified organization and legal culture of the Ukrainian Cossack movement.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Continuing to combat any dissent, possible manifestations of anti-Soviet activity (both in the past and in the 1950s), law enforcement agencies began to develop former members of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement, which, after the end of the German-Soviet War, was returned to their previous place of residence largely repatriated, tried to establish ties with their fellow-citizens and relatives who lived in Volhyn (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, pp. 122–123). In order to intensify the development of UNAKOR members, to identify their practical anti-Soviet activities, and to intercept communication channels abroad, Soviet law enforcement bodies used an agency (recruited five agents from former UNAKOR members), while seeking through this agency opportunities to acquire a new agency (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, p. 124).

At the same time, on 21 July 1952, by a corresponding decree, Deputy Chief of Division 2 of Section 4 of the Office 2-N of the Ministry of Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Senior

Lieutenant Babych, extracted materials in separate proceedings from the case No. 96 that described the activities of Ukrainian Cossack organizations during the Nazi occupation. In particular, the above materials contained the statute (1 June 1935) of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement, an instruction for the military administration of Ukrainian Cossacks, and a translation from German of “Ideology of Ukrainian Free Cossacks” (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, pp. 1–2). In addition to the organizational documents in the newly formed case, records of UNACOR’s activity and records of interrogations of its members are kept.

Soviet security officials had accurate information about the origins of the movement, the ideological basis and the governing body. In particular, in a memorandum prepared on the basis of the analysis of investigative and agent materials, security officers claimed that the UNAKOR corps began to form in the territory of the Volyn region in 1924; it was organized by Ivan Voloshyn and headquartered in Lutsk. The number reached about 600 participants. Organizational instructions for practical work came directly from Hetman I. Poltavets-Ostrianytsia. In 1936 – 1937 I. Voloshyn together with the headquarters was relocated to Horokhiv, Volyn region. In 1939, during the annexation of Western Ukraine to the USSR, I. Voloshyn and the headquarters moved to Holm (Poland) (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, p. 120). Until 1942, I. Voloshyn was in charge of leading the UNAKOR members through Ivan Sytnyk (who, as of October 1952, lived in Kolomyia and worked in the Office of Coal Exploration). In 1942 I. Voloshyn returned to Horokhiv. Immediately afterwards, he was arrested by the Ouns and shot dead (Pustomyty village of Lokachi district, Volyn region). Therefore, the head of UNAKOR in Horokhiv district remained Porfyrii Sytnyk. In 1943, UNAKOR numbered up to 250 people and extended its activities to the Horokhiv, Berestechkiv and Senkevichi districts (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, p. 121). During the German-Soviet War, the UNAKOR organization operating in Volyn region was armed and carried a security and police service (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, p. 132).

The governing body of the organization was the committee, which consisted of the most active UNAKOR members, headed by the Ataman. The committee consisted of departments: organizational, administrative, propaganda and intendant. The organizational department was in charge of Cossack military training, arms supplies, uniforms, recruiting and admission of new members. The administrative department managed the internal affairs of the organization. In addition, through the head of this department, communication was made with UNAKOR commandant, gendarmeries, the Cossacks were supervised and the issue of their life was resolved. The propaganda department conducted agitation and propaganda among the Cossacks and the population aimed at attracting new people to UNAKOR, held rallies and spread appeals to the population. The intendant department was supplying the organization with food.

The entire rank-and-file structure of UNAKOR was united in one sotnia. The sotnia was divided into divisions. In the short term, it also included the Cavalry Cossack Division, numbering about 20 people. It was made up of Don Cossacks who were evacuated by the Germans with their families at the time of the advance of Soviet troops on the Don (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, p. 39). However, this department existed for about a month and was disbanded because there was no common ground for horse feed. The leader of the sotnia in their activities directly reported to the head of the organizational department. Under the command of the sotnyk there were unit commanders who conducted military training with the Cossacks. Initially, the sotnia had 20 rifles, a submachine gun, grenades and consequently 30 rifles and a machine gun. The team of the organization was armed with revolvers (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, p. 40).

At the beginning of September 1943, a part of the UNAKOR in the city of Horokhiv was selected for military training and moved to Starokostiantyniv (now – Starokostiantyniv district of Khmelnytskyi region). After completing a three-week training course, the UNAKOR members had to return to Horokhiv. However, on the way back after training, they were captured by Bandera members and taken with them to the forest. Therefore, these UNAKOR members acted as part of the UPA formations (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, pp. 41, 44).

UNAKOR had been in Horokhiv since its foundation – mid-1943 until the end of January – early February 1944, after which it moved to Kamianka in Lviv region. It located there for about three weeks, and then returned to Horokhiv because of the intense activity of the Soviet guerrillas (SSA SSU, f. 2, d. 8 (1959), c. 3, p. 48).

The main document for UNAKOR's activities was the Statute. The Statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) in its original version is stored in the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (f. 2: Department of Combating Banditry of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Department 2-N and Department 4 of the MSS-KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, d. 8 (1959), c. 3 (Control-supervising case with materials on management and control over agent-operative work against the so-called Ukrainian National Cossack Movement “UNAKOR”), pp. 23–25). Another copy of the statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) is to be found in the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine in Kyiv (f. 4465: Collection of Documentary Materials of Ukrainian Nationalist Emigrant Institutions, Organizations and Persons, d. 1, c. 296, pp. 1–3). In this article we use a document from the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine.

A number of researchers believe that the political provisions outlined in the UNAKOR Statute are close to those of the early German National Socialist and Italian fascist movements (Bondarenko, 2016b, p. 22; Hon, 2005, p. 128; Hon, Zaremba, Kozerod, Pohrebynska, Podolskyi, & Turov, 2011, p. 154). The efforts of I. Poltavets-Ostrianytsia to bring UNAKOR ideology closer to the national-socialist one were due to the desire to gain the support of Germany. However, the Gestapo did not recommend cooperating with this organization because it considered it to be a small, paper-only entity (as of 1935 it had united approximately 300 people in Volhyn) (Kosyk, 1993, p. 55; Hon, 2005, p. 128; Hon, Zaremba, Kozerod, Pohrebynska, Podolskyi, & Turov, 2011, p. 154).

The Statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) was approved on 1 June 1935 by the UNAKOR Military Administration and signed by military clerk I. Voloshyn and military osavul V. Zolotarenko. The Statute is divided into three sections: I – a historical sketch of the movement (10 subparagraphs); II – UNAKOR program (26 subparagraphs); III – UNAKOR Regulamine (19 subparagraphs).

The first one provides a historical overview of the development of the Cossack movement. It is emphasized that the traditions of the Cossack movement were revived on 3 October 1917, outlining the goals for which the activities were directed. Therefore, the main stages of the formation of the restored Cossack movement and its participation in the processes of state formation are outlined. By the way, this section clearly distinguishes the hetman P. Skoropadskyi's identity into the background and putting I. Poltavets-Ostrianytsia in the foreground.

The second section reveals the programmatic goals of UNAKOR. The primary focus is on the right of self-determination on the basis of which the Organization seeks to restore the independence of the Ukrainian Hetman-Cossack state. It is emphasized that hetmanate is the

only natural form of organization of state power in Ukraine. Authorities should be formed on the basis of extra-class and non-partisan principles.

The foundations of a monarchical form of government were laid – at the head of the state was a life-long elected Hetman, whose power extended to all territories and was based on the whole people, without class or party preferences. Hetman was the guarantor of national and social equality of all citizens. At the same time, it was emphasized that the reconstruction of the state had to be carried out taking into account the traditions and history of the Cossack era.

The Statute called on the international community to hold a referendum on the issue of determining independence under the control of the international commission and the protection of the international police. In foreign relations, the basic vector was outlined – cooperation with all states and peoples who support independence and statehood. All visitors were guaranteed full protection in accordance with state laws. However, they were strictly forbidden to interfere in the internal affairs of the state.

It was clearly stated that the right to work in government and the legislature belonged exclusively to citizens. The principle of appointment to public office was established not by party affiliation, but by professional criteria, personal qualities and achievements.

The general equality of all citizens was determined. The collective should prevail over the individual – the interests of the state should prevail over the interests of the individual citizen.

The socio-economic foundations of the future state were outlined. State control over large private enterprises remained. The need to resolve the land issue for landless and smallholder citizens was declared. Free lands and large estates of any form were to be transferred to the State Land Fund, from which both the respective national-state enterprises and individual citizens were to be granted in the form and norm established by state law.

There was a need for a complete revision of the legal framework, the development of new laws that should have been based on Cossack traditions.

State guarantees were given to orphans, widows, persons with disabilities, in case of disability, etc. The need for a general secondary education was emphasized and the ability of capable and talented to receive a higher education was highlighted. Much emphasis was placed on physical health and the promotion of sports. Freedom of religion was determined. At the state level, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was recognized.

The third section described the principles of UNAKOR's internal structure, regulating its use as a governing body for the fight for the state reconstruction of Ukraine. The parliamentary model of government was rejected as ineffective under the circumstances. It was emphasized that it was not the programs, but the frames that bring them to life, that are crucial. It was necessary to prepare the masses for the struggle and education of the youth, which would give adequate resistance to all the invaders.

UNAKOR was located on the territory of Ukraine; it had a vertical construction to which the personnel were personally selected. However, the headquarters were located abroad, with offices of UNAKOR in a number of countries. The functional structural bodies of UNAKOR were the villages (at least 15 people) and farms (at least 5 people).

To join the ranks of UNAKOR, it was necessary to apply to the stanitsa resident or village ataman and to recognize the statute.

Exception from the ranks of UNAKOR was exercised by the ruling starshyna, but the act was authorized by the UNAKOR management center. An emphasis was placed on the observance of decent military behavior, which was supposed to inspire both him and the movement as a whole.

The statute eliminated UNAKOTO and the UNC, instead created a new organization, UNAKOR, as a direct successor to the Free Cossacks, founded at the Chygyryn congress on 3 October 1917.

The Conclusions. Thus, the Statute of the Ukrainian National Cossack Movement (UNAKOR) was approved on 1 June 1935 by the UNAKOR Military Authority and signed by military clerk I. Voloshyn and military osavul V. Zolotarenko. Although this document is known to researchers, it has not been analyzed separately as a historical source. The statute in its original version is kept in the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine and the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine in Kyiv. In this article we use a document from the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine. The Statute is divided into three sections: I – a historical sketch of the movement (10 subparagraphs); II – UNAKOR program (26 subparagraphs); III – UNAKOR Regulamine (19 subparagraphs). We consider it an important historical source for the history of the functioning of the whole Cossack movement and the history of the development of domestic legal thought.

The document is published in the original language. The edition retains the vocabulary, authoring and editorial features of the source as much as possible. Own and geographical names are presented without changes. Only the most obvious grammatical errors were corrected. The document is accompanied by a legend, indicating the place of its storage (the name of the archive, the number of the fonds, descriptions, cases, pages).

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The document

СТАТУТ

Українського Національного Козацького Руху “УНАКОР”.

I.

Історичний нарис руху.

Волею Всеукраїнського Козацького З’їзду від 3-го жовтня 1917 року в м. Чигирині на Київщині було відроджене Українське Козацтво.

Вважаючи себе авангардом в боротьбі за Самостійну Українську Гетьмансько-Козацьку Державу, Українське Козацтво стало до праці на захист нижче наведеного програму:

1. Самостійна Українська Гетьмансько-Козацька Держава.
2. Союз Українських Земель.
3. Тверда національна державна влада.
4. Організація козацького війська, як головної підвалини самостійності і державності України.
5. Вирішення земельного питання на користь малоземельного і безземельного громадянства.
6. Забезпечення законом українським робітникам їх соціальних прав і інтересів.
7. Негайне проголошення автокефалії української православної Церкви.
8. Союз з Козацькими та Кавказькими Державами.

9. Мир і порозуміння з державами почв'їрного союзу.

10. Українське козацтво, оббираючи Військову Старшину і Раду, надає їм право кооптації та право вироблення і зміни Статуту.

Українська козацька рада працювала по організації козацтва під проводом першого козацького ідеолога і діяча Військового Отамана Івана Полтавця Остряниці до січня 1918 року в м. Білій Церкві на Київщині, а потім, з посуненням німецького війська на Україну, в м. Києві.

Усунувши в квітні 1918 року інтернаціонально-соціалістичний Уряд Центральної Ради та встановивши на Україні ГЕТЬМАНАТ, – Козацтво продовжувало далі свою працю по організації національно-державних сил українського козацького народу і навіть добилося через Івана Полтавця Остряницю /обраного тоді вже Генеральним писарем України/, від Гетьмана України Універсалу 16 жовтня 1918 року, що накреслював початковий ґрунт до традиційного козацького державного устрою на Україні. Хоч і вузько були означені права козацького народу в цьому гетьманському універсалі, всеж дав він змогу довести козацькі лави до 15000 козацьких родин.

14 грудня 1918 р. Павло Скоропадський, зрікся своїх гетьманських прав наступною Грамотою:

“Я, Гетьман усієї України, на протязі семи з половиною місяців прикладав усіх своїх сил, щоб вивести край з того тяжкого становища в яким він перебуває. Бог не дав мені сили справитись з цим завданням, і нині я, з огляду на умови, які тепер склались, керуючись виключно добром України, ВІДМОВЛЯЮСЬ ВІД ВЛАДИ. 14.XII.18. Київ.”

Павло Скоропадський

/див. Д. Дорошенко. “Історія України” т. II. стор. 424./

По зреченню Гетьмана, та з приходом до влади Директорії УНР Козацтво стало творити полки і загони для боротьби з ворогами України під проводом таких славних борців як Балбачан, а почасти вимушено було вийти на скитальщину як і за часів Мазепи та Орлика.

4-го вересня 1920 року в Берліні, частина Військової Козацької Старшини, за виключенням б. Гетьмана Скоропадського, що по проголошенню федерації з Москвою, грамотою від 14.XII.18 зрікся від гетьманських прав, – односторонньо постановила відновити працю по організації козацтва під проводом Військового Отамана і Генерального писаря України полковника Івана Полтавця Остряниці.

В березні 1921 року осідком штабу Військового Отамана став Мюнхен, де в той час виходив до життя молодий націонал-соціалістичний німецький рух. Близькість цього руху, а також і фашистського національному і соціальному змісті з українським національним козацьким рухом, дало можливість до контакту і співпраці. В 1923-24 виходив український козацький орган “УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КОЗАК”.

Чим далі, тим сильніше розгорталась увага і прихильність українського козацького народу та його руху з боку впливових національних чинників чужоземних держав, що глибоко розуміли вагу відбудови САМОСТІЙНОЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГЕТЬМАНСЬКО-КОЗАЦЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ на сході Європи.

Так ішла протягом довгих років, для нашої еміграції може незамітна, але на ділі важлива праця на користь українського козацького народу під проводом полковника Івана Полтавця Остряниці.

І надалі під тим же проводом буде іти Українське козацтво дружними лавами до виборення САМОСТІЙНОСТІ І ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ українського козацького народу

на посадах означених Всеукраїнським козацьким з'їздом від 3.Х.17 р. та на основах нижченаведеного Програму Регуляміну під гаслом: - БОГ І УКРАЇНА.

Кожен козак-побратим мусить знати що вороги нашої державности уживають всіх засобів аби побивати нас – через нас же самих.

Тому УВАГА! – Будьмо дійсними козаками і не губімо пильности, щоби не стати використаними ворогом: “Козак є від Бога поставлений усім вище і лише свому козакові побратимові є він вірний товариш та свому батькові Військовому Отаманові є він ВІРНИЙ КОЗАК”.

II.

Програма УНАКОР

1. Ми жадаємо САМОСТІЙНОЇ Української Гетьмансько-Козацької Держави, на основах прав народів на самоозначення.

2. Державна влада на Україні мусить бути надкласовою і надпартійною, маючи перед собою лише національні і соціальні інтереси українського козацького народу.

3. Сьому завданню відповідає лише наша традиційна історична Гетьманська влада, що об'єднується в особі доживотно обраного народом: - ГЕТЬМАНА усієї УКРАЇНИ обох боків ДНІПРА та ВІЙСЬК КОЗАЦЬКИХ І ЗАПОРІЖСЬКИХ.

4. Взглядно з сим, новітній український Гетьманат має нести з собою всенародній спокій і замирення клясів, тоб то бути Гетьманатом НАДКЛЯСОВИМ і НАДПАРТІЙНИМ. – Він мусить спертись на активні сили нації, тоб то бути Гетьманатом НАЦІОНАЛЬНИМ. – Він мусить упорядкувати соціальне життя народу і забезпечити свобідне виявлення праці продуктивних сил в державних межах тоб то бути Гетьманатом СОЦІАЛЬНИМ.

5. Українська народня козацька держава є примушена спертись на свою довговікову і славетню історію козацької доби, бо наше народження тепер, є не що иньше як висновок незміримих офір боротьби і праці попередніх поколінь. Тому національно-державне відродження в сучасний мент є поверненням на історичний державний шлях, – але для руху наперед новими та кращими засобами.

6. Ми виступаємо перед цілим культурним світом з домаганням допомогти нашій праці і вжити всіх заходів до того аби на радянській Україні, за посередництвом міжнародної комісії та під охороною міжнародної поліції, було як найскоріше переведено всенародне голосованя за САМОСТІЙІСТЬ.

7. Ми ідемо до порозуміння і союзу з сусідніми народами, як також з тими світовими народами які визнають нашу САМОСТІЙНІСТЬ і ДЕРЖАВНІСТЬ.

8. Ми вважаємо членом українського козацького народу того, хто посідає громадянські права української козацької держави, виконує її закони та підлягає її державній владі

9. Чужинці, що перебувають часово на Україні, вважаються яко гості і користуються повним захистом з боку державних законів і установ. Втручання чужинців у внутрішні справи України є заборонено.

Прим: Означене в п. 9, відноситься також і до емігрантів, що преходово чи постійно перебувають на Україні.

10. Право участі в уряді та виробленю державних законів, належить лише громадянам.

11. Усі державні посади мають обсаджуватись не по партійній приналежності, а лише на основі особистих заслуг перед Державою і Нацією чи на основі особистих здібностей.

12. Ми вимагаємо аби чужинці, що вивандрували на Україну з північного терену сучасного радянського союзу ССРСР, після 1 березня 1917 року і осіли на постійне життя, – залишили межі України.

13. Усі громадяне української козацької держави мають рівні права і обов'язки. Держава має пеклуватись на сам перед про добробут своїх громадян.

14. Першим обов'язком кожного громадянина є продукувати духовно і фізично на користь Нації і Держави. Діяльність окремих одиниць не може бути скерована проти інтересів загалу, а лише в межах спільних інтересів на загальну користь.

15. Ми жадаємо державного контролю усіх великих приватних підприємств та участі робітників в прибутку сих підприємств.

16. Ми жадаємо організації установ і домів про пеклування за сирит, вдов, старість, інвалідів, калік та т. и.

17. Ми жадаємо досконального і кінечного вирішення земельного питання на користь безземельного і малоземельного громадянства на основах прав власности.

18. Вільні землі та великі маєтности усякого вигляду переходять до державного земельного фонду, з котрого мають наділятись як відповідні національно-державні підприємства, так і окремі громадяни в формі і нормі установленій державним законом.

19. Ми жадаємо боротьби закону проти тих хто шкодитиме загальним державним інтересам українського козацького народу.

20. Ми жадаємо повного перегляду законів та вироблення нових які би базувались на традиціях українського козацького народу на укладі його громадського та соціального життя.

21. Ми жадаємо вироблення системи загальної шкільної освіти та їх фахів, аби кожен здатний і працьовитий громадянин зміг дійти до вищої освіти і провідництва.

22. Ми жадаємо аби держава пильно дбала про фізичне оздоровлення народу, тому вправи і спорт мають бути обов'язково поширені в народі.

23. Ми жадаємо установлення постійного рекрутово-реєстрового козацького війська, організованого згідно вимогам сучасної стратегії, тактики і техніки.

24. Ми жадаємо свободу усіх віросповідань, але також заборони порушення національного, етичного і морального почуття українського козацького народу.

25. Українська автокефальна православна Церква є головною Церквою і має знаходитись під безпосереднім пастирством ПАТРІАРХІВ всея УКРАЇНИ.

26. Без грошей і маєтків, а лише з вірою в серці в загальне, святе національне діло, підіймаємо ми прапор боротьби за Самостійну українську гетьмансько-козацьку державу та кличемо до праці увесь український нарід на терені і по за ним суцый.

III.

Регулямін УНАКОР

1. - Сила УНАКОР залежить від плянної праці, та від активности і дисципліни окремих козацьких відділів на Україні і по за її межами.

2. - УНАКОР веде боротьбу за державну відбудову України згідно вище наведеного статуту. Тому козацтво мусить знати, що парламентаризм не на часі: - Потрібна: ідейність, єдність, активність і дисципліна.

3. Український козацький нарід мусить твердо памятати, що йому до сього часу бракувало не програмів, – а людей волі щоби сі програми перевести в життя.

4. Усі питання українського державного життя та змагань до самостійности, були вже давно розв'язані на папері, – бракувало лише людей розуму і волі, аби перевести їх в дійсність.

5. Тому український козацький нарід в програму УНАКОР мусить зробити собі догмат віри і зачати дихати тією гарячою національною активною силою, без якої є мертві усякі програми.

6. Коли ми не озброємось сією вірою, не знищимо посеред себе пасивности, не зробимо з нас і молодого покоління граніту об який розібьється кожен чужий молот і меч, – то нас розглять і поглинуть вороги і нам знову придеця викреслити з нашої історії одну а то і дві сотні років.

7. Тому праця УНАКОР іде на засадах будови організації зверху вниз, шляхом персонального підбору козаків-побратимів, оминаючи усяке виборче начало.

8. УНАКОР знаходиться на терені України. По за межі України знаходиться лише ідейний керуючий центр та представництва УНАКОР.

9. Права і обов'язки сього ідейного керуючого Центру установлені додатковим Регуляміном внутрішнього керування УНАКОР.

10. В метях поширення руху УНАКОР, закладаються станиці і хутори, як по наказу, так і по властному почину. Станиця: не менше 15 козаків в одному місті і хутір: не менше 5 козаків в одному місті.

11. Праця таких станиць, хуторів чи інших установ УНАКОР, опреділюється окремим наказом центру.

12. Побратимами УНАКОР можуть бути українські козаки і козачки та козаки і козачки самостійники інших козацьких народів, що визнають Статут і Регулямін УНАКОР.

13. Виключеня з лав УНАКОР, може перевести кожен урядуючий Старшина, але акт про виключеня потребує санкції керуючого центру УНАКОР.

14. Вступивши в лави УНАКОР, кожен побратим має поводитись в усьому яко лицарь, аби сим досягнути поваги серед своїх і чужих як до себе так і до УНАКОР та козацтва.

15. Кожен побратим має твердо пам'ятати про те, що усю свою працю і волю він мусить скерувати до як найширшого зрісту УНАКОР за рахунок ідейних, активних, чесних і дисциплінованих побратимів.

16. Бажаючі вступити в лави УНАКОР, подають Станичному чи Хуторському Отаманові заяву слідуючого змісту: “Я/ім'я прізвище/ вступаючи в лави УНАКОР, заявляю, що свідомо приймаю Статут і Регулямін УНАКОР та словом козацької чести зобов'язуюсь бути активним і дисциплінованим побратимом.”

/ім'я, прізвище. Адреса. Поручителі./

17. День св. Покрови Запорозької Богоматері 1-го жовтня, є днем загального свята українського козацького народу і УНАКОР.

18. Істнувавше Укр. Нац. Коз. Т-во / УНАКОТО/ і Укр. Нац. Коз. /УНК/ є Керуючим центром УНАКОР – розв'язані і їхні печатки уневажені. Вразі під цією назвою десь з'являться такі гуртки, то побратими мусять знати що там криються або провокатори, або вороги єдности українського козацтва і про то мусять попередити як центр УНАКОР так і інші українські нац.орг. та уряд. установи відп. Держави.

19. По справам УНАКОР, належить звертатись на адресу Військової Управи УНАКОР:

Вище наведений статут і регулямін УНАКОР по дорученню Ідейного Керуючого Центру Українського Козацтва

С Т В Е Р Д И Л А:

Військова Управа УНАКОР.
Військовий Писар УНАКОР. Військовий Осавул УНАКОР.

Іван ВОЛОШИН В. Золотаренко

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Скитальщина.

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**THE CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS ISSUE OF 1938
(BASED ON THE PERIODICALS OF SUBCARPATHIAN RUS')**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the materials of the periodicals of Subcarpathian Rus', which contain some information and interpretations of the essence of the Czechoslovak crisis of 1938, with regard to the peculiarities of interstate and international relations, and the formation of new political realities in Eastern Europe. The research methodology is based on a combination of principles (historicism and objectivity) and methods (general scientific and special-historical) of scientific work. The scientific novelty of the article consists in an attempt to interpret the factors influencing the deployment of the Czechoslovak crisis and the position of the public and informal policies of European states in action and their contribution to the formation of Carpathian Ukraine as an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia. The Conclusions. The public assessment of the political events of the autumn of 1938 is best demonstrated by the press, which is the subject of this article research. Based on some periodicals of Subcarpathian Rus' (Ruthenia), the development of international relations is shown for*

key world powers, which played a diplomatic game with each other, seeking to turn a political vector in a direction that would be safe for them. During August–November 1938 in the newspapers “Slovo” (Word), “Ukrainske Slovo” (Ukrainian Word), “Svoboda” (Freedom), “Nova Svoboda” (New Freedom), “Vpered” (Forward), “Karpato-Russkoye Slovo” (Carpathian-Russian Word), “Nash Put’” (Our Way), “Karpatorusskiy Holos” (Carpathian-Russian Voice) and “Rusyn” (Ruthenian) reported about different aspects of international relations. In early September 1938, the newspapers noted that Germany was suggesting that the support of Czechoslovakia by the United Kingdom and France could lead to a military conflict. The public concern of Subcarpathian Rus’ regarding Germany’s aggressive plans was revealed by the press as was the appeasement of the world powers. The crisis raised the visor of Great Britain and France, which virtually agreed with every next aggressive step of Hitler. Public despair is demonstrated by the title of one article of the newspaper “Vpered” – “New borders or national death”. The headline about the second Czechoslovak crisis carried the slogan “The great Success of World Politics” and led to a conference in Munich on September 29–30, 1938. The research of the Munich conference revealed the true aspirations and demands of Europe economic opponents. Following the Munich conference, the Czechoslovak crisis faced internal political conflicts and complex international claims. Territorial claims of Poland and Hungary allowed Hitler to justify a subsequent annexation of the Sudetenland by an international nature of the demands advanced on the Czechoslovak Republic.

Analyzing materials of the press of Subcarpathian Rus’, covering international relations in the autumn of 1938, we found out that the publications under review had a wide access to information regarding diplomatic negotiations, a political game of world powers, gave an estimation of the events and analyzed their cause-and-effect relations.

Key words: the Czechoslovak crisis of 1938, the Carpathian periodicals, press, Subcarpathian Rus’ (Ruthenia), Carpathian Ukraine.

ПИТАННЯ ЧЕХОСЛОВАЦЬКОЇ КРИЗИ 1938 Р. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ПЕРІОДИКИ ПІДКАРПАТСЬКОЇ РУСИ)

Анотація. Метою дослідження є аналіз матеріалів періодичних видань Підкарпатської Русі, які містять інформацію та інтерпретації сутності чехословацької кризи 1938 р., що стосується специфіки міждержавних та міжнародних відносин і формування нових політичних реалій у Східній Європі. **Методологія дослідження** базується на поєднанні принципів історизму й об’єктивізму та методів (загальнонаукових і спеціально-історичних) наукової роботи. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі інтерпретувати фактори, що впливають на розгортання чехословацької кризи та позицію публічної та неформальної політики європейських держав у дії, їх внесок у формування Карпатської України як автономної частини Чехословаччини. **Висновки.** Публічна оцінка політичних подій восени 1938 р. найкраще демонструється пресою, що є предметом дослідження цієї статті. Згідно з інформацією періодичних видань Підкарпатської Русі (Русі), розвиток міжнародних відносин залежав від дій ключових світових держав, які грали між собою дипломатичну гру, прагнучи скерувати політичний вектор у безпечному для себе напрямі. У серпні–листопаді 1938 р. газети “Слово”, “Українське слово”, “Свобода”, “Нова Свобода”, “Вперед”, “Карпато-Русское слово”, “Наш путь”, “Кarpatorusskiy golos”, “Русинь” розповіли про різні аспекти міжнародних відносин. На початку вересня 1938 р. газети зазначали, що Німеччина, приховуючи власні агресивні плани, звинувачує Великобританію і Францію у підтримці Чехословаччини, через що може статися військовий конфлікт. Суспільну стурбованість Підкарпатської Русі щодо зазіхань Німеччини на частину Чехословацької території виявила преса. Чехословацька криза показала позиції Великобританії і Франції, які практично погоджувалися з кожним наступним зазіханням Гітлера. Громадський відчай демонструється назвою однієї статті газети “Вперед” – “Нові кордони або національна смерть”. Заголовок наступної публікації мав гасло “Великий успіх світової політики”, що акцентував увагу громадськості на проведенні конференції в Мюнхені 29–30 вересня 1938 року. Після Мюнхенської конференції чехословацька криза посилилася внутрішніми політичними конфліктами та складними міжнародними претензіями. Територіальні претензії Польщі та Угорщини дали змогу Гітлеру виправдати подальшу анексію Судетської землі міжнародним характером вимог, висунутих до Чехословацької Республіки.

Аналізуючи матеріали преси Підкарпатської Русі, що охоплюють міжнародні відносини восени 1938 р., ми з'ясували, що оглядові публікації мали широкий доступ до інформації про дипломатичні переговори, політичну гру світових держав, оцінювали події та аналізували їх причинно-наслідкові зв'язки.

Ключові слова: чехословацька криза 1938 р., карпатська періодика, преса, Підкарпатська Русь (Карпатська Україна).

The Problem Statement. For 80 years after the signing of the Munich Agreement, historians, political analysts and publicists have been continuing to discuss the causes and consequences of the political crisis on the eve of World War II. Today scientific studies are enriched with new sources and deal with world-famous events from a different viewpoint. Specifically, the interpretation of the Munich Agreement of October 30, 1938 by the Ukrainian press of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, the region of Ukraine, which is nowadays known as Transcarpathia, is among the unexplored issues that significantly enrich the historiography of the problem, offering an assessment of the above-mentioned events from the national-state perspective, declared by international law.

The public assessment of the political events of the autumn of 1938 is best demonstrated by the press which is the subject of the research of this article. Based on some periodicals of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, the development of international relations is shown for key world powers, which played a diplomatic game with each other, seeking to turn a political vector in a direction that would be safe for them. Highlighting a source studies potential of the press media of Subcarpathian Ruthenia in the context of international escalation of the Czechoslovak crisis affords an opportunity to evaluate the events in the issue of their standpoint impact on the public opinion and to outline Ukrainian identity through the following:

- learning an ideological and political focus of the Subcarpathian Ruthenia press before the war;
- studying a thematic component, intensity and tone of response of Subcarpathian Ruthenia periodicals to international political events of the autumn of 1938;
- analyzing the factors of evolution of the Ukrainian press views on actions of world powers as well as Poland and Hungary before and after the signing of the Munich Agreement;
- evaluating the international events through the secondary press of Germany, England, France and other world powers.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. A detailed analysis of a source base and published studies where the authors dealt with the above-mentioned issue shows that certain aspects of Czechoslovak crisis II of 1938 in the region during the above-mentioned period were covered in works by such authors as: I. Hbranchak, M. Vehesh, V. Bodnar, V. Halas, I. Popp et al. (Hbranchak, 1999; Vehesh, 1997; Bodnar & Vehesh, 1997; Halas & Pop, 1995). Various aspects of domestic and foreign policies of Subcarpathian Ruthenia have been analyzed on the basis of archival documents and materials, made available to an academic community (Dokumenty i materialy. Khronika podii. Personalii, 2009). A considerable source array can be derived from the literary memoirs of Yuliy Brashchaiko and Augustine Stefan (Brashchaiko, 2009), who show a difficult stage of political development in the region while describing their professional activities. Such newspapers and magazines as the “*Slovo*” (*Word*), the “*Ukrainske Slovo*” (*Ukrainian Word*), the “*Svoboda*” (*Freedom*), the “*Nova Svoboda*” (*New Freedom*), the “*Vpered*” (*Forward*), the “*Karpato-Russkoye Slovo*” (*Carpathian-Russian Word*), the “*Nash Put*” (*Our Way*), the “*Karpatorusskiy Holos*” (*Carpathian-Russian Voice*) and the “*Rusyn*” (*Ruthenian*) serve as direct documentary evidence of

trends and features of the crisis events in 1938 through periodicals. Starting the presentation of the main material, it is worth noting that one of the means for shaping a political culture of Subcarpathian Ruthenia during the first half of the 20th century was the periodicals. That method was however effective, provided that democratic principles of a public space and political pluralism were implemented, which became apparent only during the entry of the region into the Czechoslovak Republic (1919 – 1939). In view of the announced political pluralism and its constitutional regulation in the state, there arose an issue of raising a level of a general culture and its capabilities for shaping the attitude of the population to international events.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Subcarpathian press widely covered the events of the political drama of the autumn of 1938: the prerequisites for Czechoslovak crisis II, diplomatic relations of world powers, the course of events regarding the conclusion of the Munich Agreement, etc., demonstrating a public vision of the region inhabited mainly by the Ukrainians-Ruthenians.

Czechoslovak crisis II of 1938 began in September but its manifestations had been felt even a few months before the historically known events. Viewing the events from the perspective of a collective interaction, one can actually trace through articles of the “*Nash Put*” newspaper (*Nash Put*, 3 September, p. 1) that the actions of Germany and its allies in August, including Hungary and Poland, were aimed at compromise. The “*Svoboda*” newspaper published the information about intentions of France and Britain to act in concert (the visit of the British royal couple to Paris) for amicable settlement of the Sudeten-German issue, which was also publicly accepted by the Germans (*Svoboda*, 13 May, p. 1).

On September 1, 1938, the “*Nova Svoboda*” quoted the words of German General Erich Ludendorff: “military capabilities of democratic states, which exceeded those of dictatorial and fascist states, and similarly military mathematics helped to temporarily maintain weak peace” (*Nova Svoboda*, 1 September, p. 1). The General expressed an opinion about the impossibility of a blitzkrieg of Germany and Italy, which would lose the war for lacking extensive resources for a long-term military campaign (*Nova Svoboda*, 1 September, p. 1). And the above was proved during the Spanish civil war, which exhausted the fascist states and forced them to put everything at stake in 1938, rattle the saber, set the allies at loggerheads and thus consolidate a dictatorial power.

The newspapers indicated that a military conflict that could be prompted by the Czechoslovak crisis was regarded by Germany in early September not only as a result of the intransigence of Czechoslovak authorities but also the support for such a policy by Great Britain and France. For that reason, after numerous negotiations of the British diplomat Lord W. Runciman and Ambassador N. Henderson with his German counterpart J. Ribbentrop in Berlin all the responsibility for the delay in the negotiations was placed on the representative of the United Kingdom. During the autumn Ukrainian periodicals time and again published items with reference to *Völkischer Beobachter*, where German public wondered why nobody remembered the demands of the Sudeten Germans. “The world offers a one-sided coverage of the affairs and is hostile to Germany and the German people. Why would England and France protect Czechoslovak interests rather than their own? It is impossible to solve the Sudeten-German issue with phrases and leave it to its fate. The Sudeten Germans have the right to decide their own destiny” (*Svoboda*, 16 September, p. 1).

The formation of a special attitude to the Czech Germans is confirmed by the statement of Hitler in the “*Svoboda*”, following his speech in Nuremberg on September 12,

where he demanded a just solution of the issue, emphasizing that 7 million Czechs oppressed 3.5 million Sudeten Germans and considered the latter traitors (Promova Adolfa Hitlera, p. 2).

In general, the Subcarpathian press of the first decade of September naturally presents a somewhat positive image of the head of the Third Reich. Tracing the evolution of journalistic connotations which certainly influenced a public opinion, we see that according to the information on hand, the first references to the Chancellor were made as early as at the end of 1937, when he assured the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain Lord E. Halifax that he would not lay a claim to Austria and Czechoslovakia, according to the Ukrainian diary of North America "Svoboda" (Svoboda, 21 May, p. 1). It reports on Hitler's actions in August-September of 1938 were of factual, often of a non-judgmental nature, then in October-November, prior to the Vienna conference, the press was sympathetic to Germany despite gloomy prospects of international relations.

In early August the "Vpered" press organ of the SDP (the Social Democratic Party) indicates that the head of the German Nationalist Party in the Sudetenland (the SNP) K. Heinlein, as one of the main subjects of the conflict at its beginning, pointed out that he demanded only autonomy from the Czechoslovak authorities and did not call for armed clashes (Vpered, 1 August, p. 1). In fact, in his interview with "The Daily Telegraph", he mentioned that while asserting rights of the German people, who were "not second-rate in the Czechoslovak Republic", his party did not seek to join Germany (Vpered, 1 August, p. 1). According to the press, however, the Germans exaggerated the problem of oppression in Czechoslovakia since Prime Minister M. Hodža made significant concessions to the Sudeten Germans within the third plan of W. Runciman. It was intended to set up five German cantons without violating the state border, which would possibly lead to the creation of a federal state in the future. And yet, according to Ukrainian periodicals, the situation provoked by Germany evolved in such a way that as soon as there had been autonomy negotiations initiated between the two conflicting parties, Germany began mobilization movements on the border and put a psychological pressure on the opponent.

The Prime Minister M. Hodža made concessions to not only the Sudeten Germans but also all national minorities inhabiting Czechoslovakia. However, according to *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 7, 1938, after discussion with the Sudeten Germans A. Hitler rejected the third version of the plan and returned to the previous Karlovy Vary program and the June Manifesto, which were on the verge, which was impossible to cross without undermining the state sovereignty (Ukrainske Slovo, 9 September, p. 2). Thus, the Czechoslovak leadership made unprecedented concessions to the SNP. The fourth plan was made public on September 10, when the activists of the Sudeten-German Party E. Kundt and M. Roche met with the Prime Minister and put forward the demands for a free distribution of Hitler's work "Mein Kampf" (Ukrainske Slovo, 15 September, p. 2). in the territory of the region, breaking off the relations with the Soviet Union and an increase in the number of German officers in the army up to 22%.

The situation in Czechoslovakia was aggravated by provocations committed by the Germans. On September 13, there was K. Heinlein's SNP uprising scheduled in the Sudeten region. In response, the authorities imposed a curfew in 11 German districts, banned mass meetings and closed the Party's printed organ *Die Zeit* (Svoboda, 12 September, p. 1). A telephone message to the Police Department of the Subcarpathian towns of Uzhhorod and Khust regarding arrests of all the SNP MPs, the magazine editors and forced surrender of

all private radio stations informs about the facts of a terrorist nature (State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region – SATR, f. 117, d. 1, c. 328, p. 26).

The “*Svoboda*” of September 16 describes the insurgency in Schwaderbach, with 23 killed and 75 wounded, and compares the events with the Spanish scenario (Svoboda, 16 September, p. 1). According to Czech police, the riots in Moravian Ostrava, Tropaw, Carlsbad, Cheb and Liberec were well planned and resulted in prosecution and suspension of the SNP activists Gellner and Mayer from political activities.

Subcarpathian periodicals contain information about persistent provocations on the German-Czechoslovak border. SNP activists, interested in chaos and confusion, armed with hand grenades and Iver automatic revolvers of German production, and spurred on by K. Heinelein’s appeals for “reunification with the German mother state and fight by all means against “foreign riders” (Ukrainske Slovo, 15 September, p. 1), made power assaults upon gendarmerie and post offices in the border lands. We learn from the press that border guards and customs officers used signal flares rather than fire arms for bullets not to reach the territory of Germany and complicate the already tense relations with the neighbor. Supporting the protesters, Hitler said that “...the Germans were neither unarmed nor defenseless and the Czechs would not chase them as a wild beast” (Svoboda, 17 September, p. 1). That speech has an unambiguous context because there were both the killed and wounded in the clashes whereas Czech courts did not react to the events through the so-called “inactivity” (Svoboda, 17 September, p. 1). The whole world watched the Czechs, German communists and socialists to start leaving the Sudeten.



Ordinance on the collection of refugees, Prague. 1938.

URL: <http://www.vhu.cz/exhibit/vyhlaska-o-sbirce-ve-prospech-uprchliku-1938/>

Newspapers of Subcarpathian Ruthenia along with the world press, in particular the Italian weeklies *L'Osservatore Romano* and *Il Popolo d'Italia*, wrote about the attempts to reach compromise with Great Britain aggressor in order to "save peace in the world" (Nova Svoboda, 21 September, p. 1). B. Mussolini, who strove to bring Italy out of the international isolation caused by sanctions was personally interested in diplomatic negotiations in Rome.

The "*Ukrainske Slovo*" weekly of 21.09.1938 noted a special diplomatic talent of the 70-year-old English Prime Minister N. Chamberlain, who "... as a true angel of peace, a prudent premier, an eternal optimist ...", with moral support of the USA, had made a statement on the next visit to Germany and a meeting with the Chancellor (Ukrainske Slovo, 21 September, pp. 1–2). After the signing of the Munich Agreement, the "*Nova Svoboda*" called him "the one, who did everything one person could do" (Nova Svoboda, 1 October, p. 2) whereas all columns of European publications, covering the above event, praised the efforts of Hitler, who was ready for negotiations and compromise rather than those of Chamberlain.

After Czechoslovakia had rejected Hitler's ultimatums, the compromise was to convene a conference of the four great powers. A campaign for convening the conference was also supported by well-known European politicians, such as the leader of the French Socialist Party L. Blum. In his opinion, the above would make it possible to ensure an Anglo-French or international guarantee of resolving the issue in the Sudetenland. After the talks on October 7, the politician, who was a consistent opponent of Nazi Germany and organized socialist movements in Europe, expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the Munich Agreement as a safeguard against the threat of war. The supporters of a different viewpoint, such as Mussolini, who defended the idea of a plebiscite, considered it the best option that would solve all issues. Neither Great Britain nor France supported the idea of the plebiscite because it would not solve the Czechoslovak-German issue, quite the contrary, it would worsen the crisis of ethnic identification of all European countries. The referendum did not meet the interests of any democratic state, and first of all Czechoslovakia, as announced by the Prime Minister M. Hodža on September 20. The allies of Czechoslovakia in the Little Entente bloc, Romania and Yugoslavia, which did not rely on any support of the already undermined interstate organization and France that was weakened in the international arena by actions of Poland, declared their neutrality and expressed concern about international events.

After the negotiations in London on September 18, the British and French parties agreed that the Sudetenland would be transferred to Germany without any plebiscite, which supposedly had not become an example for Hungary and Poland. The Communiqué also put an emphasis on the conditions for guaranteeing the borders of the state: Czechoslovakia was to renounce its treaty of alliance with the USSR. According to reports of the "*Nova Svoboda*" of September 21, the above in its turn caused a government crisis in France, Daladier found himself on the verge of resignation and workers of the foggy Albion came out again on strike (Nova Svoboda, 21 September, p. 2). However, as early as a month later, the Working People's Party of England approved the foreign policy of N. Chamberlain "for the sake of peace" (Nova Svoboda, 21 September, p. 2), and the French public, which insisted on the implementation of the Collective Security Treaty of the three European States on the eve of Munich, supported Daladier after the scheduled parliamentary elections.

The response of the Czechs to international events of those days was expressed by Edvard Beneš in his speech where the Czech politician asked his fellow citizens to stay calm, emphasizing the fact, which the whole world was unwilling to notice: "Our issue is undoubtedly one of the stages of German expansion to the east. Western states are afraid of war and

especially of what this war may bring along – social revolutions. England is concerned about the strong position of the USSR. Wrong steps may however lead to Bolshevization of England and France. States have to make concessions to German expansion. Interstate treaties and mutual defense or assistance pacts are losing their value” (Nova Svoboda, 24 September, p. 1).

It is noteworthy that at the meeting in Munich Hitler warned the participants against the danger from the Soviet Union. In September the Czechoslovak crisis became a part of the issue of world order and reorganization of relations in Europe (Germany, Auswärtiges Amt, 1940, p. 14). The crisis raised the visor of Great Britain and France, which virtually agreed with every next aggressive step of Germany. Public despair in Subcarpathian Ruthenia is demonstrated by the title of one article of the “*Vpered*” – “New borders or national death” (Vpered, 22 September, p. 1).

The Soviet Union was the only country which could be relied upon in terms of interstate assistance. Without putting pressure on his ally in actions, J. Stalin, as subcarpathian press where written, confirmed in an interview with the English publication “*The Times*” and shortly at the meeting of the Assembly of Nations on September 21 that he would come to Prague’s aid. It was promised that when the Poles would cross the Czechoslovak border, the Red Army (and on its Western border the USSR concentrated 1 million in early September and subsequently over 2 million land forces) would also cross the Western border and terminate the non-aggression pact with Poland. It is worth noting that both Poland and Romania refused to let the Red Army through their territories during a flare up of a potential conflict. On September 24, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR M. Litvinov called in Geneva for convening a trilateral meeting of the allies or else holding France responsible for its failure (Nova Svoboda, 23 September, p. 1).

It was indicated in post-war memoirs that the Soviet Union had been ready to provide specific military assistance to Czechoslovakia even without France but under two conditions: if Czechoslovakia would seek such help from Moscow and if it would defend itself from German aggression. The irony is that Czechoslovak public was friendly to the country of Soviets and expected its support. The weeklies of Subcarpathian Ruthenia reported that during September 24–27 there had been manifestations in support of government policy in Czech cities, with one of the slogans being “Long live the Soviet Union!” (Nova Svoboda, 28 September, p. 1). And on October 1, the same weeklies, describing the significance of “nonparticipation” of the USSR in the Munich conference, made use of other definitions in its respect, such as “the powerless power”, “powerlessness of the giant with feet of clay”, “the unreliable ally” and “the ruins of lost illusions” (Nova Svoboda, 1 October, p. 2).

Another political player of that time – the USA, which seemed to be on the sidelines of European events, gradually expressed its position. On September 13, the Americans announced that they were ready to delegate their representative to a conference in Geneva, which meant the end of the policy of American isolationism. According to the press, by mid-September the US Secretary of State C. Hull assured that the United States would be “a defender of a state upon which an act of aggression would be committed” (Svoboda, 11 September, p. 1). Yet on September 23 and 29, however, some information sources revealed Roosevelt’s intention not to cancel the peace negotiations “for the sake of resolving controversial issues” (Svoboda, 11 September, p. 1).

The turbulent September was marked by not only continuous negotiations but also active preparation for general mobilization of the absolute majority of European countries. The “*Vpered*” newspaper (Vpered, 15 October, pp. 1–2) provided a list of countries, which financed the mobilization campaign, specifically:

Table 1

Item	Country	Money spent on mobilization (bln. francs)
1	Great Britain	22
2	Germany	19
3	France	10
4	Italy	2
5	Holland	2
6	Belgium	1.5
7	Czechoslovakia	1
	Other	11.5
	Total	60

As seen from the statistics, the forces of democratic states exceeded those of the fascists but the Czechs, having found themselves in the role of victims, were forced to make concessions.

The Czechoslovak crisis demonstrated a deep unresolved conflict between Germany and France. The German threat was beginning to tell, which gave rise to fear that was growing (by the example of Austria) due to unpredictable actions of Hitler, who made decisions himself and even his inner circle was not always aware of his plans. Back in May 1938, Germany made a fortified line over the Rhine to make it impossible for the French to help the Czechs. On September 8, there were military exercises announced, which were to last from 8 weeks to 3 months. That period exceeded the one of the previous combat training exercises, which was explained by the German generals as a full cycle of military training for beginners. In the context of mobilization hysteria in Germany, factories and plants at the time were run in 3 shifts, the working week increased up to 60 hours. A decision was taken to extend the vacation until 1 October because there were still military units and reservists left in schools; there were peasants' personal transport and agricultural implements confiscated.



Fig. 1. Title pages of the publications *Narodna Politika* (People's Policy) and *Nova Svoboda* (New Freedom) with the headlines regarding general mobilization

A conference in Munich on September 29–30, 1938 became an apogee of Czechoslovak crisis II. Chief executives of Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France met under press slogans “Great success of world politics”, “The conference, held in the spirit of goodwill and solidarity”, “Concord of European states” to decide fate of the “major problem of Europe” (Nova Svoboda, 30 September, p. 1–2). Out of the great powers concerned, it was the Soviet Union, which was absent. On the one hand, it was publicized that the USSR had authorized the Head of the French government to represent its interests (in official sources, both the French and the Russians did not confirm the above). On the other hand, the dictators (according to E. Halifax) refused to participate in the conference, if they should see Soviet ambassadors in Munich. Justifying his demands, German Chancellor Hitler argued to E. Daladier and N. Chamberlain that the USSR leadership was not only trying to launch a strike at Hitler but also expected to unleash a world war, which might result in the Bolshevik revolution (Dokumenty i materialy kanuna Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, 1948, p. 97).

On the first day of the negotiations in Munich, unsettling news were transmitted to Ukrainian readers and the following items were published under yet another appeal of the authorities to remain unprovoked so as not to aggravate the difficult situation as it was: “We are failing to contain the military demon and will face a new world war that could drag on for years. And the events in our state necessitate the elimination of this state. Versailles Europe has died under the hegemony of England and France. The Munich Agreement turned the last page of this international history. But the system was destroyed not by this event but by the bursting out of the Abyssinian war, the remilitarization of the Rhine and the fiasco of the sanctions of 52 states against Italy”. (Nova Svoboda, 30 September, p. 1). Having found itself alone, betrayed by its yesterday’s allies, Czechoslovakia “has sacrificed itself for the sake of peace, with its hands down but its head up, although any sacrifice is a small price because the forces seek only conquest rather than peaceful coexistence” (Nova Svoboda, 23 September, p. 1).

Analyzing the negotiations in Munich in 80 years, we understand the reasons for the diplomatic game, untrue statements, vacillation and inconsistency of actions of the parties to the Agreement. It was significant that the Ukrainian press, covering the principled persistence of Germany, illustrated a clear duality of the position of official London. The speeches of N. Chamberlain concurrently featured both determined preparations for a military rebuff and reluctance “to dig trenches and test gas masks for a new war” (Ukrainske Slovo, 22 September, p. 1). Former British Foreign Secretary A. Eden pointed out in support of government policy: “If democracies fail to expel the disunity, the determination of the spirit of self-abnegation, how can they hope to hold out in the modern world? Democracies have to seek concord with dictatorships”. (Nova Svoboda, 21 September, p. 1).

The periodicals covering the Munich Agreement offer some conclusions expressed by supporters of various ideological viewpoints. Apart from the historically famous phrase of W. Churchill about “shame and war”, the Soviet newspapers the “*Izvestiya*” (News) and “*Pravda*” (Truth) called the Munich Agreement “the way that opened Ukraine for the seizure by the Nazis” (Nova Svoboda, 8 October, p. 1).

A poorly explored issue of the Munich talks is identification of true aspirations and demands of European economic opponents, which could really reflect the interests of Great Britain. The maxim of N. Chamberlain’s team “What is the point in feeding a cow that Hitler will slaughter anyway?” (God krizisa, 1990, p.179) was supplemented with the Spanish issue and the participation of volunteers in the civil war in Spain. Yet in 1937 the “*Karpato-Russkoy Slovo*” (Karpato-Russkoy Slovo, 15 November, p. 1) and “*Rusyn*” in 1938 (Rusyn,

27 January, p. 2) suggested that perhaps England was already ready to recognize the government of F. Franco because it required silver, copper and ore for its own needs. But Spanish nationalists, who had taken up the key positions, granted deposit concessions to Germany and Italy. In confirmation of that information the Ukrainian press reported that on October 1, 1938 B. Mussolini called for the withdrawal of volunteers from Spain, and on October 9 the League of Nations established a commission to monitor their withdrawal from the warring country. France, in its turn, fearing isolation, agreed to close the Pyrenees for transportation of munitions from the Soviet Union and concluded a trade agreement with Germany (God krizisa, 1990, p. 185).



Fig. 2. Munich Agreement map (the original).

URL: <http://www.hiu.cas.cz/cs/historicky-ustav-verejnosti-a-skole/jak-to-bylo-s-mnichovskou>

The "Nova Svoboda" of October 8 reported yet another result of Munich, namely the conclusion of the Anglo-German Non-Aggression Pact and the development of an identical document for France, followed by the drafting of Franco-German and Anglo-German treaties (*Nova Svoboda*, 8 October, p. 1). In addition, Daladier was pressurized to break off relations with the Soviet Union. The above-mentioned eventually deteriorated the relationship between Western countries and the USSR. According to *"The Sunday Dispatch"*, Germany was interested in Great Britain and France not signing agreements with the Soviet Union and allowed them a free hand in the east of Europe (*Dokumenty i materialy kanuna Vtoroi mirovoi voyny*, 1948, p. 136).

According to Subcarpathian publishers, the European states' policy of non-interference and appeasement of the fascist aggressors led to the situation when "...The fire of the war had not flared up because England feared that fire. And France helped its ally to extinguish the fire in such a way that a part of the house burned down though the fire was localized. The Great Powers bought out peace at the expense of the weaker. The Munich Agreement became another test for the League of Nations, which disguised the sad reality through diplomatic maneuvers. It is however impossible to deceive the world with a false game. The world saw that the Czechoslovak issue was considered one-sidedly without the involvement of the state itself. What new state would then to an operating table?" (*Ternystyi shliakh do Ukrainy*, 2007, p. 25, 69).

The involvement of the Great Powers of the world in solving the Czechoslovak issue did not come to ought after Munich either. *The "Ukrainske Slovo"* of October 4 reports that before the end of November there was to be held a plebiscite in the disputed lands of the Sudetenland after the pattern of the Saar region, which was to be watched by a corps comprising six English battalions. And the pliability of Czechoslovakia was rewarded by Great Britain in the form of a 10 million pound loan with subsequent accumulation of interest, which even Germany promised to join (*Ukrainske Slovo*, 4 October, p. 1).

The Conclusions. Analyzing the materials of the press of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, covering international relations in the autumn of 1938, specifically on the eve of and during Czechoslovak crisis II, we found out that the publications under review had a wide access to the information regarding diplomatic negotiations, a political game of world powers, gave an estimation of the events and analyzed their cause-and-effect relations. The newspapers pointed out the persistence of aggressive intentions of German Chancellor A. Hitler, who "played on nerves of Europe and the world". Using the language of the press, the world expected the war because no one spoke of preventing a catastrophe, and everyone tried to postpone it for the future.

The Munich events shocked the world but their result, according to publishers and readers of the Ukrainian press, was fair owing to implementation of international guarantees for self-determination of the enslaved peoples. The Nazi leadership expected as much, having successfully veiled its aggressive plans. However, a public opinion shaped by the press, despite positive connotations concerning the protection of national rights, recognized the political game dictated by Germany whereas world leaders were unable to reach an agreement.

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**SOCIAL SUPPORT OF THE POPULATION OF VOLYN
AND RIVNE REGIONS BY LOCAL COMMITTEES TO HELP
IN THE PERIOD OF THE NAZI OCCUPATION**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to investigate the problem of the social support for the population, who lived during the Nazi occupation in Volyn and Rivne regions by local aid committees. The methodology of the research is based on the general scientific and special historical methods. The work is based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity and the problem chronological approach. The scientific novelty is that for the first time on the basis of the archival documents and the press of that period, the basic principles of auxiliary institutions' functioning in the territory of Volyn and Rivne regions were investigated comprehensively: purpose, tasks, structure, directions of activity, sources of financing, relations with the occupying power. The Conclusions. It has been traced that the first organizations of this type began to appear in the region in the beginning of the 1941 and operated until January 1944. The support/ auxiliary committees network, which actively cooperated with each other, branched out sufficiently. The Local District Self-help Institutions coordinated the work of all committees, which exercised their powers through the District, City and Village Committees and were*

funded through: the self-taxation by employees of local institutions and organizations, the educational institutions, the voluntary donations, the membership dues, the membership fees, etc. In addition to Ukrainian, there were Polish aid committees. It has been investigated that these non-governmental organizations have taken care of the orphanages, kindergartens, schools, homes for the disabled, homeless shelters, maintained dining rooms, and organized kitchens. They provided food, clothing, heating materials, medicines, funds for those who needed it most – the sick, the widows, the orphans, the elderly, the single, the poor, the incapacitated, the prisoners' of war, the families whose members were taken to work in Germany and more. It has been proved that the activity of the institutions was controlled by the occupying power:

Key words: *local self-help institution, public organisation, the Nazi occupation regime, Rivne region, Volyn region.*

СОЦІАЛЬНА ПІДТРИМКА НАСЕЛЕННЯ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ ТА РІВНЕНСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТЕЙ МІСЦЕВИМИ КОМІТЕТАМИ ДОПОМОГИ В ПЕРІОД НАЦИСТСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати проблему соціальної підтримки населення, яке проживало в період нацистської окупації на території Волинської та Рівненської областей, місцевими комітетами допомоги. **Методологію дослідження** складають загальнонаукові та спеціальні історичні методи. В основу розвідки покладено принципи історизму, наукової об'єктивності та проблемно-хронологічний підхід. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше, на основі архівних документів, тогочасної преси, комплексно досліджено основні принципи функціонування допомогівих інституцій на території Волинської та Рівненської областей: мета, завдання, структура, напрями діяльності, джерела фінансування, взаємовідносини з окупаційною владою. **Висновки.** Простежено, що перші організації такого типу почали з'являтися в регіоні на початку осені 1941 р. і діяли до січня 1944 р. Мережа допомогівих комітетів, які активно співпрацювали, була достатньо розгалужена. Координували роботу усіх комітетів Окружні місцеві інституції самопомоги, котрі свої повноваження реалізовували через Районні, Міські та Сільські комітети, які фінансувалися через: самоподаткування співробітників місцевих установ і організацій, закладів освіти, добровільні пожертви, членські внески, прибутки з постановки вистав тощо. Окрім українських, діяли польські допомогіві комітети. Досліджено, що вказані громадські організації піклувалися про дитячі будинки, садки, школи, будинки інвалідів, притулки для бездомних, утримували їдальні, організовували кухні. Вони забезпечували продуктами харчування, одягом, опалювальними матеріалами, ліками, коштами тих, хто цього найбільше потребував, – хворих, вдів, сиріт, людей похилого віку, одиноких, убогих, нездатних до праці, військовополонених, сім'ї, членів яких вивезли на роботу до Німеччини тощо. Доведено, що діяльність інституцій контролювала окупаційна влада.

Ключові слова: *місцева інституція самопомоги, громадська організація, нацистський окупаційний режим, Рівненська область, Волинська область.*

The Problem Statement. World War II and the Nazi occupation regime led to the emergence of a large number of socially vulnerable population groups, who could not solve the day-to-day problems on their own. Therefore, there was the urgent need for public support for the needy residents of different regions of Ukraine. In view of this, from the summer to the fall of 1941, the support committees of various levels began to emerge, on which such a charitable mission was entrusted.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. In the historiography, the self-help institutions functioning issue in the territory of “Volyn-Podillya” district under the Nazi occupation, was investigated fragmentarily and mostly in the context of the social and political processes consideration that took place in Ukraine at that time, the local authorities' activities, the health care of the state analysis, the cities' and regions' everyday life. The Ukrainian

historians' achievements, in a certain aspect, are represented by the works written by B. Zek (Zek, 2017), B. Kytsak (Kytsak, 2017), K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2010), O. Lysenko (Lysenko, 2003), S. Stelnykovich (Stelnykovich, 2013), H. Stefaniuk (Stefaniuk, 2014), V. Shaikan (Shaikan, 2005) and others. A monographs by K. Berkhoff (Berkhoff, 2011) and T. Snyder (Snyder, 2011) are important for understanding the problem. Therefore, a number of aspects concerning the organization of public care of Volyn and Rivne regions by the local support committees, its effectiveness, public support, and so on, remain unaddressed. In view of this, the article was based on the archival documents and materials.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the issue of social support of the population, who lived during the Nazi occupation in the Volyn and Rivne regions, by the local aid committees.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In Volyn and Rivne region territories, the aid institutions were formed on the basis of the special orders, A. Rosenberg, the Reich Minister, E. Koch, the Reich Commissar of Ukraine and the Gebit Commissioners and at the local authorities' initiative orders. The committees were entrusted with the charitable tasks for the health and public care of the poor. In particular, they pledged to take care of the educational institutions, orphanages, kindergartens, homeless shelters, homes for the disabled, etc., to provide food, clothing, heating materials, medicines, funds for those, who was the most in need – the sick, the widows, the orphans, the homeless people, the elderly, the pregnant women, the single, the poor, the incapacitated, the prisoners of war, as well as the family whose members were taken to work in Germany (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1–16; SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1–31; SAVR, f. S-1, d. 7, pp. 13, 39; SAVR, f. S-2, d. 2, c. 10, pp. 2–12). Since charity in those days was an important factor in the Ukrainians' national solidarity (Lysenko, 2003, pp. 101–111), so the aid institutions' activity was constantly under the control of the occupying authorities.

The Assistance Committees were guided by the statutes, regulations, which were somewhat different in form and content, but contained identical provisions regarding the key aspects of the activity. The constituent documents outlined the basic rules and principles for the committees' functioning: name, location, distribution areas, purpose, objectives, structure, areas of activity, staff requirements, conditions for acquiring and withdrawing membership, sources of funding; societies, etc. A mandatory attribute was a stamp and a special bank account (SAVR, f. S-2, d. 2, c. 10, pp. 2–12; SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 2, 12–13, 27–29).

The first self-help organizations began to appear in the region in the beginning of the 1941, in autumn. Thus, in September, the Ukrainian Aid Committee (UAD), which consisted of 45 members, began to work in Lutsk. The heads of this organization were alternately: M. Zaleskyi, B. Biletskyi (until July 1943), V. Herovskyi (SAVR, f. S-2, d. 2, c. 10, p. 2; SSA SSU-Lutsk, c. 7889, pp. 21–23, 47).

At the beginning of October in 1941, a district "The Poor Winter Aid Committee" was organized in Kostopil, which since May 1, 1942, was reorganized into the "Ukrainian People's Aid" (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1–3, 29, 31), which operated until September 11, 1942, a time of reformatting, based on the orders of the occupying power, into the "Local Self-help Committee" (LSC), which operated under that name until 1944 (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, p. 17, p. 16; SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 7–9). The Committee in Kostopil was headed by: H. Rybak, since May 1942 – by M. Mozhovyi. The Board included: F. Stepanyuk, D. Novoseletskyi, S. Orlinskyi, V. Novytska. Each person was responsible for a particular direction of the institution's work. (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 7, p. 16).

On the 26th of November in 1941, the "Winter Aid Committee" was established in Sarnakh. Initially, it operated only within the city limits, and after its renaming into the

“Ukrainian District Aid Committee” on the 11th of February in 1942, the influence sphere extended to the territory of the entire Sarny district. I. Marynyuk was the District Aid Committee Chairman, V. Teodorovych – the Secretary, Y. Dobrovolskyi – the Treasurer (SARR, f. S-77, d. 1, c. 1, p. 4).

The Aid Committee was formed in Kamin-Kashyrskiy on the 5th of December in 1941. O. Velihodskiy was the Chairman, E. Karanovych – the Secretary, V. Vynyavskiy – the Treasurer, F. Kolenda and M. Radostovets were appointed as the agents of the prisoners’ affairs (SARR, f. S-77, d. 1, c. 1, p. 6). The Ukrainian Self-Helping Committee started to operate in Dubno from 1942 (Dopomozhimo, 1943, p. 2) and many other settlements in the region. (Dopomozhimo, 1943, p. 2).

The District Local Self-help Institution (DLSI) was created, known as “Unity” (Yednist) in order to control and coordinate the work of regional committees operating in the territory of Rivne region (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, p. 1, pp. 1–3). The above-mentioned organization could also be found in the documents under the following name: the “Ukrainian Central Assistance Committee” (SARR, f. S-77, d. 1, c. 1, p. 1). V. Beyer, the Reich Commissar, appointed L. Stupnitsky as the Head of the organisation and Kh. Kononenko – as the business manager. There were also the following Institutions: the “Advisory Board and the Aid Board” (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, p. 12).

The DLSI Charter provided for the operation of three divisions: the Main Division, the Labor Group I, and the Labor Group II. The Main Department was in charge of the organizational, economic, financial matters, record keeping, statistics, correspondence with institutions and organizations, with district, city departments and other districts, collection of the material resources for the institution’s tasks accomplishment, search of the prisoners and missing persons, etc.

The Labor Group I was responsible for collecting products, clothing, footwear, furniture, supplies and other means, distributing them, catering in public kitchens, arranging homes for the people in need, creating kindergartens and crèches for babies, disabled people and the elderly, etc. The Labor Group II competence was the following: health care in the settlements, nurses and other sanitary aids training organization, arrangement of the appropriate institutions for the sick, wounded and prisoners (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 12, 13; Pystso, 2010, pp. 25–27).

DLSI vested its authority in the District Local Self-help Institutions (DLSI), which operated in each district, the Municipal Local Self-help Institutions (MLSIs) with the offices in the cities where the City Councils were located, and the Village Local Self-help Institutions (VLSIs) provided for each village in the area. The District Local Self-help Institutions and the Municipal Local Self-help Institutions Heads were appointed by the Head of the District Institution in liaison with the business manager. The District and City Aid Committees performed the tasks assigned to them by DLSI. The above-mentioned organizations had the right to dispose only 50% of the collected property.

At the head of the Village Local Self-help Institution (VLSI) was the Trustee (“Muzh Doviry”), approved by the the District Local Self-help Institution (DLSI) and by the District Head. The Trustee (“Muzh Doviry”) had a Council, which consisted of 5 people, held various fundraisers, considered applications for the assistance, and with the help of the District Institution represented the needs of the township to the District Committee. Village Local Self-help Institution (VLSI) had no right to dispose the funds or the collected property (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 12, 13).

In 1942 on the 16th of December the District Local Self-help Institutions (DLSI) was formed in Rivne (Rivne, 4 Lysenka St.), headed by Y. Lychyk, and Ye. Polyak performed the duties of the secretary. The Village Local Self-help Institution Village Local Self-help Institution (VLSI) started operating in Rivne region from the 1st of January, 1943, and there were 54 organizations operating in the area already in May of the same year, which were providing the financial support to 49 families (126 people). (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 14, 34, 42).

In addition to the Ukrainian Aid Institutions, there were also the Polish Aid Institutions. In September 1941, at the initiative of Bishop A. Szelażek, a Polish Aid Committee was organized in Lutsk. In July 1942, under Z. Khmelnytskyi's control there were 11 employees in the staff. Owing to the Committee's efforts the orphanages, elders and hospitals for the sick were organized. In total, the Committee provided help and supported over 8,000 people. The Committee began to work particularly active in 1943 (SAVR, f. S-1, d. 1, c. 23, p. 10; SAVR, f. S-2, d. 2, c. 49, p. 19; SAVR, f. S-1, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 58–59).

“The Polish Aid Committee for the Poor”, which took care of the “citizens of the Polish nationality”, operated in Kostopil. As a result, the local Ukrainian Committee made the final decision to suspend the aid issuance to the Poles, who appealed to on the 19th of June in 1943 (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, p. 8, p. 11). Due to the fact that the Polish population, who lived in the district did not participate in organizing the voluntary meetings, which were aimed at helping the poor properly, also facilitated the situation. According to the written records, the Roman Catholic parish issued only 739 rubles (‘karbovantsiv’) out of the revenue funds in January of 1943, while the Committee had already issued 8250 rubles (‘karbovantsiv’) to the Poles by that time (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 1, p. 11).

According to the archival materials, a sufficiently extensive network of such organizations was formed with the occupying authorities' permission since the autumn of 1941 up till the winter of 1942 in Volyn and Rivne regions. Moreover, the above-mentioned organisations cooperated with each other actively in order to improve the daily life of the local residents, while demonstrating a sufficiently high level of the social cohesion.

The main sources of financing for the new public entities were: the employees' local institutions, organizations', educational institutions' self-taxation, the voluntary donations, the membership fees, income from the performances. The charitable activity, in particular, the population's voluntary donations, was included in the aid institutions' financing (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, p. 2; SARR, f. S-2, d. 2, c. 10, pp. 3–6).

The local businesses and institutions employees' voluntary taxation were the most important sources of the budget filling. For instance, L. Stupnytskyi and M. Zalesskyi were addressing to the Heads of the districts, cities, as well as organizations with such requests repeatedly, and for the most cases their requirements were fulfilled. Some institutions, with the consent of their employees, set fixed interest rates that were the subject to monthly payroll deductions in favor of the UAC, sometimes the organisations practised the so-called “one day donations” (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1, 5).

The Aid Committee's archival documents include the information about such voluntary donations from the various levels' employees (rural, urban, district, district), banking, post, telegraph, railway, educational, cultural, health, workshops, mills, plants, factories, printing houses and other institutions operating in the territory of Volyn and Rivne regions during the Nazi occupation.

Hence, “The Poor Winter Aid Committee” received some sum of money from different sources, for example, 4640,81 rubles from Kostopil District Administration employees' September salaries (5% of each) in several stages, 2302,43 rubles – from the Local Administration

employees', 106,08 rubles – from the City Administration in October 1941. Therefore, by the end of October, considering the contributions of the post and telegraph staff – 1102.83 rubles, medical personnel – 944.60 and other working people, the Committee had more than 19 thousand rubles. According to the District Bank in Kostopil, the balance of the Local District Aid Committee was 92 579.44 rubles on the 1st of January 1 in 1942 (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 1–4; SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 1–43), and on the 1st of December in 1943 – 20 956,03 rubles (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 1, 14).

Due to their difficulties, complicated by the closure of the educational institutions, the educators provided the assistance, help and support to the public organizations. On the 10th of October in 1941, Kostopil school teachers transferred 880 rubles from salaries, which they received in September (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 3, p. 3). The Head of school in the village Tynne, Rivne region sent a letter to the Local Government Head, confirming the teachers' consent to voluntarily donate 1% of each monthly salary in favor of the District Local Self-help Institutions on the 23rd of December in 1942 (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, p. 8). A similar letter came from the teachers of the village Omelyana, where it was stated that they were ready for a systematic monthly 2% payroll donation on the 30th of December in 1942 (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 10, p. 64).

Despite their own disadvantage caused by the ruthless tax and financial policies of the occupying power, the people of the region did not remain apart from other people's problems and provided assistance to one another to the best of their ability. Therefore, we trace the number of voluntary individual contributions of the region's residents to the Committees' needs, the size of which ranged from 1 to 200 rubles (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 3, p. 1–12; SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 10, p. 13).

The work of the clergy and religious communities was valuable in organizing support actions for the benefit of the needy. In particular, in February 1942 there were collected 493 rubles in Derazhnenskyi Church (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 1, p. 11; SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 44, 45). In the same month, a Congregation of Christians of the Evangelical Faith in Stepan handed over to the Aid Committee 800 rubles (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, p. 9, p. 29). In February 1943, 1500 rubles were raised by the "Reformed Church in Stepan" (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 17, p. 4). On the 8th of May, 1943, the parishioners of the settlements Marynyn and Lyudvypil deposited 400 rubles into the Committee's bank account (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 5, p. 23).

During the Christmas holidays, with the Reich's Commissar permission numerous performances were organized: carols, 'schedirvka', gatherings in temples and on the streets, and the funds raised went to benefit self-help Committees. That's why, Kostopil District managed to collect 50 872,73 rubles in January of the 1943. (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 5, p. 19). In addition, the institutions together with the community arranged the Christmas trees trimming for the poor children, who, whenever possible, presented small gifts during the holiday (things, products, bakery, etc.) (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 1, p. 5). The charity campaigns were also held during the Easter holidays (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 3, p. 14, 34).

In order to supplement the budget of the organizations, and at the same time to eliminate psychological strain and rest, local communities, with the consent of the District Commissioners, organized performances. In particular, to this end, on the 11th of December in 1941 in the town of Rozhysche staged the play "Natalka Poltavka" (SAVR, f. S-2, d. 2, c. 11, p. 5). Staging the drama in 5 acts "Coming Back from Siberia", initiated by Bereznivskyi District Winter Aid Committee, took place in the following settlements: Mokvyn, Malynsk, Berezne and Lyudvypil (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 1, p. 5).

In the absence of funds, taking care of the most socially vulnerable population, people shared what they had: they gave potatoes, beetroots, carrots, beans, flour, barley, rye, oats, cereals, onions, eggs, bread, as well as: clothes, shoes, bedding, etc. (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 10, p. 15, 29; SSA SSU-Lutsk, c. 7889, p. 47). Thus, according to the archival materials, the UAC in Lutsk distributed “3879 kg of flour, 37 kg of butter, 690 kg of cereals, 9.5 kg of honey, 14 607 eggs, 175 kg of fat” and other products on the 1st of January in 1942. In addition, 825 sets of underwear, 400 pieces of men’s outerwear and 240 pieces of women’s outwear, 202 pillows, 21 featherbeds, 46 blankets were distributed to the people in need (Ukrainskyi, 1942, p. 3).

Moreover, with the help of the local press – “Volyn”, “Kostopilski Visti”, “The Voice of Sarnenshchyna”, “The Ukrainian Voice”, self-help institutions conducted an active awareness-raising campaign among the population. They placed requests, called for the “voluntary assemblies” for the people in need, later on published the gratitude notes for the assistance provided, and periodically published materials on Local Committees establishment and activity.

Along with raising money, food and essentials, these public institutions were involved in distributing assistance to those people in need. But beforehand, there were the requests’ consideration and the financial status of needy citizens who sought support for the (in) ability to provide themselves with the most necessary means for life. A “Map of the Citizens’ Material Survey” was drawn up, which provided the basic information about the person: surname, name, patronymic, date and place of birth, health status with whom he / she resides, from which he or she has any property, or has relatives (if yes, their financial status was indicated) and the Trustee’s “Muzh Doviry” conclusion that the person needed help and what kind of help was also defined (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 8, pp. 1–70). Taking into account the analysis of such document, we can make infer that both in the villages and in the cities, during the Nazi occupation, there were a considerable number of the poor, sick, elderly, minors, who, due to various factors, could not, or were unable to work, abstained from begging. Therefore, the Aid Committees examined the situation of everyone who needed support and determined who and what should be given priority. Everything depended on the situation in which a person was, later on the one-time or monthly assistance was issued.

The monthly assistance was provided, according to the accepted guidelines, based on the calculation: for one dependent 40 – 50 rubles, for 2–3 dependents – 60 rubles, for 4–6 dependents – 70 rubles, for 6 or more – 80 rubles (SARR, f. S-1, d. 1, p. 7, pp. 46–49). However, the Committee members considered each case individually, so the amount of payments could fluctuate. Thus, in November 1941, the Local Committee paid in some stages to the poor residents of Kostopil and the eponymous district about 2500 rubles (in the amount of 40 to 100 rubles). (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 5–10). У січні 1944 р. 67 нужденним видали 7180 крб (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 1–4). In total, from October of the 1941 up till May of the 1942, Kostopil Committee managed to support 397 people on a monthly basis, who lived in the area and the needed material assistance and one-time assistance to 267 people. Concerning one-time assistance, the biggest sum of money was allocated for the treatment – from 200 to 500 rubles, for the purchase of the orphan products – 500 rubles, for people, who suffer from fire – from 300 to 500 rubles, for burials – 100–150 rubles, etc. (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 27–30; SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 18, p. 5). In most cases, the complex assistance was provided (food, necessary things, money) (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 11, pp. 100, 126).

In 1942–1943 “the harvest period” (from the 1st of July up till the 1st of October), the assistance to the poor but able-bodied population was discontinued as their participation in the “bread and vegetables harvest” was foreseen as an opportunity to earn money (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 8, pp. 11–13).

The Aid Committees were maintaining the dining rooms, organising the cheap or free kitchens as it was the important area of their work. Thus, the UAC in Lutsk kept the Ukrainian House dining room, which was considered to be one of the best in the city, and its income was transferred to the agreed public organisation's bank account. A number of people were served food there, for example, 150 Ukrainian soldiers, 110 civilians and 40–50 people visited on a daily basis individually. A person could have breakfast and dinner at the Ukrainian House dining room for only 3 rubles, and having lunch could cost for 6 rubles (SAVR, f. S-2, d. 2, c. 10, pp. 2–6; Levchenko, 1943, p. 3). There was also a free of charge kitchen in the city, which in 1941 served daily 250–300 free dinners, as a result, lots of residents were saved from hunger. The kitchen, which served up to 100 free lunches daily, was organized by the Ukrainian District Aid Committee in Sarny (SARR, f. S-77, d. 1, c. 1, p. 4).

The aid institutions also maintained kindergartens. In particular, from the 30th of September in 1942, a kindergarten was transferred to the capital of the “Local Self-help Committee” (LSC) in Kostopil. (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 7, p. 39). There were 25 children in the kindergarten during that time. The monthly payment for the child was 40 rubles, the poor parents paid half of the price or were exempted. Due to the lack of warm clothing and shoes during the cold days, the kindergarten was visited only by 10 of them, so it was decided to close it in the winter period from the 1st of December, since it was irrational to keep 3 staff members for such a number of kids (SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 8, p. 4, 22; SARR, f. S-82, d. 1, c. 11, p. 33). The kindergarten, which attended by 40 children, was supported by the UAC in Lutsk (SAVR, f. S-1, d. 1, c. 7, p. 41). In order to provide these institutions with the staff, the Committee organized “one-month kindergarten courses”, which completed 30 girls successfully in 1942 (from the 26th of May up till the 1st of July) (Kurs, 1942, p. 4). Similar one- and two-month courses were organized by Rivne Regional Aid Institution (SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 3, p. 12).

An important area of the LSC work was the custody of prisoners of war, their relatives, as well as the search of those mobilized to the army and missing persons, in connection with the receipt of their respective requests and requests. In addition, the self-help Committees supported prisoners of war, who were in the camps of Rivne, Sarny, and Lutsk with food, medicine, and arranged kitchens for them. Thus, in the winter of the 1941 – 1942, the LSC in Lutsk served the prisoners up to 500 bowls of hot soup daily (SARR, f. S-77, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 1–70; SARR, f. S-72, d. 1, c. 3, p. 16).

The Conclusions. All things to be considered, the self-help committees of various levels operated throughout Volyn and Rivne regions during the Nazi occupation period. These were legal non-governmental organizations, controlled by the occupying power, that solved residents' numerous problems as the locals were facing them daily, they were the desperate people in need. An analysis of their work showed a sufficiently high level of public cohesion in helping one another. However, taking into account, the low financial and material capacity of the population caused by the conditions of the Nazi occupation regime, these humanitarian institutions could not meet the needs of all those people in need.

In further research, it would be advisable to consider the activities of aid institutions in the territory of the Reich Commissariat, which was called “Ukraine”, as well as to analyze the members' staff of these organizations.

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**UKRAINE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION (1991 – 2019)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to show the peculiarities of the formation, changes and implementation of the UK foreign policy towards Ukraine and its strategy of European integration in the context of the development of the EU's CFSP at the turn of the 20th – 21st centuries. The research methodology – principles of historicism, systematicity, general scientific methods of logic, comparative analysis, special-historical methods (historiographic analysis, historical-systemic, chronology, historical-genetic). The research novelty is that it presents a history study of the formation of the UK's policy towards Ukraine since its independence in 1991 in the context of the kingdom's membership of the European Union, the formation of its foreign and security policy in the Eastern European direction. The realities of modern international relations, notably the Brexit process, the challenges and threats posed by Russian military aggression against Ukraine are taken into account. The Conclusions. The research has been established that the policy of the European Union and Great Britain towards Ukraine at the end of the XX century was formed under the influence of conjuncture of international relations. Governments of the kingdom supported the European integration of Ukraine, but in their relations with official Kyiv they took the interests of Moscow. In the early 2000s, the British government partially sacrificed its interests in Eastern Europe in favor of Russia and made compromise with the main partners in EU to expand the integration, which in the conditions of the largest in the history “wave” of the expansion didn't want to burden themselves with additional obligations. In general, Great Britain despite the volatility of the dynamics of intergovernmental relations and the complexity of the international conjuncture, acted as one of the most consistent supporters of the European integration of Ukraine. In the conditions of the beginning of the Russia's military aggression against Ukraine um 2014, the leadership of Great Britain actively supported decision of the European Union to introduce anti-Russian sanctions. Great Britain provided assistance to the Ukrainian Army and the victims of the military conflict in the East of Ukraine. However, with the exit from the EU, the strategic importance of relations with Great Britain for Ukraine as an ally will diminish significantly. The completion of the Brexit process can have negative consequences for Ukraine's international position in Europe and will strengthen the pro-Russian forces in EU.*

Key words: *United Kingdom, Ukraine, European integration, EU, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Brexit.*

УКРАЇНА У ЗОВНІШНІЙ ПОЛІТИЦІ ВЕЛИКОЇ БРИТАНІЇ В КОНТЕКСТІ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОЇ ІНТЕГРАЦІЇ (1991 – 2019)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – показати особливості формування та реалізації зовнішньої політики Великої Британії щодо України та її стратегії європейської інтеграції в контексті розвитку Спільної зовнішньої і безпекової політики (СЗБП) Європейського Союзу на рубежі ХХ – ХХІ ст. Окремо проаналізовано позицію Великої Британії щодо російської військової агресії проти України в контексті східноєвропейської політики ЄС. **Методологію дослідження** сформулювали принципи історизму, системності, загальнонаукові методи логіки, компаративного аналізу, спеціально-історичні методи (історіографічного аналізу, історико-системний, хронології, історико-генетичний). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що представлено дослідження історії формування політики Великої Британії щодо України після здобуття її незалежності (1991) в контексті членства королівства у Європейському Союзі, формування його зовнішньої і безпекової політики на східноєвропейському напрямі. Враховано реалії сучасних міжнародних відносин, насамперед процес Врехіт, виклики і загрози, пов'язані з російською військовою агресією проти України. **Висновки.** Політика Європейського Союзу і Великої Британії щодо України наприкінці ХХ ст. формувалася під впливом кон'юнктури міжнародних відносин. Уряди країни підтримували євроінтеграцію України, але зважали на інтереси Росії. На початку 2000-х рр. британський уряд частково пожертвував своїми інтересами у Східній Європі на угоду Росії і пішов на компроміс з партнерами по ЄС щодо розширення інтеграції. Загалом Велика Британія виступала одним із послідовних прихильників європейської інтеграції України. В умовах початку військової агресії Росії проти України у 2014 р. керівництво Великої Британії активно підтримало рішення Європейського Союзу запровадити антиросійські санкції, надавало допомогу українській армії і постраждалим у ході військового конфлікту на Сході України. Однак після виходу з ЄС стратегічне значення відносин з Великою Британією для України зменшиться. Врехіт матиме негативні наслідки для перспектив європейської інтеграції України та посилить проросійські сили в ЄС.

Ключові слова: Велика Британія, Україна, європейська інтеграція, ЄС, Спільна зовнішня і безпекова політика, Врехіт.

The Problem Statement. One of the defining events in Europe's contemporary history is Brexit, which has become a reflection and consequence of the overall crisis of European integration processes, and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Challenges to the modern European and world security system, one of which is Russia's international aggression, cannot be ignored by the world community, especially the European Union, the United Kingdom and Ukraine. It is against them today that these challenges are directly addressed. The development of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), in which the United Kingdom is still playing an important role, has been a historic attempt to respond to the latest security concerns and to enhance the EU's international influence. Therefore, in the context of the transformations of the European Union's foreign and security policy in the Eastern European direction, the complex and unpredictable military and political situation in the East of Europe, it is necessary to examine the historical experience of Great Britain's policy formation towards Ukraine in the period from 1991 (gaining Ukraine's independence) until the end of 2019 (final decision by the UK leadership to leave the EU).

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Ukrainian scientists V. Krushynskyi (Krushynskyi, 2004) and N. Yakovenko (Yakovenko, 2011) have given some attention to the study of the history of Britain's participation in European integration and its impact on Ukraine's international position. Among Western researchers in the history of the establishment and development of the EU's CFSP and its participation in the United Kingdom, the most important are F. Cameron (Cameron, 2007), S. Biscop (Biscop, 2012), R. Balfour (Balfour, 2013), T. Cole (Cole, 2015), I. Bond et al. (Bond, etc., 2016). Among the works

of Russian Britons, the publications of N. Kapitonova (Kapitonova, 2003) and Al. Hromyko (Hromyko, 2014) attract attention. In general, Ukraine's place in European policy of Great Britain has not been sufficiently explored. First of all, it is necessary to study the foreign policy towards Ukraine by the Conservative governments, including in the context of the history of the Brexit process, in the period of 2010 – 2019. After all, this issue of the period in all types of historiography is practically not covered.

The purpose of the article is to show the peculiarities of the formation, changes and implementation of the UK foreign policy towards Ukraine and its strategy of European integration in the context of the development of the EU's CFSP at the turn of the 20th – 21st centuries.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The policy of the European Communities on the territory of the former Soviet Union began to take shape in the last years of the USSR existence and coincided with that of its leading Member States within the framework of the European Political Cooperation Mechanism (the predecessor to the EU's CFSP). After the collapse of the USSR in Eastern European foreign policy of the United Kingdom and the European Communities / European Union, relations with Ukraine occupied a special place, which after the declaration of independence in 1991, due primarily to its territory, large population and natural resources, significant geopolitical features, a large stockpile of weapons has received close attention from the West. However, Western leaders and institutions' attitudes toward Ukraine in the early 1990s were largely biased. The United Kingdom was no exception.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, visiting Ukraine in June 1990, stated in a speech to the USSR Verkhovna Rada on the call of the deputies to develop relations between countries that embassies are provided only for countries with state independence (Margaret Thatcher, 1990). Supporting the integrity of the USSR, the British leadership did not consider the possibility of separate cooperation with Ukraine. The proclamation of its statehood was interpreted as a threat to international security. At the same time, the United Kingdom became the first EU Member State to recognize Ukraine's independence on 31 December 1991. It is symbolic that on the same day Ukraine's independence was recognized by the European Communities.

One of the strategic objectives of the foreign policy of the newly created European Union in the new geopolitical environment was the formation of a zone of stability and security in the East of Europe and the expanses of the former USSR (Cameron, 2007, p. 135). First of all, it was in the countries of the near eastern periphery – Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. The West was interested in establishing controlled and predictable processes for the development of democracy, the formation of market relations in these countries, their integration into modern international political and economic systems. Unlike the Central European countries with which the Association Agreements were concluded in the early 1990s, the EU and its Member States (including the United Kingdom) were in no hurry to allocate significant funds to help post-Soviet countries. The united Europe was interested in their restoration to the extent that they were friendly to the democratic West and did not pose a threat to European security. Therefore, in the first half of the 1990s, the British leadership's reticent attitude towards Ukraine as a likely partner was observed. In Great Britain, they favored relations with Russia as the successor to the USSR. Nuclear disarmament issues, overcoming the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster, Russian-Ukrainian territorial disputes, the unwillingness of the British political elite to perceive Ukraine and its relations beyond Russian interests, and the

lack of public awareness determined the nature of UK policy towards Ukraine. However, its political elite understood the role of Ukraine, its democratic development for European security, by supporting the country's involvement in regional cooperation (Department of the State Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine – DAS MFAU, f. Osnovnyi, c. 1739, pp. 107–111).

With the active involvement of the United Kingdom, a strategy formation for EU relations with Ukraine took place. During the country's presidency of the EU Council in September 1992, the first EU-Ukraine summit was held at the highest level, which resulted in the signing of a Joint Communiqué on the start of negotiations on the preparation of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. During a meeting of the Ukrainian delegation with EU representatives in London in October – November 1992, a statement on the recognition of Ukraine as a part of the Central European region was published. An analysis of archival materials of interstate diplomatic contacts shows that the British side was ready to develop cooperation with Ukraine subject to its abandonment of nuclear weapons (DAS MFAU, f. Osnovnyi, c. 031, pp. 127–128). London agreed to provide security guarantees to Ukraine, although they were of formal importance. This was openly acknowledged by the management of the Forin Office (DAS MFAU, f. Osnovnyi, c. 9559, pp. 10–11).

All post-Soviet states were granted the status of EU partners without differentiation and membership prospects, even associate ones, which had already been granted to many Central European states by that time. Development of trade, investment and technical cooperation is envisaged. However, it was not about the development of systematic interaction on foreign policy and security, involvement in EU foreign action, which revealed an underestimation of the role and importance of relations with these countries.

The completion of the nuclear disarmament process of Ukraine and the political problems of Russia's development have resulted in a gradual increase in the attention of the UK and EU leadership to relations with Ukraine (Wolczuk, 2003, p. 105). London upheld the state integrity of Ukraine in the Russian-Ukrainian dispute over the status of Crimea in the first half of the 1990s. On 29 June 1995, the British Parliament was one of the first among EU legislatures to ratify the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between Ukraine and the EU.

Since the pro-European Labor government came to power in May 1997, London's position on Ukraine's European prospects has not changed dramatically. In response to a proposal by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the possibility of granting Ukraine the status of an associate member of the EU, which joined the EU Council during the UK's presidency in the first half of 1998, Head of the Forin Office Robin Cook in June 1998 replied that the EU vision is in the need to "make the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with Ukraine as effective as possible". According to the Minister, the associate status of Ukraine as an associate member at this stage would be a "far-sighted step" (DAS MFAU, f. Osnovnyi, c. 030, pp. 1–2). At the Forin Office, a position was formed to grant Ukraine the status of an EU Special Partner, such as relations with NATO. It was implemented in the EU Common Strategy for Ukraine approved by the European Council on 11 December 1999. The British Government took an active position in developing a document recognizing Ukraine as a "strategic partner" of the union. The UK supported the idea of creating a free trade area between the EU and Ukraine.

Active support for the moderate development of the Community's political relations with Ukraine can be seen in the context of the overall revitalization of the EU's official EU CFSP policy, its desire to shape the agenda for political cooperation between the Allies and their relations with the nearest periphery in accordance with their traditions and interests to

expand the EU's external influence as opposed to deepening integration (Kapitonova, 1999, p. 56). With the support of the UK Government at the EU Summit in Nice (December 2000), Ukraine was included in the list of countries whose accession was considered desirable in perspective. Kyiv was invited to begin agreeing on terms of participation in military missions under the Common Security and Defense Policy (EUSR) (EU – Ukraine Summit, 2000). According to a decision of the EU Council on Foreign Affairs, Ukraine, as a unification partner country from 2003 to 2012, participated in its police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Further transformations of UK policy towards Ukraine have confirmed its close relationship with the dynamics of EU-Ukraine relations. The deterioration of the image of Ukraine's leadership in the international arena due to scandals surrounding the "Gongadze case", the sale of weapons to Iraq, the oppression of political opposition against the background of the traditional internal problems of the country's development have determined the context of our country's relations with the EU and Great Britain in 2001 – 2004. One of the consequences of the tension in Ukraine's relations with the West was the change in the unification policy, which took place with the direct involvement of the United Kingdom. The British-Swedish Neighborhood Policy Initiative in 2002, which did not envisage the prospect of Ukraine's membership of the EU and even of the association, testified to the crisis state of its relations with the union. Not only had a prospect of Ukraine's accession to the EU the indefinite delay, but also the granting it market economy status and WTO accession. According to V.Yu. Krushynskyi, a certain change in the position of the UK leadership on the European integration of Ukraine can be seen as an interest in further developing its relations with the EU in the special status of a neighbor and part of the political game of the British leadership aimed at maintaining influence on the development of the EU and internal in the UK itself (Krushynskyi, 2004, p. 396). Also worth considering is the factor of British-Russian relations that was on the rise in the early 2000s. London partially sacrificed its interests in Eastern Europe to please Moscow's interests, compromised with EU partners (notably Paris and Berlin), who, in the history of the largest ever "wave" of enlargement, did not wish to burden themselves with post-Soviet obligations.

Despite the period of tension in EU-Ukraine relations, it was obvious to all parties that cooperation was needed. According to V. Kopiika, the European Neighborhood Policy has become a kind of compromise between the interests of the EU and Ukraine (Kopiika, 2005, p. 9). In general, the British leadership was able to distinguish between the critical attitude towards the leadership of Ukraine and the interests of interstate cooperation. The country's government continued to support Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The deterioration of relations between Great Britain and Russia has played a major role in this. The United Kingdom – Poland – Ukraine cooperation was a testament to the British side's interest in deepening EU-Ukraine relations.

In practice, the European Neighborhood Policy, especially in its eastern dimension, has proved to be an ineffective foreign policy mechanism. In the EU's military-restricted field, it has not been able to significantly influence the resolution of any of the long-running conflicts in its periphery, such as in Transnistria. Limited assistance has been made available to many neighboring countries. The main focus was on the development of cross-border cooperation programs and the development of security at the eastern borders. The 2003 British Initiative to create an area of temporary detention of illegal migrants in Ukraine as a mechanism to curb the flow of migrants to Europe testified to the exceptionally pragmatic task of supporting Ukraine's European aspirations in the United Kingdom.

The prospects for the development of relations between Ukraine and the countries of the West were in fact dependent on the level of conduct and results of the 2004 presidential election. The political situation in Ukraine was perceived in the West at the same time as a test of the ability to transfer power on the basis of democratic principles regardless of Russia and as an important step to guarantee security and stability in the region. Influenced by the events of the end of 2004, significant changes in its perception of the British public were observed in Ukraine. According to European Commission polls, in 2005, 45% of Britons supported Ukraine's accession to the EU (35% – against), which was one of the highest in Western Europe and coincided with the EU average. According to these data, the United Kingdom was ahead of Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands and several other countries in Western Europe (Estontsi., 2005). Considerable attention from the British public and the views of political circles have shown that the events of the 2004 Orange Revolution confirmed the importance of Ukraine's geopolitical role in Europe and its distinction from Russia.

Another positive factor for Ukraine was the consensus of the British political elites on the prospects of its Euro-Atlantic integration. This was evidenced by the statements of the leaders of the leading political parties. In particular, a statement by the British Parliament was released in March 2008, in which representatives of three leading political parties (Labor, Conservatives and Liberal Democrats) supported Ukraine's aspirations to become a member of the EU, calling for quick negotiations on a strengthened agreement (Pres reliz MZS Ukrainy, 2008). On 1 December 2005 (for the first time since 1996), the Prime Minister of Great Britain, who chaired the EU Council, visited the EU-Ukraine Summit in Kyiv. During this period, Ukraine was granted market economy status. Ukraine was given the opportunity to join the EU position on international issues. The real result of the Ukrainian side's involvement in the CFSP was the intensification of international negotiations on the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict, the opening of an EU border mission on the Ukrainian-Moldovan border in November 2005. Issues of development of Ukraine and Ukrainian-British relations have become frequent topics for discussion, statements by politicians, analytical notes and reviews of the British press, the vast majority of which were positive.

The critical attitude of the British politicum to the state of implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy draws attention. According to British parliamentarians, the EU has pursued an insufficiently active and indecisive policy towards Ukraine. During a parliamentary debate on Ukraine in April 2008, Minister for Europe John Murphy stated that in other European capitals there was some fatigue from EU enlargement, but not in London (Ukraine, 2008). At the same time, despite the positive attitude of British political circles to the prospects of Ukraine's integration into the EU, the official position of the Kingdom at the stage of adopting the Eastern Partnership was to support the deepening of these relations without defining membership prospects (Cole, 2015). The UK leadership once again decided to compromise with EU partners (notably France and Germany), which did not consider the practical possibility of Ukraine's membership in the union.

The intensification of relations between the Western countries (primarily the United States and the United Kingdom) with Russia in 2007 – 2008 again drew greater attention to the strategic importance of Ukraine in the Central and Eastern Europe region as a factor in curbing Russian ambitions. New opportunities have emerged to deepen Ukraine's integration into NATO, namely joining the Membership Action Plan. However, as in the case of the EU, there was no single position among Western European members. Following the results of the Alliance's Bucharest Summit, 2–4 April 2008, the position of Germany and France post-

poned the issue of providing such a plan for Ukraine. The United Kingdom and the United States have again come to a compromise with NATO partners who have avoided resolving political issues, taking into account interests of Russia.

An additional argument for Ukraine's support for Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration was the Russian-Georgian armed conflict in August 2008, which drew attention to Ukraine as well. Since the beginning of the conflict, representatives of the United Kingdom have participated in international negotiations at the UN, EU, NATO, G7 and OSCE levels. A number of statements were made by the British leadership in which Russia's actions condemned and upheld Georgia's state-territorial integrity. All responsibility for hostilities in London was placed on Moscow. Even then, Western analysts warned that pro-Russian Crimea, i.e. Ukraine, could become the next target of Russian aggression (Kuzio, 2009, p. 367). As it was noted by Financial Times analyst T. Barber, in order to prevent a crisis in Ukraine, the EU is in dire need of developing a compelling strategy for removing the country from the geopolitical status of "no-man's land" in which it found itself after the collapse of the USSR (Barber, 2008, p. 4). It is no accident that on 27 August 2008, after the visit to Tbilisi, the head of the Forin office, D. Miliband, made an official visit to Kyiv, where he outlined a radical strategy for UK international policy. It was based on the concept of "unwavering action", which included support for allies, including Ukraine, which should become a full member of the EU and NATO.

The EU has not provided Ukraine with a real strategy for deepened cooperation. At the same time, the union itself has a split over the main issue – the right of Ukraine to membership. Despite the international situation, one of the reasons for questioning Ukraine's ability to become a full member of the EU and NATO was the internal political crisis in 2005 – 2008. Political instability has become a good reason for the EU decision to postpone the association agreement. Given the unfavorable political situation in the EU, which has undergone a difficult process of reform, weakening the influence of Great Britain in reunification and rethinking relations with the new USA administration, Ukraine's unwillingness to deepen relations with the EU, London has not been able to fulfill Kyiv's foreign policy goal rapprochement with Brussels. We also do not exclude a significant amount of declarations in the statements of British officials in support of Ukraine's EU and NATO membership, which were made against the background of the struggle for spheres of influence in both organizations. We note the general underestimation of the importance of the Eastern Europe region in the United Kingdom, which in the second half of the 2000s lost its influence on the EU's Eastern European policy (Balfour, 2013).

The coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, which formed the next UK government in May 2010, has continued Labor's overall political stance on Ukraine. The new Minister for Europe D. Lidington, during his visit to Ukraine on 13 October 2010, stated the Government's principled willingness to support the conclusion of free trade and association agreements between Ukraine and the EU. However, anti-democratic tendencies in the domestic politics of the Presidential Administration of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich during 2010 – 2014 had a negative impact on its perception in the United Kingdom. At the same time, criticism of the domestic policy of the Ukrainian leadership did not exclude the continued support by the British side of the process of deepening relations between Ukraine and the EU in the preparation of the Association Agreement.

In the context of the escalation of permanent diplomatic, cultural, ideological, economic and military-political confrontation in Europe, which is directly related to the deployment of

Russian aggression against Ukraine, the European security system as well as the system of international relations in general entered a period of sharp exacerbation of the latent crisis. Opposition by powerful geopolitical players – key actors in the European security system (on the one hand, the US, NATO, the EU, and on the other – Russia), has revealed, for the first time in the post-bipolar world, unresolved and often hidden problems and gaps in Western policy. The weakness of the West (primarily EU Member States) in its relations with Russia was clearly evident during the events of its military aggression on the territory of Ukraine. The annexation of Crimea in March 2014 was condemned by the international community, but did not affect the actions of the aggressor. Europe and the US have shown an unwillingness to develop the conflict in Eastern Europe. On 1 September 2014, EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy F. Mogherini announced the termination of partnership with Russia. However, the use of EU military or police resources was not discussed. The Union has failed the Eastern Partnership policy due to its strategic limitation and lack of a defense component. The association could not offer anything to Ukraine in the field of defense except the traditional “soft power” methods. The EU reaffirmed its unwillingness to act as a full-fledged center of force in world politics.

In the current context, it is NATO that is Ukraine’s only possible effective ally in defending aggression from the East. The clear position of the United States, Great Britain, Canada, the Baltic States, several other countries since the first days of the conflict, their diplomatic, military-technical, intelligence and humanitarian assistance have become a decisive impetus for the gradual formation of an adequate position and concrete actions of the states and institutions of Europe in the context of the escalation of Russian aggression. At the same time, none of Ukraine’s partners was in a hurry to provide offensive weapons in the hope of a de-escalation of the conflict. No one is ready for a full-scale war in Europe.

The events in Ukraine have actually led to another split among EU countries, this time in terms of loyalty to Russian politics. At the institutional level, in particular the decision-making of the European Council as the supreme body of the CFSP, the EU has formally acted unanimously. For example, sanctions were imposed on Russia. In June 2015, the European Parliament adopted a resolution whereby Russia lost its status as an EU strategic partner. However, the leading Member States, primarily France and Germany, play a major role. The participation of their leaders in the “Norman format” of the negotiations on the settlement of the conflict testified to the actual transfer of the EU of its foreign policy functions to the interstate level and another recognition of the Franco-German tandem as a driver of the CFSP. The anti-Russian group included the United Kingdom, Sweden and, above all, the Baltic States and Poland, which are a potential target of Russian aggression. At the same time, a strong pro-Russian lobby does not stop operating in the EU and NATO. The influential part of the political elite of Austria, Italy, Slovakia, Hungary, etc. stands for removal of sanctions from Russia.

From the first days of aggression by Russian troops in the Crimea, the United Kingdom strongly condemned such actions and supported the initiative to exclude the Russian Federation from the G8 (The EU and Russia..., 2015, p. 7). The official London was one of the initiators of EU sanctions, one of the first to express its readiness to provide financial and military-technical assistance to Ukraine, unambiguously supported the Association Agreement with the EU. The British Government has played an important role in persuading other EU Member States, in particular, Germany, of the need to take economic pressure on Russia (Bond I., etc., 2016, p. 7). However, the isolationist policy of D. Cameron government in

Europe's foreign policy has shown a loss of real opportunities for the UK to lead the integration process in foreign policy and security in the context of a general EU crisis. At the same time, Germany became increasingly influential within the framework of the CFSP. This was evidenced by the absence of a UK representative in the "Normandy format" negotiations on the settlement of the conflict in Ukraine. Official London is viewed in Russia itself as a Washington satellite, weakening its potential as a possible negotiator.

Allocation of about 1 million GBP for the acquisition of non-lethal military equipment (tents, heating equipment, and winter clothing kits) and armored vehicles was one of the practical measures of British assistance to Ukraine. Hundreds of British military trainers have been provided to train Ukrainian units. The British side provided medical equipment, night vision devices, GPRS navigators and computer equipment. At the end of 2015, the UK government allocated 1.5 million GBP in support of the entrepreneurship of IDPs from the Donbass and the same amount for the International Committee of the Red Cross to provide humanitarian assistance to residents of the territories of the eastern regions not controlled by Ukraine. In total, from the beginning of 2014 to the middle of July 2016, the United Kingdom helped Ukraine to the amount of \$ 5 million USD (4th place from all donor countries after USA, Canada and Poland). For comparison, since the beginning of 2014, the United States has transferred property worth over 117.5 million USD to Ukraine (Popovych & Kudryk, 2016). The ability to assist the Ukrainian army with weapons from the UK will depend directly on the development of the situation in Ukraine and the USA position.

The referendum of 23 June 2016 and the official start of the Brexit process on 29 March 2017 marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the CFSP and the UK's relations with the EU. The practices of its senior governing bodies in 2016 – 2019 have shown that Member States are gaining experience of discussing and taking decisions without the involvement of the United Kingdom, which has gradually reduced its staff presence in the merging structures. After a prolonged political crisis on 31 January 2020, the country left the EU. The main task of the parties is to find the format of cooperation in the new conditions by concluding agreements on trade, economic and security cooperation. Brexit, because of its incompleteness and insufficient predictability of consequences, has added additional uncertainty to the future of the CFSP. The prospect of the EU getting rid of such a specific participant of integration as the UK leads to ambiguous considerations – its exit from the EU can both give impetus to the development of the CFSP and slow it down without the availability of British resources. Traditionally, there is no unity among EU Member States about the need to deepen the integration of foreign and security policy, which, among other things, is the reluctance to incur additional defense spending. As S. Biscop noted, "the problem with European defense is that it cannot function with the United Kingdom but cannot function without it" (Biscop, 2012, p. 1297). This is particularly worrying in the face of Russia's continued aggression in the east of Ukraine and NATO transformation.

The Brexit process has weakened the international position of individual Eastern European countries (primarily Ukraine), which has set itself the task of deepening relations with the union until membership. Among the negative consequences of Brexit for Ukraine is, first of all, the strengthening of loyal or openly pro-Russian sentiment in a number of EU Member States, which is one of the main challenges to its functioning. The leading EU countries France and Germany were no exception, which, after leaving the EU by the UK, became dominant in shaping its foreign and security policy. Their leadership shows a clear loyalty to the leadership of Russia. Such loyalty is manifested, in particular, in fostering the

leadership of Russia in the strategically important issue of slowing down EU enlargement, primarily at the expense of the interests of post-Soviet states. On 5 February 2020, the European Commission, taking advantage of proposals by French President E. Macron, who had recently opposed the accession to the EU of new states, unveiled new approaches to the enlargement policy, which significantly increased the requirements for candidate countries. Even the countries of the nearest turn of Balkan Peninsula are unlikely to join the union in the short term (A more credible..., 2020). The EU-Russia rapprochement delayed the deepening of Ukraine's European integration and in the face of Russian military aggression threatened its state sovereignty. That is, the exit of Great Britain, whose official position on EU enlargement has traditionally been based on the principle of "enlargement instead of deepening", can be regarded as a loss of Ukraine's important ally in the European integration, complicating its chances for further development of relations with the EU, especially the distant prospect of membership.

After leaving the EU, the UK loses direct influence on the formation and implementation of the CFSP. Therefore, the context of British-Ukrainian relations will no longer be based on the priority of European integration issues, but will be formed on the basis of building a strategy for the development of bilateral relations and multilateral cooperation, primarily in the NATO-Ukraine format. It is NATO's mechanisms (with the coordination of positions and actions from the US) that have remained the most effective channel for the UK's influence on international security in the CEE region, in particular for Ukraine, in the face of the Russian threat. At the same time, while maintaining a certain level of UK involvement in CFSP cooperation, it will be able to influence EU eastern policy as a leading European NATO member state, a leading European technology country, to foster a favorable European position against Ukraine and to assist it with the Russian aggressor. Moreover, the efforts of France and Germany to resolve the conflict in the Donbass do not produce significant results. At the same time, one should take into account the traditional significant dependence of UK foreign policy on US international policy, regional and global environment. Therefore, its policy towards Ukraine will depend on many factors, first of all the relations between Washington and Moscow, London and Brussels, tendencies of development of Ukraine itself.

The Conclusions. The UK and EU policy towards Ukraine in the late twentieth century formed under the influence of international relations. It went from formalizing relations, biased attitudes to the new state, and establishing constructive cooperation. The UK's position on Ukraine's European integration has evolved. From the early 1990s, it felt inertia the decisive influence of the Russian factor. This impact only weakened significantly during the 2004 Orange Revolution and as a result of Russia's military aggression against Ukraine in 2014. The UK governments first largely declarative, and subsequently practically supported, deepening Ukraine's relations with the EU, favoring its long-term membership. At the same time, the West has generally been in no hurry to provide our country with significant assistance and prospects of joining European integration structures and NATO, traditionally in view of its relations with Russia.

With the EU's main focus on enlargement at the expense of Central European states, the new post-Soviet states became in the background of its Eastern European policy. This reality was evidenced by the European Neighborhood Policy, initiated by the UK Government in 2002. In general, EU Eastern policy was shaped by its Member States' relations with Russia and remained a peripheral component of the CFSP of the EU. At the same time, since the second half of the 2000s, the United Kingdom has pursued a more remote policy from Russia

than a number of other EU countries, contributing to the gradual deepening of interest in Ukraine as an important partner.

Until the 2014 events, the UK governments did not consider Ukraine as a major strategic country for guaranteeing security in the CEE region. The United Kingdom was primarily interested in Ukraine as an element of the stability zone at the EU's eastern borders. The official London has always declared support for Kyiv's European course, but has largely acted in the context of an overall moderate unification line on this issue. In the conditions of Russian aggression, the British governments actively supported the EU decision to impose anti-Russian sanctions and provide assistance to Ukraine, provided political and material support. However, Brexit has minimized the impact of the UK on the formation and implementation of the CFSP of the EU. Britain's exit from the EU has weakened Ukraine's position in the European integration process, and its strategic importance as a partner of our country will diminish.

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MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPACE OF SWISS CONFEDERATION AT THE TURN OF THE XXth – XXIth CENTURIES

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to compare different cantonal models of relations of secular authorities with religious organizations, to study the peculiarities of implementing needs of Muslim students and employees in state schools of Switzerland, to analyze the attempts to implement lessons of Islamic religious education in the cantons of St. Gallen, Lucerne and Thurgau and to assess the federal and cantonal initiatives, aimed at preparation of qualified teachers of Islamic studies, in order to research the perspectives of Islamic religious education development in Switzerland. The research methodology is defined by an interdisciplinary nature of approaches (history, law, Islamic studies). The scientific novelty of the research consists in the fact that it was the first time that on the basis of different groups of sources – regulatory and legislative acts, reports and press organs of organizations and profile commissions, as well as didactic materials for school administration, the place of Islamic community in the educational space of Switzerland was analyzed. The Conclusions.* In spite of the fact that according to the Constitution of Swiss Confederation, the issues on education and religion were transferred to the cantonal level, the state, through decisions of the Federal Court of the national level, assisted to protection of religious freedoms of Muslim students (permission for visible religious attributes, special-purpose arrangements for swimming lessons, possible absence at the classes during the biggest religious holidays). It was established that the policy of cantons regarding Muslim community was often defined by external tendencies (the discussion on visible religious attributes and introduction of the course “Religions and Humanitarian Culture” concerned, first of all, French-speaking cantons while the attempts to introduce the system of Islamic religious education concern a range of German-speaking cantons). The pilot projects of IRE in St. Gallen, Lucerne and Thurgau revealed the need in establishing, in Switzerland, the correspondent system for preparing teachers of this direction and elaboration of didactic materials. The Confederation responded to this urgent need with creation, in 2015, of a profile branch by the University of Fribourg – Swiss Centre for Islam and Society. The perspective direction of the research is still the comparison of Swiss, German and Austrian approaches to preparation of IRE teachers and development of didactic materials.

Key words: Switzerland, Muslims, Islamic religious education, hijab.

МУСУЛЬМАНСЬКА СПІЛЬНОТА В ОСВІТНЬОМУ ПРОСТОРИ ШВЕЙЦАРСЬКОЇ КОНФЕДЕРАЦІЇ НА ЗЛАМІ ХХ – ХХІ СТОЛІТТЯ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – через порівняння різних кантональних моделей відносин світської влади з релігійними організаціями, розгляд особливостей імплементації потреб учнів і працівників-мусульман у державних школах Швейцарії, аналіз спроб впровадження уроків ісламської релігійної освіти в кантонах Санкт-Галлен, Люцерн і Тургау й оцінку федеральних і кантональних ініціатив, спрямованих на підготовку кваліфікованих викладачів ісламознавства, дослідити перспективи розвитку ісламської релігійної освіти у Швейцарії. **Методологія дослідження** визначається міждисциплінарністю підходів (історія, право, ісламознавство). **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше на основі різних груп джерел – нормативно-правових актів, звітів і друкованих органів організації і профільних комісій, а також дидактичних матеріалів для шкільної адміністрації, проаналізовано місце ісламської спільноти в освітньому просторі Швейцарії. **Висновки.** Незважаючи на те, що згідно з Конституцією Швейцарської Конфедерації, питання освіти та релігії передано на кантональний рівень, держава через рішення Федерального суду на загальнонаціональному рівні сприяла захисту релігійних свобод учнів-мусульман (дозвіл на помітні релігійні атрибути, спеціальні пристосування на уроках плавання, можливість не відвідувати заняття під час найбільших свят). Встановлено, що політика кантонів щодо мусульманської спільноти часто визначалася зовнішніми тенденціями (дискусія про помітні релігійні атрибути і введення курсу “Релігії та гуманітарна культура” зачепили насамперед франкомовні кантони, а спроби запровадити систему ісламської релігійної освіти стосуються низки німецькомовних кантонів). Пілотні проекти IRE у Санкт-Галлені, Люцерні та Тургау виявили необхідність створення у Швейцарії належної системи підготовки вчителів цього профілю та розробки дидактичних матеріалів. Відповіддю Конфедерації на цю загальну потребу стало створення 2015 р. профільного осередку при університеті Фрібуру – Швейцарський Центр Іслам і Суспільство. Перспективним напрямом дослідження залишається порівняння швейцарських, німецьких і австрійських підходів до підготовки викладачів IRE та розробки дидактичних матеріалів.

Ключові слова: Швейцарія, мусульмани, ісламська релігійна освіта, хіджаб.

The Problem Statement. For the Muslims of Europe Switzerland is a symbolic place – it was in Geneva that in September 1936 the European Muslim Congress with invitation, from its initiator Shakib Arslan, of all people of Islamic belief residing there, took place (Kramer, 1986, pp. 142–143). In spite of the fact that the state does not have a colonial past, the Muslim community of the Confederation has been rapidly growing within the late 20th – early 21st c., supplemented in the middle of the century with labour migrants and at the end of the millennium – with refugees. Thus, in 1950 the Islamic believers accounted for 0.05% of the population of Switzerland, in 1970 – 0,26 %, in 1980 – 0,89 %, in 1990 – 2,21 %, in 2000 – 4,26 % (Kettani, 2010, p. 159), in 2015 – 5 % (El-Menouar, 2017, p. 13). The peculiar property of the Muslim community of Switzerland was dominance of the people from former Yugoslavia (58 %) and Turkey (21 %) (Lathion, 2010, p. 218), not South Africa or Middle East what is peculiar to most countries of Western Europe. Along with a quantitative increase of the community, between the Muslims there was an increase of number of people with Swiss citizenship: in 1970 – 2,8 %, in 1980 – 5,2 %, in 2000 – 11,75 % (Gianni, 2010, p. 10), in 2015 – 35,1 % (Tangram, 2017, No. 40, p. 63). Taking into account these two factors – a rapid increase in the numbers of ummah and increase of the share of persons with citizenship, at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries the Islamic organizations of Switzerland started demanding from the civil authorities to account, in various spheres of a social life, special needs of the Muslims, prescribed by provisions of religion.

These tendencies were expressed particularly vividly in the educational sphere as in 2016 Switzerland was already a home for 110 thousand of Muslims below 15 and 118 thousand

of those aged 15 to 29 (CSIS-Papers, 2018, No. 4, p. 10). Thus, the “traditional” demands, for the Muslims of the West, to allow female students and teachers wear hijab, excuse them from swimming lessons, or, at least, conduct the lessons in a separate way for male and female students and, the main thing, to introduce lessons of Islamic religious education in the state schools, were expressed in Switzerland in a unique way as in this country the issues on relations between religion and secular authorities are regulated not at the federal, but on the cantonal level.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The article, suggested for the reader’s attention, is a constituent of the author’s scientific surveys, concerned with a comparative analysis of Islamic religious education system development in a range of Western countries (Sypko, 2018 – 2019, 2019), and methodological approaches hereto were emended in the course of internship in field-specific scientific and research centers – EA ERASME 3389 laboratory (Université Paris-VIII-Vincennes-Saint-Denis, November–December 2013) and the Institute of Islamic Theological Studies by University of Vienna (May 2018).

The work of Swiss scientists, Andrea Rota and Petra Bleisch Bouzar, who analyzed the experience of classes introduction of Islamic religious education in Kreuzlingen, canton of Thurgau, is particularly interesting in the context of our research (Rota, Bouzar, 2012). Baptiste Brodard from the University of Fribourg, while considering the process of imams’ preparation in Switzerland, also concerned the issue on preparation courses for teachers of Islamic religious education (Brodard, 2018). German professor Kristian Starck, while comparing the regulation of religious education by legislation of different countries of Europe, also paid attention to becoming of Islamic religious education (Starck, 2003). Jean-François Aubert focused on the analysis of difficulties, encountered by Muslim students in the state schools of Switzerland during the late 20th c. (Aubert, 1998).

As the above-mentioned works deal only with separate aspects of our research, we have used, for the sake of a comprehensive analysis, different groups of sources – *firstly*, the regulatory and legislative acts of federal and cantonal levels; *secondly*, the reports of field-specific organizations and commissions (Federal Commission against Racism (Commission fédérale contre le racisme – CFR), Swiss Centre for Islam and Society (Centre Suisse Islam et Société – CSIS), Group of Researchers on Islam in Switzerland by the Federal Commission for Migration (Groupe de Recherche sur l’Islam en Suisse de la Commission fédérale pour les questions de migration – GRIS de la CFM)); *thirdly*, the press organs of CFR – the *Tangram* magazine and the one of the State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation (Secrétariat d’État à la formation, à la recherche et à l’innovation – SERFI) – *SERFI News*; *and fourthly*, the didactic materials for education professionals on the religious diversity of Switzerland, issued by the cantonal school offices.

The Purpose of Publication. The purpose of the article is to compare different cantonal models of relations of secular authorities with religious organizations, to study peculiarities of implementing the needs of Muslim students and employees at state schools of Switzerland, to analyze the attempts to implement Islamic religious education lessons in the cantons of St Gallen, Lucerne and Thurgau and to assess the federal and cantonal initiatives, aimed at preparation of qualified teachers of Islamic studies, in order to research the perspectives of Islamic religious education development in Switzerland.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Constitution of the Swiss Confederation of April 18, 1999, as well as its preceding version of 1874, guaranteed freedom of conscience and worship. Thus, Article 15 runs: every person has a right to choose their own religion and

practise it either individually or collectively. Pointedly, that the same Article (clauses 3 and 4) stresses that every person has a right for a religious education, but no one can force them to it. However, the Article 62 assigns the issues of education to cantons and Article 72 acts similarly with the issues of religion: “Regulation of relations between the Church and the State belongs to the competence of cantons. Within their authorities, the Confederation and cantons may undertake activities for maintenance of peace between members of different religious communities” (Constitution fédérale, 1999).

And as the issues on religion and education were transferred to the cantonal level, there have developed 26 models we may integrate into two provisional groups – *firstly*, cantons sticking to the principle of laicism what is a strict separation of the church and the state, and, *secondly*, territorial units where religion classes are allowed at state schools. The first group includes French-speaking cantons of Geneva and Neuchatel. Thus, Article 163 of the Constitution of the Geneva canton of 1847 emphasized that religious education has to be separated from other components of education (Constitution de Genève, 1847, p. 39). The new Constitution of 2012 already did not have any separate article dealing with restriction of a religious education, but the approaches remained the same as it is clearly prescribed that canton arranges and funds “state, *secular* and quality education” (Constitution de Genève, 2012) (italics included by us. – Author).

The similar processes took place in Neuchatel as well. Yet in 1872, the head of the Department for Public Education of the canton, Numa Droz, promulgated the law that prohibited teachers to teach religion at state schools. And Article 8 of the Law on School Arrangement of March 28, 1984 states the following: “Religious education is separated from other constituents of education”. Though, in 2000 this regulatory act was supplemented with the note that state schools may provide, for free, a part of their premises for religious education, though with comment that the classes must be of extracurricular character and take place in out-of-school hours (Loi sur l’organisation scolaire, 1984, p. 2). Taking into account the fact that in most Swiss cantons religious education was a component of school system, even though the notion of “accepted confessions” was not mentioned in cantonal constitutions (Lucerne, Zug), the emphasized secularity of Geneva and Neuchatel looks like a sort of exception as it was a consequence of an external, namely, French influence. Let us remind that French Republic since the middle of the 19th c. has been most consistent in conducting the policy of separation of the Church and the State.

In the context of Islamic factor, in the educational space of Switzerland the French impacts were seen not only in a legislative execution of the laicist model of two cantons, but also in the discussion on possible prohibition of visible religious attributes, and, namely, hijab, in the establishments of a secondary education. Yet since 1989, in the Fifth Republic there was a long-standing, both verbal and legal, struggle between the proponents and opponents of Islamic headscarves at schools that resulted in adoption, on March 15, 2004, of the Law on Prohibition of Visible Religious Attributes in the Establishments of Secondary Education (Sypko, 2018 – 2019, pp. 88–89). Therefore, not surprisingly that the issue of Islamic headscarves at state schools became the most acute right in French-speaking cantons of Switzerland and Jean-François Aubert described this like: “the hijab issue was inspired by France. In Switzerland, this issue by itself would not simply arise on the agenda” (Aubert, 1998, p. 481). We should mention that we have substantiated the similar tendencies based on the case of Quebec in Canada (Sypko, 2019, p. 696).

In contrast to France where hijab, just as other visible religious attributes, was forbidden for all members of educational process at state schools, in Switzerland they had a differentiat-

ed approach to female teachers and students. Thus, in 1992 the teacher of one Geneva school started wearing Islamic headscarf at her work. After a long period of contemplation, in 1996, the school administration, relying on a secular nature of educational establishment, made an attempt of prohibiting her coming to her working place like that. As they did not manage to reach a compromise, on November 12, 1997, the Federal Court delivered a verdict, according to which all the religious symbols affecting the students had to be prohibited at state schools (*Les relations avec la minorité musulmane*, 2006, p. 23).

At the same time, female students as private persons could wear visible religious attributes in the educational establishments. Namely, on June 25, 1996, the Administrative Court of Neuchatel adopted a decision, according to which the school was a secular institution, but hijab was an expression of a religious freedom of a female Muslim and therefore it cannot be forbidden (Tangram, 1999, No. 7, p. 65). Similar approaches were taken by other cantons as well. Though this did not mean that there were no more attempts to prohibit hijab at the level of separate schools, especially as these attitudes were actively fueled by the ultra-right Swiss People's Party.

The issue on wearing hijab at schools was restored to life every time when there appeared notable cases concerned with the Muslims. Thus, in the publications of French-speaking *Le Temps* newspaper as of February 15 and March 9, 2006, dealing with “the caricature scandal” in Denmark (an acute international crisis, provoked by the publication of the daily Danish newspaper *Jyllands Posten*, on September 30, 2005, of caricatures depicting Mohammed the Prophet), there was emphasized the need for prohibition of Islamic headscarves at schools and infeasibility of separate swimming lessons for male and female students (Parini, Gianni, Clavien, 2012, p. 170). Let us admit that just before the headline-making referendum on prohibition to build minarets in Switzerland, the mass media promulgated the “string of logic”: minarets → niqabs, hijabs → alien culture, oppression of females. It is interesting that on November 29, 2009, only 4 of 26 cantons (secular Geneva and Neuchatel, French-speaking Vaud and Basel-Stadt with the highest share of atheists in the Confederation) did not support the prohibition (Dodd, 2015).

Consequently, not surprisingly that in September 2009, the Federal Commission against Racism recorded a claim of Swiss female espousing Islam stating that her daughter was forced to take the hijab off as “the internal order prohibits covering head during the classes” (Tangram, 2010, No. 25, p. 23). The similar arguments were also provided by administration of educational establishment in St Margrethen (canton of St Gallen). On November 11, 2014, the cantonal court supported the parents and allowed a female student to have her head covered at school classes. The educational establishment administration made an attempt to appeal against this judgment in the Federal Court, but on December 12, 2015 the court of higher instance backed up the previous resolution (Tangram, 2016, No. 37, p. 31). To minimize future collisions, cantonal educational offices started issuing methodical recommendations on religious and cultural diversity for the teachers and school administrations. For instance, the manual, published in Fribourg in 2017, emphasized that hijab was allowed if it “does not hinder communication with other students and teachers”. This is the reasons why niqabs (headwear covering the face) were forbidden at schools (*Diversité religieuse et culturelle à l'école*, 2017, p. 15).

It means that, contrary to France, in Switzerland, in spite of initiatives of the Swiss People's Party (the most vivid the contradiction looked like in 2016 – 2018 in Valais canton), students' wearing of visible religious attributes at schools never was prohibited. This allowed

Nadiya K., who moved from France to Geneva in 1990 and was interviewed by the Group of Researchers on Islam in Switzerland, to compare two models of laicism: “It is possible to live in a secular society, but Swiss, not French one as in the latter case this is secularity that substitutes a religion” (Gianni, 2010, p. 29). Along with an issue, analyzed above, during the period under research there was an active discussion of the situation with a systematic absenteeism, of Muslim students, at swimming classes. At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries the problem of Muslim parents’ refusals to give permission to participation of their children, including males, in general swimming classes, was becoming acute. As a consequence, the fines for violation of internal school order became more frequent. To clarify the situation, on October 24, 2008, the Federal Court confirmed a mandatory nature of swimming classes (Tangram, 2008, No. 22 p. 22), and on April 11, 2013 it specified that students may be excused from these classes only due to medical reasons. Despite the several parents’ protest, these decisions were not discriminative for Muslims as they provided that the educational establishment should ensure: separate locker rooms for male and female students, closed shower cubicles and permission for swimming suits covering all the body – burqini (*Diversité religieuse et culturelle à l’école*, 2017, p. 11).

Satisfactory for Muslim students was also the situation with the opportunity to miss the classes on great religious holidays. So, in 1991 the Federal Court adopted a decision that school rules should not violate religious freedoms of students (Aubert, 1998, p. 490). Therefore, the parents or legal guardians had to submit, in advance, a written statement to school administration. The students were to realize that they would have to master educational topics of the classes they miss by themselves (*Diversité religieuse et culturelle à l’école*, 2017, p. 9).

The permission for visible religious attributes at schools, the regulation of swimming classes, the opportunity to be absent at classes on great religious holidays – all of these are the state’s assistance to demonstrations of religious practice of the Muslims. But similarly important for the community was the issue on a religious education of the youth, especially due to the fact that in the early 21st century the second and the third generations of immigrants were formed and these generations were increasingly distanced from both ethnical and confessional roots. These functions were traditionally fulfilled by madrasa schools by mosques. But in the early 21st century this system proved itself to be unsatisfactory – classes during out-of-school time, funded by governments of other countries and provided with foreign imams, who were frequently lacking in understanding of Swiss reality, became for the Muslims, born in Switzerland, a sort of atavism. The Federal Commission against Racism saw the way out of this situation in introduction of Islamic Religious Education – IRE – at state schools. In this case, the educational material would be delivered in the canton’s official language and educational offices would obtain control over the process (Cattacin, Famos, Duttwiles, Mahnig, 2003, p. 43).

But the introduction of IRE classes at schools was complicated not as much by opposition of educators or political forces, as by the revision of approaches to the system of a religious education that took place in the early 21st c. With account of increasing diversity of religious specter of Switzerland, the switch to “confessionally neutral education” has started. Since 2003, Neuchatel canton (where, with the view to its secularity, there were no religious classes in school before this) introduced the course on “Religion and Humanitarian Culture” as a part of history curriculum in 8–11 school years. The discipline provided for study of world religions from the secular, historical perspective that had to prepare students to perception of a religious pluralism. Within several subsequent years, this program was implemented in

all the cantons of western, first of all, French-speaking Switzerland (Measures to prevent radicalization, 2016, p. 13). Let us note that these initiatives fit into the tendency, peculiar to French-speaking space – the introduction of the unified ecumenical course “Ethics and Religious Culture” in Quebec in 2008 (Sypko, 2019, p. 698), implementation of a mandatory discipline “Moral and Civil Education” in France in 2015 (Sypko, 2018 – 2019, p. 91).

Instead, in the German-speaking regions of Europe, along with the pluralization processes, the system of religious education at schools was developed. Therefore, the first attempts to introduce IRE were seen exactly in “German” cantons of St. Gallen, Lucerne and Thurgau. According to apt remark of Kristian Starck, for assurance of a religious education of minorities at the state schools, the formal requirement has to be fulfilled: minimum 5–7 students of this confession with age gap of up to three years. If their number is less, their religious freedom is ensured by the fact that they are not forced to attend classes of a religious education of other confession (Starck, 2003, p. 29). After reaching the age of 16, the student could refuse from the classes of a religious education personally while before this could be done by parents or legal guardians.

Andrea Rota and Petra Bleisch Bouzar noted that Ebikon and Kriens municipalities in the canton of Lucerne were the first, who introduced IRE classes in 2002 (Rota, Bouzar, 2012, p. 169). However, in the Bulletin of the Federal Commission against Racism we find that yet in 2000 IRE was introduced in the Wil city (canton of St Gallen). The curator of this pilot project was the Islamic Center of Wil that provided some payment for a teacher and purchased didactic materials from the Federal Republic of Germany (Tangram, 2003, No. 14, p. 51).

In August 2002, IRE classes were introduced in two municipalities of Lucerne – Kriens and Ebikon. The extracurricular classes for students of the 1st to 5th year were conducted in German twice a week in the school premises during out-of-school time, i.e., during the second half of the day. What concerns funding, the municipality provided premises, while teachers’ remuneration was paid by Islamic community of Lucerne. Like in case of Wil, the problem of didactic materials arose. Therefore, the curricula and textbooks were ordered in the Institute for Interreligious Pedagogy and Didactics of Cologne (Measures to prevent radicalization, 2016, p. 15). At first, the general public of the canton was cautious about this project as the press blamed Islamic community of Lucerne in relations with fundamentalists. Only after teachers started conducting demonstration lessons, the tension decreased. In a year, Regina Steiner Amri, an IRE teacher, remembered that at first she had to listen to offences from the activists of the Swiss People’s Party, but in her work she was greatly supported by various religious organizations, first of all, the Catholic and Protestant ones and this helped her a lot (Tangram, 2003, No. 14, p. 48).

The example of Lucerne was followed by Thurgau – the Protestant canton with extensive Catholic minority. Article 91 of the canton’s Constitution of 1987 allowed a religious education at state schools on the condition that the Churches have to assure that these classes are free and provide them with didactic support on the permanent basis. According to the census of 2000, in Thurgau the Muslims already made 6 % of population. And in the municipality of Kreuzlingen the people of Islamic faith made it 12 %. That is why in 2010, following the initiative of the Association for Islamic Education in Kreuzlingen, the three-year pilot IRE project was launched. The funding was performed on a parity basis: a third from the amount was paid by parents, a third – by the Association for Islamic Education in Kreuzlingen, a third – by charity organizations, including the Catholic ones. The curricula and textbooks were adopted from Bayern. What concerns the teacher, these functions were performed by

Rehan Neziri – a Macedonian, who studied Islamic Theology, Pedagogy and religious Sociology in Turkey. After his arrival to Switzerland in 2002, he learned German and established partner relations with the Catholic organizations (Rota, Bouzar, 2012, pp. 173–174).

The pilot projects in St. Gallen, Lucerne and Thurgau illustrated that for an adequate functioning of the system of Islamic religious education there is a lack of Swiss textbooks on this subject, as well as proper preparation of teachers. The national research program PNR 58 “Religious Communities, State and Society” concluded that as of 2010 the system for preparation of professionals in Islamic Theology in Confederation was at the initial level:

1) Since 2001, the Institute for Interreligious Pedagogy and Didactics of Cologne offered the courses for those, willing to teach IRE where the Swiss could enroll as well;

2) In 2004, the scientists from the University of Vienna offered their colleagues from Basel a joint program for preparation of IRE teachers but as they failed to agree the conditions, the project was not implemented;

3) In 2007, the Islamic Institute of Vienna has arranged the courses in Zurich;

4) In 2010, the program “Islam, Muslims and Civil Society” in the University of Fribourg was certified (Formation des imams, 2010).

Therefore, in 2011 the participants of PNR 58 stated that the modern Muslim community demanded from IRE teacher not only excellent knowledge of Quran, but also understanding of a social and political reality of Europe. So already in March 2014 in the University of Fribourg a large-scale event “To the Swiss Centre for Islam and Society” took place, with participation of 120 experts from different countries. As a result, by the University of Fribourg that was a powerful center for a religious research they decided to establish the Swiss Centre for Islam and Society (Centre Suisse Islam et Société – CSIS), Hansjörg Schmid was elected the head of it (SERFI News, 2014, p. 11).

Despite the opposition of the activists of the Swiss People’s Party, in 2015 the CSIS was opened. Within 2016 – 2017, the Centre arranged 27 events, though most of them were directed not at the IRE teachers, but at imams (Brodard, 2018, p. 7). Already in 2017 the secondary Master’s program “Islam and Society” (30 ECTS credits) was introduced, with orientation at the graduates of other majors (Schmid, Chatagny, Isis-Arnautovic, 2017, p. 15). Taking into account the active work of CSIS, the State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation provided in the budget for 2017 – 2020 pp. 1,6 millions of Swiss Francs for the activity of this academic center (SERFI News, 2017, p. 15). Lack of funding was proven by the fact that as of 2018 CSIS had 13 employees (only three were full-time) and five doctoral students (Schmid, Chatagny, Zikeli, 2018, pp. 8–9).

The Fribourg center headed, not monopolized, the system for preparation of professionals in Islamic religious education. So in 2018 the Geneva University offered their own courses for imams and IRE teachers with distinctive interdisciplinary approach (history, law, politics, philosophy and culture). As they emphasized the secular nature, the program provided for five conceptual modules: political principles of democracy and respect for human rights, history of Geneva canton and Confederation, interreligious and intercultural dialogue, ethics, academic approach towards Islamic theology.

The Conclusions. Therefore, in spite of the fact that according to the Constitution of Swiss Confederation, the issues on education and religion were transferred to the cantonal level, the state, through decisions of the Federal Court of the national level, assisted to protection of religious freedoms of Muslim students (permission for visible religious attributes, special-purpose arrangements for swimming lessons, possible absence at the classes during

the biggest holidays). It was established that the policy of cantons regarding the Muslim community was often defined by the external tendencies (discussion on visible religious attributes and introduction of the course “Religions and Humanitarian Culture” touched, first of all, French-speaking cantons while the attempts to introduce the system of Islamic religious education concern a range of German-speaking cantons). The pilot projects of IRE in St. Gallen, Lucerne and Thurgau revealed the need in establishing, in Switzerland, the due system for preparing teachers of this direction and elaboration of didactic materials. The Confederation responded to this urgent need with creation, in 2015, of profile branch by the University of Fribourg – Swiss Centre for Islam and Society. The perspective direction of the research still is comparison of Swiss, German and Austrian approaches to preparation of IRE teachers and development of didactic materials.

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**UKRAINE – THE NATO: MUTUAL RELATION
AND PARTNERSHIPS MAIN STAGES**

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to identify and analyse the main stages of Ukraine's relations with the North Atlantic Alliance by characterizing the milestones and optimizing the main parameters of interaction in the context of the latest geopolitical coordinates. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of objectivity and historicism, as well as general and specialized scientific methods and the interdisciplinary and systematic approaches application. The scientific novelty is that, for the first time in historiography, the author's periodization of Ukraine's relation with the NATO has been proposed. The Conclusions.* *The NATO-Ukraine relations have come a long way from the Special Partnership Charter; the Action Plan, the Intensified Dialogue on Membership, and others. documents that have generated significant versatile potential for the Euro-Atlantic choices.*

The NATO and Ukraine have a long history of mutual relations, from multi-vector and neutrality to accelerated integration and constitutional consolidation of Ukraine's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Characteristic of Ukraine-NATO cooperation is the process of its structural modernization and intensification of political dialogue in the political and military spheres. Under current conditions, the NATO-Ukraine relations play an important role in enhancing Ukraine's defense capability to counter the Russian aggression, will help strengthen national security, reform the armed forces by the NATO standards, and create the foundations for Ukraine's democratic development. Ukraine's further movement to the NATO appears to be an alternative in today's international and regional security environment. The acceleration of Ukraine's emergence as a full-fledged component of the Euro-Atlantic civilization and its promotion to the NATO membership depends on the political will of the new political generation and Ukrainian society.

Key words: Ukraine, The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation relations, partnership, present day, Euro-Atlantic activists.

УКРАЇНА – НАТО: ОСНОВНІ ЕТАПИ ВЗАЄМВІДНОСИН ТА ПАРТНЕРСТВА СУЧАСНОСТІ

***Анотація.** Мета дослідження – визначення та аналіз основних етапів взаємовідносин України з Північноатлантичним альянсом шляхом характеристики рубіжних віх і оптимізації основних параметрів взаємодії у контексті новітніх геополітичних координат. **Методологія праці** спирається на принципи об'єктивності та історизму, а також загально- та спеціально-наукові методи і міждисциплінарний й системний підходи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії запропоновано авторську періодизацію стосунків України з НАТО сучасності. **Висновки.** Відносини України з НАТО пройшли складний шлях від Хартії про особливе партнерство, Плану дій, Інтенсифікованого діалогу з питань набуття членства та інших документів, у рамках яких напрацьовано значний різнобічний потенціал для здійснення євроатлантичного вибору. Україна та НАТО мають уже чималу історію взаємовідносин від багатовекторності й нейтральності до прискореної інтеграції і конституційного закріплення вступу України в Організацію Північноатлантичного договору. Характерним для співробітництва України і НАТО є процес його структурної модернізації та посилення політичного діалогу в політичній і воєнній сферах. У нинішніх умовах українсько-натовські відносини відіграють важливу роль у посиленні обороноздатності України для протидії агресії РФ, сприятимуть зміцненню національної безпеки, реформуванню збройних сил за стандартами НАТО, створенню засад демократичного розвитку України. Подальший рух України в НАТО виглядає безальтернативним в умовах сучасної міжнародної та регіональної безпекової обстановки. Прискорення становлення України як повноправної складової євроатлантичної цивілізації та її просування до членства в НАТО залежить від політичної волі нової політичної генерації та українського суспільства.*

Ключові слова: Україна, Організація Північноатлантичного договору, взаємовідносини, партнерство, сучасність, активісти-євроатлантисти.

The Problem Statement. In the sphere of Ukraine's foreign policy activity, the national's interest priority is the establishment and further deepening of the development of strategic partnership relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In the face of contemporary threats to the territorial integrity and international isolation, which would have a fatal impact on the future of the Ukrainian state, its cooperation with the Alliance, which remains the most powerful collective security system in the world, is crucial to ensuring our country's defense capability. Harnessing the capabilities and practical assistance of the NATO member countries is helping to reform Ukraine's Armed Forces, the security and defense sector, and its industrial and defense sector to its standards. Annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation, the occupation of Donbass, war with Russia in the East of Ukraine. The conduct against our state, the so-called "hybrid war", the permanent process

of exerting pressure on all spheres of life on the part of the Russian Federation, provided for cooperation and the NATO membership in the Constitution of Ukraine (02/02/2019). Taking into consideration the complexity of the issues outlined, according to the authors' view, it is necessary, first of all, to identify the main periods of relations with the Alliance, through which the problems of the evolution of dynamics and the establishment of their priorities and milestones should be identified. Such a methodological approach will allow a greater understanding of the importance of an in-depth study of the key stages of the NATO-Ukraine relationship, will help to understand the decisive directions and results of Ukraine's partnership with the North Atlantic Alliance, gaining special importance and a new perspective on finding a more effective and secure national security. Ukraine's further movement towards the NATO is an alternative in the current international and regional current security environment on the continent. The proposed work corresponds to both scientific and practical request for the Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic course implementation. The above-mentioned information actualizes the research and makes it extremely important and necessary.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The historiography of the initial scientific problem is represented by a considerable mass of literature, which is divided into two main groups conditionally: general and special developments in the context of their consideration on the problem-chronological principle. The first group includes works on general nature, in which the identified problems are covered in general, in connection with the Ukraine's foreign policy activity disclosure in the new geopolitical conditions. There are numerous works of the Ukrainian scientists among them: O. Ivchenko (Ivchenko, 1997), A. Halchynskiyi (Halchynskiyi, 2002), I. Todorov (Todorov, 2006), L. Chekalenko (Chekalenko, 2011), S. Vidnyanskyi (Vidnyanskyi, 2011), A. Martynov (Martynov, 2015), L. Aleksiyevts and S. Pryidun (Aleksiyevts, Pryidun, 2012), A. Zlenko (Zlenko, 2009), M. Aleksiyevts and Y. Seko (Aleksiyevts, Seko, 2016). A number of foreign scientists have dealt with the above-mentioned issue: E. Lucas (Lucas, 2009), Z. Brzezinski (Brzezinski, 2006), S. Huntington (Huntington, 2016), F. Fukuyama (Fukuyama, 2019) and the others. Their publications laid the theoretical and methodological foundations for an in-depth study of the problem.

The second group of literature on this topic includes the scientists' work, whose subject of the research deals with the formation and development of modern relations between Ukraine and the NATO, the impact of the Alliance on the process of ensuring the country's defense capabilities. There are the publications of T. Boyetskyi (Boyetskyi, 2006), S. George (George, 2006), O. Zuiko (Zuiko, 2006), S. Lepyavka, A. Mahomedov (Lepyavko, Mahomedov, 2018), V. Horbulin (Horbulin, 2009), L. Polyakov (Polyakov, 2007). O. Chernousenko (Chernousenko, 2003), A. Kudriachenko (Kudriachenko, 2009), H. Perepelytsia (Perepelytsia, 2009). S. Pryidun (Pryidun, 2017) and others. The problems of Ukraine's cooperation with the NATO, from simple cooperation to the legalization of the course for our country's accession to the Alliance as a priority area of the foreign policy activity in the security sphere, were considered in the collective works under the editorship of O. Soskin (Soskin, 2007; Soskin, 2008), H. Perepelytsya (Perepelytsya, 2002), O. Vlasyuk (Vlasyuk, 2008). E. Marchuk's work "Na Shlyakhy Do NATO" (Towards NATO) played the important role in the historiographical development of the topic (Marchuk, 2016), which contains his publications in the media on Ukraine's possible accession to the NATO from 1999 to 2016. Consideration concerning the problem's development state indicates a sufficiently high level of experience in the topic on European-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, the evolution of its relations with the Alliance in the historical context. However, the complicated current inter-

national environment and the Russian threat of further aggression encourage researchers to discourse on the above-mentioned issues and to understand the peculiarities and priorities of Ukraine's engagement with the NATO in order to see ways to optimally measure the implementation of the Euro-Atlantic course of the state according to the latest developments. It should be noted that the qualitative changes in the historiography of Ukrainian-NATO relations make it possible to identify their new objective studies, to show the achievements and challenges to the declared tasks on the way of the Ukrainian state's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Will Ukraine be able to use all opportunities and make the right choice under the current conditions? In the light of the 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections, this issue is becoming increasingly important and remains open.

The purpose of the article is to substantiate and characterize the main stages of the NATO-Ukraine cooperation and partnership based on setting their milestones in the context of the geopolitical requirements of today.

The Statement of the Basic Material. It is well known that history has always shown that the world has always undergone the way of forming small and large integration associations. It is worth noting that in the past, these were mainly power integration entities for the purpose of wars uniting disparate peoples under a single political, economic, civilizational and religious pretext. Nowadays globalization philosophy of the modern world shows that the main driving force of European-Atlantic integration is to ensure peace, stability and national security, and to protect the sovereignty of independent states, and to improve welfare. According to the authors, this is what guides the international integration unions' participants and organizations. It is no exception in this process that Ukraine has proclaimed since its first years of independence its Euro-Atlantic aspirations to integrate into the world systemic structures to protect national interests, secure security and territorial integrity. Today, in the absence of material and economic prosperity and uncertainty of domestic and foreign policy, the formation of the image of a stable, democratic Ukraine, the search for possible allies, cooperation with European-economic associations is of utmost importance for its national security, is a priority, and quite relevant. It should be noted that Ukraine views its own security as an integral part of the integral strategy of Euro-Atlantic security, seeking to build foreign policy activities taking into account the interests of foreign states and the inviolability of their borders.

Taking into consideration the methodological approach, it becomes clear that there is the urgent need for Ukraine to join the collective security system. According to authors' opinion, the Ukrainian state should become a member of international organizations that guarantee collective security, since it is difficult to resolve this issue on its own due to the current conditions. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization could be such a Euro-Atlantic alliance, as one of the defining components of the international relations, a structure around which a new configuration of the Euro-Atlantic security system is formed, containing not only a military-political but also socio-economic and scientific-environmental dimension. Therefore, the enhanced cooperation, the gradual European-Atlantic integration and accession to the NATO meet the Ukraine's national needs and interests. The idea of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration has deep historical roots. The Euro-Atlantic component prevails in Ukraine as a European state. Throughout history, Ukraine sought for Euro-Atlantic format society introduction to prove the effectiveness that the NATO member countries are confidently demonstrating.

It should be noted that Ukraine has a long history of relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. After Ukrainian independence the relations with the NATO began im-

mediately, and have not lost their relevance for almost thirty years. The relations' importance not only grow but also does not diminish over time. The following process is natural, because the cooperation with the NATO will promote the democratic society development, human rights and freedoms, ensure the national security and territorial integrity of the country. Despite the ambiguity of a public opinion on Ukraine's accession to the NATO, it has been working closely with it on a bilateral and multilateral basis, and has developed considerable versatile potential for further Euro-Atlantic choices. The NATO-Ukraine relations absorbed certain achievements of engagement and contradictory aspects, heated discussions, which arouse especially in the Ukrainian society, but they can be characterized as dynamic, evolving from multi-vector and non-bloc to accelerating the Euro-Atlantic integration and the most expansive legislation. The above-mentioned information requires deep understanding of the NATO-Ukraine relations, their specificities analysis, the problematic aspects' identification and the partnership's experience full implementation priorities and the relations' model reformatting in accordance with the new geopolitical requirements and challenges to take into account the cooperation's intensification possibilities on the way to Ukraine's accession to the North Atlantic Alliance.

As it was above-mentioned, in order to gain a deeper understanding of all the various aspects of the NATO-Ukraine relations, the authors believe that the milestones and the main stages of modern relations between them and their institutionalization should be identified. Hence, it is possible to trace the Ukraine-NATO relations origin and development history, to demonstrate a systematic vision of the benefits and mutually beneficial cooperation between Ukraine and the NATO in political, military, economic, geopolitical terms in accordance with the national interests and the requirements of the modern world system transformation and modernization civilization more thoroughly. While defining the major milestones in Ukraine's relations with the NATO, it should be noted that they have taken on a strategic partnership format, play an important role in enhancing peace and security in the Euro-Atlantic area, and are characterized by varying tensions and dynamism. Undoubtedly, Ukraine's relations with the NATO have come a long way from the simplest forms of cooperation to deepening Euro-Atlantic integration, regulating it with a number of treaties and agreements adopted during the years of cooperation. Nowadays, in the face of the Russian aggression, both the Ukrainian leadership political will and the civic support level for the implementation of Ukraine's legislative course to join the NATO are increasing. Following the widespread approach in Ukrainian historiography introduced by numerous researches (S. Vidyanskyi, A. Martynov, Y. Makar, I. Todorov, M. Aleksievets, Y. Seko, S. Pryidun, etc.), the criteria for determining the main stages of establishing and implementing cooperation with the Alliance the dynamics of events, the complications of forms of cooperation to the requirements of time, the quantitative and qualitative changes in the course of internal and external factors interaction, the specific circumstances, the creation of institutional and legal support for the implementation of the European-Atlantic choice of Ukraine in the situation of the increased international tension and mutual search for ways to modernize in the national interest and to strengthen peace and stability on the continent

It should be noted that in recent years the process of the European-Atlantic integration of Ukraine has become dynamic and has undergone a significant transformation. Therefore, Ukraine's full accession to NATO should be preceded by its systematic exploration and analysis within the framework of the main milestones in the Ukrainian-NATO relations' formation and development, the proper scientific and informational support for this process.

Given the nature of the Euro-Atlantic space geopolitical transformations, the changes caused by the new system of the international relations and the above-mentioned criteria for the Euro-Atlantic integration development in Ukraine, according to the authors, it is possible to distinguish the following stages: the first stage: 1991 – 1997; the second stage: 1998 – 2000; the third stage: 2001 – 2004; the fourth stage: 2004 – 2009; and, finally, the fifth stage covers the following years 2010 – 2019. Chronologically, these periods are outlined schematically, as the historical and political events of the NATO-Ukraine relations emerge a bit later or several years earlier. In fact, the course of domestic and foreign policy processes in 1991 – 2019 defined the basic principles of creating the author's concept of Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization periodization relations.

The first stage of the NATO-Ukraine relations began in the early 1990-ies, after Ukrainian independence and since the state is considered to be a significant Alliance partner. Most national scholars believe that the first attempts to define the foundations of the Euro-Atlantic aspirations were outlined in the Declaration of State Sovereignty, which proclaimed the course (then the USSR) “for Ukraine’s direct participation in the pan-European process and European structures” (1990, Declaration). Further, the Euro-Atlantic vector of foreign policy activity is legally enshrined in the “Main Foreign Policy Areas of Ukraine” (July 2, 1993), a key document defining the main tasks for integration into international structures, in particular its membership in the European collective security system, which has become more active after the end of the Cold War. Dialogue and cooperation between Kyiv and Brussels developed after the first visit to Ukraine on February 22 – 23, 1992, inviting the country to participate in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and subsequently to the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC, 1997). On May 3rd, 1992, Ukraine became an Associate Member in the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, represented by the Permanent Delegation of the Verkhovna Rada. On July 8, 1992, President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk made an official visit to the NATO Headquarters, during which it was emphasized that the establishment of European security structures on the basis of existing international alliances such as the NATO, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), etc., will guarantee the external national security conditions. Since then, active contacts with the NATO have begun. The relations developed further. On November 16, 1992, General D. Shalikashvili, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Europe, made an official visit to Kyiv, and in 1993, the NATO Foreign Minister A. Zlenko visited the NATO Headquarters. The intensification of actions by Ukraine at the initial stage with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization contributed to the deepening of relations with it, which was welcomed by the two parties. Dozens of visits were conducted, which defined the theoretical and conceptual foundations and programmatic tasks of Ukraine’s European integration policy.

However, according to the authors, the period from 1994 till 1997 should be emphasized as the most vital one in the development of relations between Ukraine and the NATO. 1994 should be considered the year of regular and permanent contacts and cooperation of Ukraine with the Alliance, when on February 8 Ukraine signed the Framework Program Document, which was called “The Partnership for Peace” and the NATO presented a P4P Presentation Document on May 25th, which expressed the state of being ready to cooperate in the specific military and civilian spheres and identified a number of priority areas for the cooperation (Todorov, 2014, pp. 87–88). In March 1994, Ukraine’s direct consultations with the Alliance on the formula “16 + 1” (there 16 NATO member states and Ukraine) began. Their topics complemented and developed Kyiv-Brussels relations’ principles, which were identified dur-

ing L. Kravchuk's visit to the NATO's Headquarters, the essence of which was to recognize the political integrity and integrity of Ukraine's borders, as well as its non-nuclear status. Since 1994, Ukraine has been involved in the inception of the "Force Planning and Assessment Process" to enable it to prepare its armed forces for joint action with the NATO members, as well as to participate in the exchange of defense and budgetary planning information (the NATO-Ukraine, 2017, p. 3). In June 1995, the Alliance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine exchanged letters, outlining the main objectives of the first Individual Partnership Program (IPA-95) between Kyiv and Brussels, scheduled for 1996 – 1998. The joint statement of both parties issued in the 14th of September in 1995, formally endorsed at a special meeting of the Alliance's North Atlantic Council, facilitated the deepening of Ukraine's relations with the NATO effectively and formed the basis for formal bilateral talks on March 20, 1997 to formalize a special partnership between Ukraine and the Alliance (Burdyak, Moroz, 2008). In the future, the cooperation deepened on a mutually beneficial basis, with Ukraine participating in NATO-led peacekeeping and crisis management.

It is worth distinguishing the 1996 year, which was also characterized by an active and effective foreign policy activity of Ukraine in securing national interests in relations with the NATO in the context of strengthening relations, the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territory of the new members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. On December 10, 1996, most of Ukraine's enlargement proposals concerning the NATO-Ukraine relations were reflected in the Final Communication of the North Atlantic Council meeting at the level of foreign ministers, and the creation of the Alliance Information Center in Ukraine was confirmed (the NATO-Ukraine, 2017, p. 3).

Since 1997, the NATO-Ukraine relations reached a new level. On July 9, 1996 at the Alliance Summit in Madrid, the Head of the Ukrainian State L. Kuchma and the Heads of State and Government signed the "Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Ukraine" (Charter, 1997), which remains to this day the basic document that defines Ukraine – the NATO relations priorities. The document outlines the highest-level commitments of both sides to develop a special and effective partnership and cooperation that will enable the greater stability and shared democratic values in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), as well as becoming the legal basis for the NATO-Ukraine consultations in the Euro-Atlantic continuum of security conflict, crisis management, peacekeeping and humanitarian operations (Charter, 1997). The Charter endorsed the principles and tools for enhancing Ukraine-NATO cooperation, defined the topics of consultations and areas of cooperation that would ensure the stability and protection of pan-European democratic values. In particular, for the successful development of relations between Ukraine and the Alliance and the resolution of the Charter's objectives, the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC) Forum was set up, within which the Joint Working Groups (JWGs) on military reform, arms, economic security, emergency planning, science and environmental protection, and ways to improve cooperation. According to the Ukrainian scientist I. Todorov, "this advisory mechanism of the NATO-Ukraine Commission was one of the main achievements of the Charter, as well as of all cooperation between Ukraine and the NATO. It provided the theoretical opportunity for Ukraine to consult with the NATO as soon as an external threat escalates at any time when Ukraine feels such a danger"(Todorov, 2014). The designated commission had to meet at least twice a year to mutually monitor the implementation of the NATO-Ukraine Distinctive Partnership Charter. Time has confirmed that the NATO-Ukraine Commission has proven to be an effective body.

An important act in the development of the NATO-Ukraine relations was the opening of a Ukrainian mission in the Alliance on 7 May 1997, and in the same year in the North Atlantic Treaty Information and Documentation Center (NICD) in Kyiv. The NATO Information and Documentation Center organized the research, funded the implementation of the projects, disseminated documents and publications on the practical benefits of the NATO-Ukraine cooperation. It should be emphasized that our country was the first in the post-Soviet space to open a similar institution. A Memorandum of Understanding on Civil Emergency Planning and Disaster Preparedness was adopted at the end of 1997 to strengthen Ukraine-NATO relations, and in 1998 Distinctive Partnership Charter Implementation Plan was adopted.

The second stage of the NATO-Ukraine relations in 1998 – 2000 is characterized by the political dialogue continuation between the two parties, the search for new forms and ways of cooperation between Ukraine and the NATO within the framework of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in accordance with its 1998-2000 Action Plan, which was adopted for the development of a more effective and a more practical partnership, based on proposals from Member States and Alliance Partner countries, anticipated international relations activities (training courses, seminars, conferences, workshops, expert meetings, etc.) by industries. According to the Individual Partnership Program between Ukraine and the NATO, the Armed Forces were involved in 369 events in 1998 – 2000, including 38 military exercises under the Partnership for Peace Programme (PfP), 7 of which were the following “Peace Shield”, “Sea Breeze” and “The Cossack’s Steppe – 2000”, Etc. (Participation, 2014, pp. 72–73). A new phase began in relations between Ukraine and NATO, with the establishment of the Joint Working Group on Defense Reform in 1998 and the opening of the NATO Liaison Office in Ukraine in April next year, which was aimed at establishing contacts and cooperation between Ukrainian state institutions, ministries and agencies with the relevant structures of the Alliance and its member countries. The Office promoted the reform of the defense sector in Ukraine and its participation in the Partnership for Peace.

In order to modernize the bilateral agreements with the Alliance in Ukraine, several exceptionally important legislative acts were adopted, in particular: at the end of 1998, the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma approved the State Program of Cooperation of Ukraine with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for the period up to 2001 (State Program, 1998), On April 23, 1999, the Ukrainian Parliament approved a resolution “On relations between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)”, both documents stated that Ukraine’s strategic goal was a full-scale and the Integration of European and the Euro-Atlantic structures and full participation in the European security system. The state program was aimed not only at intensifying cooperation in political and military spheres, but also in military-technical and scientific-technical directions, civil emergency planning, joint fight against nuclear proliferation, international terrorism, environmental protection, space sharing etc. (State Program, 1998).

During the second stage of the NATO-Ukraine relationship, working and official visits of the Alliance’s representatives to Ukraine and, conversely, of Ukrainian high-ranking officials took place in Brussels. For example, on 25–28 June 1998, an Alliance delegation led by the NATO Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs K.-P. Kleiber; on June 29–30 the first visit of the NATO-Ukraine WGG experts on military reform to Kyiv was held; On July 8–9, 1998, at the invitation of the Head of the Ukrainian State, L. Kuchma, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the signing of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and the NATO, the NATO Secretary General Kh. Solana arrived on an official visit; On April 24,

1999, at the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Alliance in Washington, the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma participated in the first meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Summit, etc. Similar visits by official figures of Ukraine and the NATO certainly provided a new powerful impetus for the partnership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization laid strong foundations for bringing Ukraine and the Alliance closer to addressing European security issues.

The third stage of Ukraine-NATO relations (2001 – 2004) is characterized by variable intensity of the political contacts, pragmatic, concrete content in the Charter of a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and the Alliance, ascending dynamics up to the middle of 2004, when the progress towards the NATO was rolled up. At that time, the NATO course was also removed from the Military Doctrine, and later Ukraine lost the opportunity to participate in the Membership Action Plan (MAP). It should be mentioned that the above-mentioned situation happened in the summer of 2004, and already in the autumn the country was experiencing the first Maidan (Torba, 2016).

It should be noted that after the Ukrainian independence, being in a state of reform, was doomed to permanent adjustments to its foreign policy. However, even in such a situation, the movement to the NATO has not stopped. At the beginning of 2000, significant events took place in Ukraine's relations with the North Atlantic Alliance. For example, for the first time in a half-century of the NATO history, the members of its Political Council, led by Secretary-General Lord J. Robertson, have arrived on an official visit to strengthen a special partnership between Ukraine and the NATO and to develop a new concept of the bilateral relations for the future, security in the Euro-Atlantic area, and the Euro-Atlantic security cooperation in the framework of peacekeeping operations in the Balkans (Ukraine – NATO, 2017, p. 5). In this regard, we will single out the 16th meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission, which took place in Kyiv on 1 March 2000 at the Ambassador level. It was the first such event in Ukraine and the first meeting of the NATO Alliance outside the Allies. The NUC acknowledged the strategic nature of the NATO-Ukraine relations and endorsed our country's consistent efforts to develop closer ties with the Alliance (NATO-Ukraine, 2017, p. 5).

In order to improve the existing information base and coordinate partnership efforts, the Ukrainian Parliament ratified the "Agreement between States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty and other States participating in the PfP Program on the status of their armed forces and the Additional Protocols" and the Additional Protocols the "Treaty on Open Skies" (2.03.2000) was adopted, making an important contribution to the transparency of the arms control issues and improving early detection and appropriate crisis management (the NATO-Ukraine, 2017, p. 5). In January 2001, the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma approved the State Program of Cooperation of Ukraine with the NATO for 2001 – 2004. Such programs of cooperation with the Alliance were available only to the states directly invited to the NATO membership, which testified to the special nature of relations between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty. To assist in the implementation of the tasks identified in the Program, the Institute of National Coordinators of Ukraine-NATO Cooperation was established. The coordinators undertook cooperative activities with the Alliance in their respective fields. The following year, the State Council for the European and the Euro-Atlantic integration of our country and the realization of strategic goals of state policy for joining the Euro-Atlantic space were created.

An important step in this direction was the adoption of the NATO-Ukraine Action Plan in Prague, which aimed at achieving full integration into the Euro-Atlantic security

structures (the NATO-Ukraine, 2017, p. 6) and the NSDC Ukraine's on May 29, 2002 political decision to acquire Ukraine. in the perspective of full NATO membership. The Ukraine's intention to integrate into the Alliance structures was confirmed by the Law of Ukraine "On the Basics of the National Security of Ukraine" of June 19, 2003 (Law of Ukraine, 2003). The Ukraine's aspirations to join NATO were further stated in the new version of the Military Doctrine of Ukraine, approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine on June 15, 2004. The doctrine stated that "Activation of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration with a focus on the NATO accession as a basis for a pan-European security system the profound reform of the state's defense sphere in accordance with the European standards is one of the most important priorities of both foreign and domestic policy" (Military Doctrine, 2004, p. 3). It is worth noting that since Ukraine first openly announced its goal of becoming a member of the Alliance since May 23, 2002, Kyiv has been moving toward the Euro-Atlantic direction overcoming obstacles. It was then that Ukraine was close to signing the NATO Membership Action Plan 9(MAP). But on 29 June 2004, the Istanbul Summit, in view of its critical attitude to Ukraine's internal political processes, did not decide to engage in formal programs for Ukraine's membership in the Alliance. In addition, under pressure from the Russian Federation, the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma made a reversal from the NATO, eliminating the above-mentioned thesis about Ukraine's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Kapsamun, Rudenko, 2017, p. 4). It took a few more years for our country to start working on full NATO membership again.

According to the authors, during the next, the fourth stage of the NATO-Ukraine relations, the Ukrainian-NATO cooperation after the "Orange Revolution" and under President Viktor Yushchenko took on a new format. This period is characterized by significant activation, enhancement and acceleration of Ukraine's integration with the Alliance, especially within the framework of the PfP Individual Program and the Intensified Political Dialogue on Ukraine's NATO Membership launched at the NUC meeting in Vilnius on April 21, 2005, who showed willingness to join the NATO and pursued appropriate reforms. The practical discussions on approaches to the NATO accession in the context of the dialogue took place during the visit of the NATO delegation to Ukraine, led by the NATO Secretary General J. Scheffer, in October of the 18th – 20th in 2005. Within the framework of this event, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a meeting of the NUC at the level of ambassadors and with the participation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense of Ukraine, and for the first time in the history of the NATO-Ukraine relations, a joint meeting of South Africa – NSDCU chaired by the President of Ukraine. A program to strengthen Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration with the Alliance, support for reform priorities with a focus on accession to the North Atlantic Treaty, was agreed, thus confirming the country's Euro-Atlantic course. In pursuit of these goals, the Presidential Decree of December 27, 2005, which entered into force the NSDC decision of 25 November 2005, "On Immediate Measures to Further Develop Ukraine's Relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)" (Ukraine – NATO, 2017, p. 9). With this decree, V. Yushchenko reaffirmed the irreversibility of Ukraine's membership in the NATO, instructed the Cabinet of Ministers to set up an Interdepartmental Commission to prepare Ukraine for accession to the Alliance, giving it broad powers to set up working groups on specific areas of Ukraine-NATO cooperation headed by relevant national coordinators, military, information, security and other fields. In the context of the development of Ukraine's relations with the NATO, V. Yushchenko signed Decree No. 215/2006 "On the National Co-ordination System of Ukraine's Co-operation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization",

Decree No. 295/2006 “On Approval of the NATO-Ukraine Target Plan under the NATO-Ukraine Action Plan”, which defines cooperation measures and the growth of the dynamics of political dialogue and practical cooperation.

During the following years, the Alliance actively engaged in political dialogue with Ukraine and announced an open door policy on Ukraine’s accession, considering deepening cooperation with Ukraine, defining the role and place of the state in today’s European security system, combating terrorism and maintaining peace and stability together with the NATO’s response forces. At the Bucharest Summit in 2008, the Heads of State and Government of the NATO member states endorsed a Declaration assuring Ukraine (and Georgia) of future NATO membership (Bucharest Summit, 2008). The NATO Anniversary Summit, April 3 – 4, 2009 in Strasbourg and Kelly confirmed the NATO’s intention to continue its Open Door Policy and the Bucharest Summit on Ukraine and its MAP for the NATO (Ukraine-NATO, 2017). In 2009, the Declaration on the amendment of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and the NATO was signed, which remains the main document in cooperation to this day (Declaration, 2009). It reflected the positive changes that have been made in recent years in the relationship between them, as well as securing a leading role for the NUC in the implementation of the process launched at the NATO Bucharest Summit in 2008. A landmark in the NATO-Ukraine relations is the December 4, 2009 decision, which publicized Ukraine’s implementation of its first Annual National Program for 2009 to prepare Ukraine for membership in the Alliance. The document, outlining priority areas for further cooperation, reaffirmed the Allies’ commitment to Ukraine’s future the NATO membership and their willingness to facilitate relevant reforms in our country (NATO-Ukraine, 2017, p. 11).

Finally, the fifth stage of Ukraine-NATO relations covers 2010 – 2019. It should highlighted that the problem of Ukrainian-NATO relations, as evidenced by the recent history of Ukraine’s independence day, is strongly linked to the dynamics of the development of internal political life. In 2010, Viktor Yanukovich won the anti-NATO rhetoric, dissolved the Interagency Commission on Preparing Ukraine for the NATO Accession, abolished the National Center for Euro-Atlantic Integration, and defined the non-aligned status of Ukraine and the Law on Main Domestic and Foreign Policy of Ukraine. thus, the formula for Ukrainees accession to the Alliance was removed (Law of Ukraine, 2010). This led to a weakening of Ukraine’s political dialogue with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. And only in December 2014 did the Verkhovna Rada endorse the bill on non-aligned status initiated by the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko (Ukraine, 2014). Since then, the cooperation with the Alliance has gained new ground and has grown significantly. And as a result of the Russia-Ukrainian War, the NATO-Ukraine cooperation intensified since 2014. In the future, the cooperation continued to deepen on a mutually beneficial basis, with Ukraine actively participating in the NATO-sponsored peacekeeping operations and missions. The Alliance attached paramount importance to supporting radical changes in the security and defense field in Ukraine that played a crucial role in Ukraine’s democratic development and strengthening its ability to provide national security and defense, and the transition of the Armed Forces to Alliance standards. A key systematic document for the development of cooperation with the NATO and an important tool for implementing relevant reforms with the support of the Alliance have been the Ukraine-NATO Annual National Cooperation Programs (RNPs), which have been developed since 2009 and approved by the relevant decree of the President of Ukraine. The implementation of the RNP helped Ukraine become one step closer to the NATO standards, enhanced systematic synergy with the Alliance, drawing on the NA-

TO's expert, financial, logistical and other capabilities to strengthen Ukraine's defense capabilities and counteract long-term Russian aggression (Romanyuk, 2017, p. 3). During the 2010 – 2019 implementation of the RNP, a series of practical consultations were held with the Alliance experts in support of Ukraine, increasing its status as a country that makes every possible effort to strengthen security in the world, and consistent implementation of international obligations.

At the same time, the development of the strategic partnership of Ukraine with the Alliance, in accordance with the principles set out in the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and the Alliance, the Declaration on its Supplement and the Practical Activity of the Commission, has increasingly become a priority national interest of Ukraine in the sphere of international activity. The NATO at the level of Heads of State and Government on enhancing security and defense cooperation in line with the NATO standards, implementing measures to support the countries in the face of unprecedented aggression and hybrid war started by Russia.

In the context of Ukraine's relations with the NATO transformation on the highest-level the following measures were taken: decisions on the creation of a new National Security Strategy for Ukraine were made; the systematic control over the security and defense sector of Ukraine was approved; the modernization of the system of Ukraine-NATO cooperation's coordination was endorsed; the increasing efficiency in the preparation and implementation of annual national programs were agreed; the creating conditions for the interoperability and shared capabilities with the NATO were approved as well as the use of the NATO standards in the military field.

Such a systematic approach in Ukraine's relations with the Alliance made the process of Ukraine's accession to the Euro-Atlantic community effective and practical. In June 2017, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine passed a law reopening one of the cornerstones of national foreign and security policy, making our country's NATO a strategic foreign policy priority, and on February 7, 2019, the NATO membership was enshrined in the Constitution of Ukraine, thereby acquiring a legitimate character. Russia's aggression against Ukraine has virtually eliminated arguments from the backers of multi-vector, equal distance and neutrality. Unambiguous recognition of Ukraine's future membership in the organization, the need for which is an indisputable imperative of the time.

The Conclusions. The NATO-Ukraine relations have come a long way from the Special Partnership Charter, the Action Plan, the Intensified Dialogue on Membership, and others. documents that have generated significant versatile potential for the Euro-Atlantic choices. The NATO and Ukraine have a long history of mutual relations, from multi-vector and neutrality to accelerated integration and constitutional consolidation of Ukraine's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Characteristic of Ukraine-NATO cooperation is the process of its structural modernization and intensification of political dialogue in the political and military spheres. Under current conditions, the NATO-Ukraine relations play an important role in enhancing Ukraine's defense capability to counter the Russian aggression, will help strengthen national security, reform the armed forces by the NATO standards, and create the foundations for Ukraine's democratic development. Ukraine's further movement to the NATO appears to be an alternative in today's international and regional security environment. The acceleration of Ukraine's emergence as a full-fledged component of the Euro-Atlantic civilization and its promotion to the NATO membership depends on the political will of the new political generation and Ukrainian society.

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THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS' MILITARY SERVICE PECULIARITIES

Abstract. *The purpose of the work* is to reveal the peculiarities of the Seventh-day Adventist military service under the condition of the historical context analysis (the religious confession/denomination emergence, formation, and development) with emphasis on the situation in independent Ukraine. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, the author's objectivity, as well as on the application of the general scientific: analysis, synthesis, generalization methods. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time, on the basis of the foreign sources and the Ukrainian lists of the legislative and regulatory acts on military duty and military service, the Seventh-day Adventist military service was comprehensively considered in the United States of America, during World War I and World War II, in the Soviet and modern Ukraine. **The Conclusions.** The study highlights the main stages of discourse between the state's need for self-protection and the religious beliefs of the Adventists. It has been revealed that during World War I and World War II there were compromises on the principle of non-participation in hostilities, carrying weapons, and breaking the Fourth Commandment (Keep the Sabbath day holy). It has been revealed

that the US Adventists were able to establish cooperation with the armed forces and create a special program, which was called the "Medical Training for the Servicemen", which is relevant today. The military service and military duty issues in the Ukrainian context have been considered. It has been found out that the church members in Ukraine, who refused to carry weapons, had an opportunity to choose an alternative (non-military) service instead of the conscript military service. However, in a state of martial law or a state of emergency, certain restrictions may be imposed on citizens' right to take alternative (non-military) service, indicating the duration of these restrictions.

Key words: military service, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, military duty, alternative (non-military) service.

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ВИКОНАННЯ ВІЙСЬКОВОГО ОBOB'ЯЗКУ АДВЕНТИСТАМИ СЬОМОГО ДНЯ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити особливості виконання військового обов'язку адвентистами сьомого дня за умов аналізу історичного контексту (виникнення, становлення і розвитку релігійної конфесії) з наголосом на ситуацію в незалежній Україні. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації та авторської об'єктивності, а також використанні загальнонаукових методів аналізу, синтезу та узагальнення. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі закордонних першоджерел і переліку законодавчих та нормативно-правових актів України з питань військового обов'язку і військової служби комплексно розглянуто виконання військового обов'язку Адвентистами сьомого дня в Сполучених Штатах Америки, під час першої та другої світових воєн, у радянській та сучасній Україні. **Висновки.** За результатами дослідження висвітлено основні етапи дискурсів між потребою держави у власному захисті та релігійними переконаннями адвентистів. З'ясовано, що в часи першої та другої світової воєн мали місце компроміси щодо принципу неучасті в бойових діях, носіння зброї та порушення четвертої заповіді (святості суботнього відпочинку). Виявлено, що адвентисти США зуміли налагодити співпрацю зі збройними силами та створити спеціальну програму "Медична підготовка військовослужбовців", яка є актуальною до сьогодні. Розглянуто питання військової служби та військового обов'язку в українському контексті. З'ясовано, що в Україні члени церков, які відмовляються від носіння зброї, мають можливість обрати альтернативну замість строкової військової служби. Але в умовах воєнного або надзвичайного стану можуть встановлюватися окремі обмеження права громадян на проходження альтернативної служби із зазначенням строку їх дії.

Ключові слова: військова служба, церква Адвентистів сьомого дня, військовий обов'язок, альтернативна служба.

The Problem Statement. The history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Ukraine wasn't vital for national science interests. The reason for avoiding Adventist subjects as the subject of comprehensive research lies in the ideological taboo of the scientific development of these issues. Since the 2000-ies, the academic studios' accumulated Candidates of Sciences (Doctors of Philosophy) and Doctoral theses on the Adventist topics, in particular, on the Seventh-day Adventist Church historical formation and development issues both in Ukraine as a whole country and in some of its separate regions. Despite the thorough achievements of domestic and foreign scientists, there are still some unexplored subjects. The Adventist believers' military duty and the military service remains undiscovered in a historical perspective and in the Ukrainian context. Due to the war in Eastern Ukraine and the military mobilization waves, it is advisable to study the little-known aspects concerning the Adventists conscript military service, since a comprehensive study of military topics is relevant for the present-day research.

The Purpose and Objectives of the Study. The purpose of the study is to analyze the Seventh-day Adventist believers' military service and the military duty issue under conditions of the historical context analysis and the contemporary Ukrainian realities.

In order to reach the above-mentioned purpose, the following tasks must be fulfilled:

1. Historical Discourse on the Adventist Military in the United States;
2. Military Service Controversy Analysis concerning the Seventh-Day Adventists during the WW I and WW II;
3. To analyze the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Information and the Ukrainian legislative and regulatory acts that regulate the Ukrainian Adventist youths military and alternative (non-military) service issues.

The Degree of Scientific Development of the Topic. A number of historians, including (Bratkovskiy, 2016; Sitarchuk, 2008; Bed, 2014; Yaremchuk, 2016) scientifically researched the issue of military duty and military service of believers in the Protestant churches at different times in Ukraine. In these works, some aspects of the military-alternative topics in the context of Protestant currents, including the recruits – the Seventh-day Adventist Church members, are highlighted and explored. That is why the authors of this article are aimed at analyzing the Seventh-day Adventist believers' military duty and military service issue in the context of the contemporary Ukrainian realities, as the subject matter still remains on the edge of the contemporary historical research.

The Statement of the Basic Material.

Discussion on the military issue among the Adventists in the United States of America (1861 – 1900)

The Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) dates back to the mid-XIXth century of the Christian's spiritual awakening in the North of America. The number of the SDA Church baptized adherents exceeds 20 million.

The Civil War. Having received the official registration in the United States of America in 1863, when the Civil War lasted in the country, the Adventists had to decide whether to respond to the alleged mobilization. After numerous discussions, the church leaders concluded that the SDA believers should not participate in hostilities or carry weapons. The main reason for the refusal is the belief that the Adventist may compromise his allegiance to God by breaking the two Commandments of the Decalogue: the Fourth Commandment – Keep the Sabbath Day holy, and the Sixth Commandment – “You shall not kill”. During the Civil War in the United States, there was no debate on the relationship between the government and the Adventist Church about the military service, although the confession's environment considered the participation in the open fighting (hostile) inadmissible (Syme 1973, 176 – 180).

During the Civil War in the United States (1861 – 1865), the Seventh-day Adventists avoided the conscription, using a rule of law that allowed them to pay a \$300 military tax. Although it was a high tax for the average American. The local church communities helped to raise the required amount of money for the poor Adventists. When the decree for the non-military service came out, which relied on the Quakers for the purpose of satisfying their conscience requirements, the Adventists did not try to obtain from the state a status that would allow them not to participate in the hostilities because they could pay the military fee. The above-mentioned situation lasted until June 1864, when the conscripts were officially recognized as the conscientious objectors, that Adventists began to strive for this status. As a result, on the 2nd of August in 1864, the General Conference, the highest governing body of the denomination, made a decision concerning the SDA Church, which formally declared its non-participation in hostilities for the above-mentioned reasons. According to the Church's Regulations for the Non-combatant Engagement, the military service at the non-combat units for the Adventist meant:

- a) the service in any unit of the armed forces which is constantly unarmed;
- b) the service in the medical unit of any armed forces unit;
- b) any purpose that does not require the use of the military weapons, provided that the military purpose is acceptable to the Adventist and clearly does not require the weapons' carrying and handling.

By adopting a non-combat condition, the Adventists began to help the believers to find places to serve in the positions where they could take care of the wounded.

The church members, who voluntarily participated in the Civil War, were expelled from the Adventist communities. In 1865, a statement was issued regarding the following members of the Church: "Since the voluntary entry into the military service is contrary to the principles of the Seventh-day Adventists, based on God's Commandments and the faith in Jesus Christ, they cannot remain as the members of the Adventist communities" (Austin, 1865). But this ecclesiastical discipline measure existed only before the end of the First World War.

After the US Civil War, the issue of military service for the Adventists became irrelevant for several decades. Despite the fact that the Spanish-American War of 1898 did not provide for a general military course enrollment, the spread of the hurray-patriotism among the population and the hostilities approval by many American churches provoked the pacifist sentiment among the Adventist leaders. The Christians supported the territorial expansion of the United States through the military operations because they believed that in this way the Christianity was spreading to new lands. The ASD Church Leaders criticized most of the other churches for supporting the war, for their prayers connected with the US Army victory. The Adventist authors ironically stated: "The American Catholics are praying for the destruction of the Spanish Catholics" (Morgan, 1993, pp. 25–29).

World War I. Given that the United States did not enter World War I from the beginning, the American Adventists had time to prepare their position. In April 1917, the North American Division (territorial division of the SDA Church, which usually unites church communities on one continent), declared that "we have been noncombatant throughout our history", taking the position of the General Conference of 1865 (Wilcox, 1935, p. 407). Although in this case, another reason for refusing to participate in hostilities was cited: instead of a pacifist stance that forbade any involvement in the war, the Adventists were now allowed to respond to the military course enrollment but they were not allowed to carry weapons in order not to break the Sixth Commandment "You shall not kill".

Prior to these events, in 1916, while waiting for the a possible military course enrollment, the Adventists in the North American Division at Church Colleges and Academies, as well as at Loma Linda Medical College, opened the first aid courses for the wounded and the sick. Hundreds of young Adventists completed these courses in order to be ready to use the acquired skills during the wartime. The medical assistance also helped to eliminate the problem of the Saturday rest. Unlike the regular work, some help was given to the sick and wounded on the Sabbath day by the church. Therefore, the Adventists did their duty on Saturdays free of charge during wartime (Shevchyk, 2017, p. 24–25). Moreover, during the pre-war years, thousands of young Adventists gained knowledge in agriculture and gardening in order to become farmers in the future as they were able to serve their country by providing the civilians and the army with food. (Wilcox, 1935, pp. 90).

Unlike Quakers, the Adventists weren't engaged in the combat. The wounded soldiers' rehabilitation to their capable state wasn't considered to be the betrayal of the faith by the Adventists. This approach allowed the church members to combine patriotism and religious

beliefs. The church officials in order to serve the Adventists' spiritual needs in the military units, were appointed as the camp chaplains (Wilcox, 1935, pp. 140–141). The Adventists' partial involvement in the army's activities has improved. At least the public's attitude to this denomination, although there were certainly some misunderstandings. In the army, the Adventist recruits were punished for demanding weekends on Saturdays. The church leaders eventually managed to solve the above-mentioned problem, hence, the fellow believers were free on this day. However, at the end of the war, 35 Adventists were in prison and were sentenced from 5 to 20 years, for disobeying the officers on the Sabbath day. Due to the order, the imprisoned Adventists were subsequently released (Wilcox, 1935, p. 151).

In public statements the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) administration put emphasis on the military issue and in the framework of the medical training program heralded the following: "Adventists seek for cooperation with the armed forces structures without conflicting with their conscience and they do not want to be rejected by the conscientious objectors" (Lauson, 1996, p. 205) of The Adventists' "Medical Training Corps" were created by the decision of the Church leadership, became the replacement for the military service, the non-violence and non-participation principles in hostilities were fulfilled due to the "Medical Training Corps". As a result, the US Army received not only the trained doctors but also patriots. Since the issue of non-participation in US military action was not raised as a mandatory alternative – imprisonment or death, and the recruits were offered the alternative (non-military) service (AU) or the redemption, the Adventists, who served as military soldiers enjoyed the right to preserve the religious conscience and to choose ways to perform the military service according to their beliefs (Padderatz, 1978).

World War II. In 1939, when World War II began, the church in the United States re-established the medical training program for the potential recruits. However, the program was much more complicated than it was during the First World War. The Medical recruits were trained by a group of regular US Army officers (Dick, 1974, p. 18). An official church newspaper commented the following: "By not agreeing to be called the conscientious objectors, the Seventh-day Adventists want to be known as the conscientious collaborators [with the Army command]" (White, 1941, p. 24). The tension between the Adventist Church and the American society, which is measured by society's response to its stance on the participation in hostilities, diminished significantly. About 12,000 American Adventists served as the health workers in the military during the war (Goldstein, 1985, p. 3).

The vivid example is the case which happened with Desmond Thomas Doss, while he was serving in the US Army. He was born into an Adventist family, and when he was 18 years old, for patriotism reasons, went to the army where he worked in the ship's dock. When the war broke out, Doss was enrolled in the military medics to obtain a specialty that he considered to be more religious (Daniells, 1920, pp. 156–157). Desmond Doss was humiliated by comrades for his categorical refusal to carry a weapon. Later on he removed 75 wounded men from the battlefield alone. In 1945, he received the Medal of Honor from US President Harry Truman. After Doss's death in 2006, a school was named after him, several streets, a highway and three monuments were erected (Noel-Tsihulskaya, 2016).

When a professional army was formed in the United States in 1973 and the special importance of the education and soldiers' professional skills began to be emphasized, hence, the Adventists in large numbers began to be enrolled in the army (Morgan, 1993, p. 201). Also, because the Church's position in 1972 was advisory, some Adventists began to consider the armed forces as a career option. George R. Reid, the "Adventist Review" Editor-in-Chief,

wrote that when enrolled in the ranks of the United States Armed Forces “every year, from 6,000 to 7,000 recruits, write the “Seventh-day Adventist” in a letterhead ... marking religious affiliation” (Marite, 1990, p. 299). The church administration was asked why that was happening even in the absence of a compulsory appeal and what could be done to reverse that trend? (Thiele, 1984, p. 14).

During the Vietnam War in 1969 – 1975, many American Adventists evaded the military service or claimed that their involvement in the war was contrary to their conscience, however, other Adventists participated in the hostiles (Howard, 2009, p. 29).

The American Adventists' voluntary enrollment in military service was clearly manifested in the Persian Gulf War (1991). The military privileges and the desire to express patriotism attracted the US Adventists. At the same time, the General Conference of the ASD Church continued to promote the non-violence and non-participation principles in the hostilities, focusing more on possible cooperation with the state during the war than refusing to carry weapon. (Scriven, 1991, p. 10).

The Military Chaplaincy. In 2006, when the United States was fighting against terrorism, a survey on the Adventists' involvement in combat operations was conducted. It was revealed that “approximately 7,500 Adventists served in the United States military units. In fact, they were all taking part in the hostiles, except for the 50 chaplains, who were classified as the non-combatants according to the Geneva Convention” (Lechleitner, 2016).

Much attention should be paid to such a group of Adventists as the military chaplains. As it was above-mentioned, during the Second World War, the church ministers, who were the camp pastors, were assigned in order to serve the Adventists' spiritual needs for those believers, who were in the military units as the health workers. They were called the civilian chaplains (Hantz, 2000). It was their duty to visit the Church members, conduct spiritual meetings with them, lend a helping hand concerning some personal problems, and protect their interests in the case that the commanders could refuse to give them the Sabbath day rest. The civilian chaplains organized the Sabbath School classes and the missionary societies. After the war, these pastors returned to serve their communities. The fact that a civil person conducted the military chaplain's role often aroused the distrust of these persons by the commanders (Black, 1982, pp. 20–29).

In 1943 the first military chaplains were appointed by the ASD Church, although there were still discussions concerning the military chaplaincy as the separate type the church service. In 1955 the military chaplain status was officially approved. In 1984, 33 Adventist military chaplains were employed in the United States, and in 2006 their number increased to 50 (Alekseeva, 1992). The most famous Adventist military chaplain is Barry Black, who received the rank of Rear Admiral in the United States Navy before becoming the 62nd United States Senate chaplain in 2003. He became the first African-American Senate chaplain (Howard, 2009, p. 26).

Hence, the ASD Church official position is to participate in the hostilities and refuse to carry weapons. However, the final decision on the question of whether or not to serve in the army is made by each believer on his own, guided by the norms of his own conscience. The ASD Church does not foresee the administrative consequences for the believer, depending on his decision.

Adventist's recruits military service during the First World War and the Second World War in Germany (1914 – 1945)

World War I. German the Seventh-day Adventists' reaction to the army enrollment since the beginning of the 1914 was the following:

1. As World War I broke out unexpectedly, the ASD Church leaders in Europe didn't manage to summon, study, and discuss the situation;

2. Ludwig Richard Conradi, the Seventh-day European Division Adventist President has revealed after returning from a meeting in London that the church leaders have already made concessions due to the government officials' pressure, urging their associates to take part in the hostilities, and East German Union President, Hans Schubert took the floor on the 4th of August in 1914 with a declaration addressed to Prussia Defense Minister in Berlin. In this document, Schubert noted that given the circumstances and to protect the homeland, the Adventists agree to carry weapon and perform military duties on Saturdays (Brock, 1999).

The local Hamburg Adventist community concluded the following: "it is necessary to perform the military service with joy ... to be prepared to die for your country" (Spicer, 1924, pp. 97–98). An ASD Church official published a treatise under the title "A Christian and the War" in which he justified the German Adventists' participation in the fighting on the basis of the concept described in the Old Testament and called the "just war". The European Adventists were ambiguous concerning the treatise. Some supported the fellow German believers' position, others disagreed, and, as the conscripts, many of them were imprisoned for refusing to carry weapon.

The the ASD Church compromise in Germany caused its split. As a result, a radical wing emerged – the Adventists of the Reformation movement (Shevchyk and Kurylyak, 2017), who did not agree with the order issued by the church leaders and addressed to the church members concerning their homeland protection with weapons in their hands. Neither the attempt to reconcile at the Friedensau Conference in 1920, nor Arthur's Daniels, General Conference President speech to explain the circumstances of the compromise changed the situation. In a discussion with the Reformed Adventists, Daniels emphasized the following: "We report with deep sadness that the ASD Church leaders in Germany and in European countries were wrong when they violated the church's historic principle of non-participating in the hostilities – and prompted the church members to carry weapons and perform military service on Saturdays" (Brock, 1999). The next attempt at reconciliation was made in 1923, after the European Adventists formally approved the declaration of non-participation in the hostilities (Spicer, 1924, pp. 4–5). But the union with the reformers' wing did not happen.

World War II. Another problem was that some Adventists obeyed the Nazi Germany authority, referring to the Apostle's words: "Let every man obey higher authority, because there is no power, not from God, and the power that exists is established by God. Therefore, he who opposes authority – opposes the ordinance of God; and those who resist will take condemnation on their own" (To the Romans 13, pp. 1–7). They emphasized that obeying the present authority is God's ordinance. Their opponents replied that the violation of the Fourth and Sixth Commanders by the conscripts was also a direct violation of God's ordinances. The church administrators, without reaching the concordance, left the military duty issue to each church member (Thomas, 2010).

As a result, the Adventist recruits tried to contact the military command to send them to the medical units and the construction units. It was difficult to achieve this during the Second World War, as the Catholic clergymen were formally released from carrying weapons, so they often took up these vacancies. According to the statistics, 14% out of 3,735 Germany's Adventists served in the medical units (Heinz, 1973, p. 137). The refusal to carry weapon and work on Saturdays led to pastor Salzburg of Graz imprisonment, who was convicted by the military tribunal, and other church members were sent to the concentration camps, the majority died for their religious beliefs (Syme, 1973, pp. 176–180).

It is a well-known story that happened during the Second World War when Franz Hazel, the Adventist was enrolled to the Nazi Army ranks (Hazel, 2011). As a profound opponent of war and violence, at the age of 40, when his engineering company, which consisted of soldiers, who made bridges on the front lines, he secretly threw away his weapon and replaced it with a wooden model. Only 7 soldiers survived among 1,200 soldiers, who served on the eastern front, Franz Hazel was one of them.

Adventist's recruits military service in Ukraine (1914 – 2019)

World War I. The Adventists' leaders did not give any clear instructions to their believers about the (non) participation in the military service at the beginning of the First World War I. For example, in Kyiv Hubeniya (province), some believed that a person could not kill on his own will, but by the authorities' order, it could be done even in peacetime, because the responsibility would be shifted to the the authority (George, 2008). According to another point of view, it is a sin to resist superiors while in the military service, because it actually meant opposing God, but using a weapon can not harm the enemy, that is, it is necessary to shoot somewhere at the ground without targeting human beings (Sitarchyk, 2008, p. 205).

Thus, believers could be divided into three groups. Some condemned the possibility of military service with carrying weapons in their hands, but agreed to participate in it if the authorities demanded it. Others spoke of the possibility of participating in the military service, but with many restrictions, and preferably not in the front structures. And the third denied the military service prospect in all its manifestations.

The Russian government ignored the Adventists and other Protestants anti-militarist statements and actions. In October 1914, an order was issued by the Interior Affairs Minister, Mykola Maklakov, which stated the following: “in the present circumstances, after the opening of hostilities against Germany, it is necessary to strictly monitor the pastors' activities direction, who are often rumored to have some sympathy for our enemies and openly express their sympathies with Pan-Germanism and Germanic views”. Similar sentiments existed among the Adventists. Roman Yelchenko, Nyzhlyovychi village resident, Radomyshl povit, Kyiv Huberniya (province), after Russian troops retreat from Galicia (Halychyna) said the following: “we do not need to be afraid of God; it will be easier for us to live” (Sitarchyk, 2008, p. 206). The Adventists in Ukrainian lands considered that under the German rule and being among the Lutheran population, they, as the Protestants, would have better conditions for professing their faith.

Yet, the main impetus for the anti-militarist actions, including the Adventists, was not the anti-patriotic sentiment, as the Russian authorities thought, but the desire to abide by their doctrine. Therefore, many Adventists refused to carry weapon for religious reasons. In 1915 the following Adventists carried weapon: Peter Fisher, Nogaysk city resident, Berdyansk povit; E. Stein, Al-Montal settlement resident, Prishybskaysk volost (parish), Melitopol povit, and I. Selivestrov, Nova Vasylivka village resident, Tavriya Huberniya. T. Davydenko, the Adventist and Poltava dryzhyna (military force) militia warrior declared to his superiors the following decision: “to strictly follow the teachings of his church and not to betray him under any circumstances and requirements prescribed by the service”. The most effective tool in the fight against “heterodox” was imprisonment. For example, in July 1916, in the Constantinople prison, Poltava huberniya (province), they were deprived of their liberty for refusing to carry weapon of the Adventist warriors of the militia of H. Ignatenko from Dar-Nadezhda village, K. Kyslytsia from Mykolaivka village, Zachepylivska volost (parish), and M. Khvata from Bahata Chernetchyna village, the Great Buchnovsk volost (parish) (Sitarchyk, 2008, pp. 207–208).

At the same time, other Adventists served in the regular army. Henry Lebsak, the Adventist Church Head in the Russian Empire confirmed the Adventists' presence in the front parts repeatedly. In his letters, loyalty to the authorities was widely emphasized. In July 1914, he addressed to the Church members: "Dear brothers in Christ! .. Several brethren from our communities have gone to war. We pray for them, our army, the King, and the Government that God bless them to emerge victorious over their enemies. We expressed our loyalty here through the governor to the Emperor" (Sitarchyk, 2008, p. 209).

In March 1917, after the overthrow of the autocracy, the Provisional Government ordered the release of some of the prisoners, including those who were doing the time for their religious convictions. In particular, the Adventist A. Gonchar was released from Constyantynohradska prison, Poltava hubernia (province), who got there for refusing to fight in the active army. Another vivid example concerns I. Hoverdovskyi, who was sentenced "for refusing to perform the military service on religious grounds" since November 1913. (Sitarchyk, 2008, pp. 210–211).

The Military Conflict in Donbas. There were 813 ASD churches in Ukraine, which were attended by 46,832 believers in 2017 (Statistical report of Seventh-day Adventist Conferences, 2017). The state legislative regulation concerning the Adventist mobilization issue was set out in the Law of Ukraine on the 12th of December in 1991, and with some amendments and changes was presented in the new Ukrainian military doctrine on the 2nd of September in 2015.

In the context of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia and the conduct of the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) (since April 30, 2018 – United Forces Operation), the freedom of religion is one of the fundamental democratic rights and Ukrainian citizens' freedoms.

In late 2013 and early 2014, when the tragic events began on the Independence Square in Kyiv, the country's leadership appealed to the churches in order to help rehabilitate people, who had lived in times of stress and emotional stress. At that time, the Ukrainian Adventists had no experience of helping the victims in such conflicts. The ASD Church allocated a small room in the Ukrainian House ("Ukrainskyi dim"), and the volunteer believers did anti-stress massage, listened to people, prayed with them. In 2015, the Adventists developed a guide for the volunteers with some practical advice on helping combat post-traumatic stress disorder as a result of hostilities, forced resettlement, loss of loved ones, physical and mental health issues (Havryuk, 2015).

Serhiy Serdeniuk, the doctor, is the vivid example of the Adventists' involvement in the Armed Forces during the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) in eastern Ukraine. When the hostilities broke out in 2014, he wanted to serve as a volunteer at the front to rescue the wounded. When he was mobilized in the winter of 2015, the question of participating in training shootings arose. In an interview with the company commander, a party to the fierce battles for Ilovaysk and Debaltseve, the Adventist substantiated his religious beliefs, emphasizing that he could not participate in the military violence acts. Thus, S. Serdeniuk served in the medical brigade, which dealt with the treatment of the wounded and light sick, as well as provided qualified medical assistance to the wounded during the combat operations. He repeatedly came to the front line, returned home unharmed every time, fired no shots, and was unarmed when he pick up the wounded (Synchak, 2018).

In 2014, Serhiy Horban'v served as a volunteer in the front. At that time, he refused to be a member of the ASD Church because of the family circumstances. He performed his military service with a weapon in his hands in the territory, which was ranked third in the number of fire along the front line for a year. He also served as a paramedic, providing first

aid to those injured. In one of the abandoned houses, he held a prayer meeting for servicemen. Even the commanders of other units asked to organize places of prayer and sermons in their military units to encourage the servicemen (Horbanyev, 2017).

Since 2014, the Ukrainian Adventists have conducted dozens of medical, rehabilitation and social events for ATO / OOS veterans' participants and their families.

The interaction timeline of the State and the ASD Church with regard to the military service at the legislative level can be presented as follows:

1. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VRU) Information on Alternative (Non-Military) Service of December 12, 1992 states that "the right to perform alternative service is granted to the citizens of Ukraine if their military service contradicts their religious beliefs and these citizens belong to the religious organizations in laws force in Ukraine, whose doctrine does not allow the weapons usage". The following editorial added that the final decision on the possibility of performing the alternative military service could be made only by a decision of the commission in the presence of true religious beliefs (Law of Ukraine), 1992, p. 188).

2. The editorial Articles 4, 9, 11–12, issued in March 27, 1999, states that conscript citizens are subject to the alternative service, subject to the documented confirmation by the ASD Church concerning the religious views on truth beliefs and if a positive decision is taken by the commission accordingly. And the citizens who, after performing the military service, have "acquired the religious beliefs and belong to the Ukrainian law religious organizations, whose doctrine doesn't allow them the weapon usage" (Law of Ukraine, 1999, p. 86), in case if a believer within seven calendar days from the moment of receiving the summons from the military registration and enlistment office, will personally submit to the commission documents for exemption from the conscription. The commission has the right to refuse a citizen an alternative service and be exempted from the conscription in the absence of the truth of religious beliefs documentary evidence.

3. The issues regarding the ASD Church members military service performance were amended in June 2000. The citizens, who performed alternative military service or who were dismissed by the commission, "may be directed to eliminate consequences of accidents, catastrophes or natural disasters no more than three times (each time for up to six calendar months) within the age established for the military service in the reserve" (Law of Ukraine, 2000, p. 200). The employment and relations agreement arrangements are concluded by the state.

4. According to the decision made by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in 2012, the local state administration can issue the alternative service sending document or issue the document of being dismissed from the military service in case of proving the truth of religious beliefs. So, there is no need to turn to the military enlistment office commission (Law of Ukraine, 2012, p. 80)

The process of preparing for the alternative military service by the Seventh-day Adventist Church member is the following. The procedure for obtaining the possibility of performing the alternative military service must be started no later than two months before the deadline set by the law. The recruiter submits a written statement at the place of registration to the alternative military service military commission (not to the commissariat) at the place of the registration, a document confirming the truth of his religious beliefs, and a list of the documents specified in the legislative acts personally. The invitation is pending for 30 calendar days. Within 5 days, the applicant receives the written commission's decision whether on the alternative service permission or refusal. The conscript in respect of whom the decision was made, within 5 calendar days, should apply to the military commissariat and, in accordance

with the Law of Ukraine “On General Military Duty and Military Service”, will be sent to the place of the military service. Taking into account availability of vacancies in state-communal establishments, manufactures, organizations and enterprises of Ukraine, which are the objects for the alternative service performance, the commission sends the conscript with the appropriate documentary order within the prescribed term. Usually the Adventist or any other believer performs the alternative military service in the institutions, which activities are related to the social protection of the population, the construction, the agriculture or communal services or health and environment. In addition, the Red Cross Organizations in Ukraine always lack volunteer helpers, that’s why, the recruits, who are performing the alternative military service sign up for the above-mentioned organisations. According to the diagram № 1, the alternative service recruits were divided in autumn 2007 the following way (Who and Where Can Perform the Alternative (Non-Military) Service, 2016):

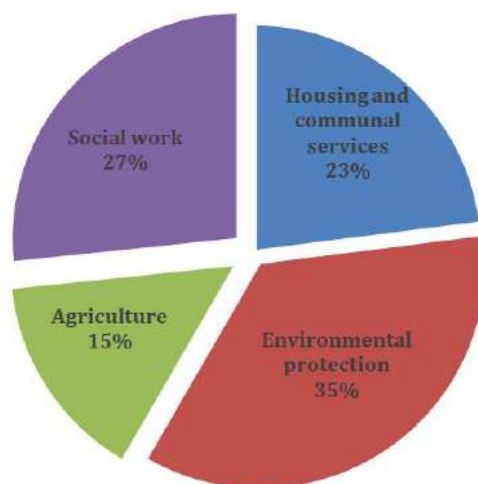


Figure 1. The conscripts’ distribution by areas of performing the alternative service in 2007

The environmental protection is biggest area of alternative recruits. Here is an example of informing my faithful about the alternative service by the Adventist Church of Ukraine. Referring to the provisions of Article 35 (3) of the Constitution of Ukraine and Article 1 (4) of the Law of Ukraine “On General Military Service and Military Service”, the Adventist author writes the following: If “the military duty performance is contrary to the religious beliefs of the citizen, the performance of that duty must be replaced by the alternative (non-military) service” (Tuk, 2017, p. 4). The above-mentioned author argues that there are many cases where compliance with the requirements of the Alternative Military Service Replacement Act is difficult. The misunderstandings between the conscript and the commissariat, in particular, arise because of the norms of the timeframe in which the conscript must exercise his right to the alternative military service. In January– March, the conscripts who have turned 17 years old are assigned to the military registration offices at their place of residence. According to the Law (Article 18), the military service is assigned to a satisfactory health status of a male (except for those who have

been formally released from military service for reasons specified in the law) who are Ukrainian citizens aged 18 to 27 years including. According to the order, issued by the President's, every year, from April to May and October to November, young men, including those who are religiously Adventist, are enrolled for the military service. Therefore, it is sufficient for the pastor or community secretary to inform the church members about the rules of the alternative military service performance in accordance with the law. If there is the absence of the document of military service exemption, the Adventist youth must apply for the reasoned statement in duplicate with the appropriate government agency. The employee who accepted the application for the alternative military service must make a written note that the application has been accepted. The statement shall indicate in an arbitrary form a request for the replacement of a form of the military service with an explanation of religious beliefs and an appropriate certificate from the ASD Church. The certificate must be signed by the pastor of the church "who is designated in the Unified State Register by the head of this Religious Community" (Tuk, 2017, p. 5).

In 2017, a new version of the Law of Ukraine "On Alternative (Non-Military) Service" was submitted to the Verkhovna Rada, which will also apply in the context of the "mobilization", according to which the youths the alternative military service performance lasts 1.5 times longer than the ordinary military service. In addition, the new version of the Alternative Service Law contains many innovations, such as the clergymen enrollment delay "during mobilization for the military service" (A new version of the Alternative Service Law was prepared, 2017). The period of stay at the alternative military service will be credited to the Adventist in the work experience, provided that "if a citizen does not start work within three calendar months after dismissal from the alternative service" (New version of the Alternative Service Law was prepared, 2017). There are times when an Adventist expressed a desire to undergo the conscript service during the alternative military service. On the basis of the statement, the commission terminates the alternative military service and enrolls the young man in the military service: "at the rate of one and a half months of the alternative service for one month of fixed-term military service" (Alternative (non-military) service).

Hence, the relationship between the state and the ASD church changed in connection with the mobilization waves, especially regarding the alternative service performance by the church members. The clergymen are released from the military service up till present days (Law of Ukraine, 1999, p. 188), "but there is no such standart regarding the mobilization" (Law of Ukraine, 1999, p. 86). The law of Ukraine "On General Alternative (Non-Military) Service" is not regulated by this problem, though instead of the full-time military service the members of religious communities take the alternative military service. Thus, according to Article 1, an alternative service is a service that is established instead of the conscripts and is intended to fulfill a duty to the community. In case of martial law or a state of emergency, certain restrictions may be imposed on the citizens' right to take the alternative military service, indicating the validity period of these restrictions. These standarts relate to the full-time military service and the mobilization issues are not clearly regulated (Law of Ukraine, 1999, p. 200).

The lack of the clear rules governing the possibility of alternative military service in the face of aggression against Ukraine does not allow the courts to make unambiguous court decisions or to develop the case law on these issues.

The ASD Church encourages young people who were enrolled into the army, both in peacetime and in wartime, to perform the militaty service at that units, which do not participate in the military violence acts. The Adventists do not usually get hired by the Armed Forces. In cases where cthe ompulsory service is required, the Adventists have military

service without carrying weapons in medical units or at their destination. Taking care of the wounded and the dying is a worthy fulfillment of a civic duty to the Motherland in combat, while remaining true to their religious beliefs. At the same time, the Church recognizes the right of every believer to choose the civic duty form. And those who join the Church in their military service are not forbidden to remain faithful to their calling, unless this is contrary to the Teachings of the Holy Scripture and the above-mentioned recommendations.

The Conclusions. The US Adventists in the XIXth century came to the conclusion that the Adventists' involvement in combat using weapons is not possible, because it contradicts the Sixth Commandment of the Decalogue "You shall not kill". The work in the military medical units, assistance to the wounded, chaplaincy, service in the construction or business units is permissible as it is considered to be the direct patriotic contribution to the welfare of the state and society as a whole. A separate issue is the holiness of the Sabbath Day (the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue), in addition to the medical care free of charge.

The Adventists in Europe in the XXth century had virtually no alternative service choice, and the experience of the two World Wars showed that the pressure on the church in wartime threatened to the ASD Church split during World War I. The peculiarity of the Adventist military service in the Ukrainian lands in the XXth century is that the state was putting pressure on the non-violent beliefs in peacetime.

According to the religious scholar Jose Casanova, in the era of the independence Ukraine approached the pluralistic religious palette of the United States. It was at this time that the institute of the alternative military service for the titular nation first worked here. Even the Donbas hostilities, mobilization waves, and martial law have not fundamentally altered the privileged position of the religious minorities (including the Adventists) who profess the non-combatants views. Respect for Adventists and the protection of their rights by the state gave rise to the marked patriotism in their environment: volunteer assistance to Euromaidan activists, efforts to rehabilitate ATO / OOS veterans, and forms of assistance to the military or forms of service as the military doctors and chaplains, paramedics.

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**ETHNOCULTURAL FEATURES OF THE MONTH OF RAMADAN
REPRESENTED BY SUNNI MUSLIMS IN KYIV: INTERCULTURAL
DIALOGUE UNDER CONDITIONS OF GLOBALIZATION
AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION**

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to discover the characteristic features of the celebration of the month of Ramadan by the Sunni Muslims in the city of Kyiv. In this connection, theoretical problems of ethno-religious and ideological nature, as well as domestic ethno-cultural features of this holiday celebration by the polyethnic community of Sunni Muslims in Kyiv have been investigated. The research methodology is based on the theoretical generalization of the empirical material collected by the authors. It also includes the principles of historicism, system-formation, scientific character, verification and the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and specially-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic, etc.) methods. The scientific novelty*

of the article consists in the fact, that for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography the influence of globalization and international migration on the formation of local features of the Ramadan month by Sunni Muslims in Kyiv has been analyzed. It was made on the basis of collected empirical materials and available literature. The authors emphasize on the intercultural interaction of representatives of various ethnonational communities within Sunni Islam. **The Conclusions.** The analysis of this problem suggests that the celebration of the month of Ramadan by the Sunni Muslims of Kyiv has its culturally specific aspects. This is due to a number of factors that influence it, namely: a cultural diversity of ethnic communities, whose representatives celebrate Muslim holidays; the predominance of Christian denominations in Ukrainian lands, in particular; Orthodoxy, which is viewed by many as an integral part of the Ukrainian nation; as well as the constant change of the ethno-cultural palette of Muslim communities in Ukraine as a result of globalization and international migration. The study of the Muslim community in Kyiv can shed light on the problem of spreading of Islam in Ukraine. The future research should also include the problem of coexistence of Ukrainian Muslims with representatives of other religious denominations at the level of cultural interactions.

Key words: Islam, Muslims, Sunni, Ramadan, fasting, religious communities, migration, globalization.

ЕТНОКУЛЬТУРНІ ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ПРОВЕДЕННЯ МІСЯЦЯ РАМАДАНА МУСУЛЬМАНАМИ-СУНІТАМИ КИЄВА: МІЖКУЛЬТУРНИЙ ДІАЛОГ В УМОВАХ ГЛОБАЛІЗАЦІЇ ТА МІЖНАРОДНОЇ МІГРАЦІЇ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – виявити характерні особливості святкування місяця Рамадану мусульманами-сунітами Києва. У зв'язку з цим досліджуються теоретичні проблеми етнорелігійного та ідеологічного характеру, а також вітчизняні етнокультурні особливості святкування цього свята поліетнічною спільнотою мусульман-сунітів у Києві. **Методологія дослідження** базується на теоретичному узагальненні зібраного авторами емпіричного матеріалу, а також побудована на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, з використанням загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії на основі зібраних емпіричних матеріалів та наявної літератури проаналізовано вплив глобалізації та міжнародної міграції на формування місцевих особливостей проведення місяця Рамадану мусульманами-сунітами у Києві. Автори акцентують увагу на міжкультурній взаємодії представників різних етнонаціональних спільнот у межах сунітського ісламу. **Висновки.** Аналіз поставленої проблеми дає підставу стверджувати, що святкування місяця Рамадану мусульманами-сунітами Києва має свої культурно специфічні аспекти. Це пов'язано з низкою факторів, що на це впливають, а саме: культурне різноманіття етнічних спільнот, представники яких святкують мусульманські свята; переважання християнських конфесій на українських землях, зокрема, православ'я, що багатьма сприймається як інтегральна частина української нації; а також постійна зміна етнокультурної палітри мусульманських спільнот на території України в результаті глобалізації та міжнародної міграції. Дослідження мусульманської громади в Києві може пролити світло на проблему поширення ісламу в Україні, а також повинно включати проблему співіснування українських мусульман з представниками інших релігійних конфесій на рівні культурної взаємодії.

Ключові слова: іслам, мусульмани, суніти, Рамадан, піст, релігійні громади, міграція, глобалізація.

The Problem Statement. Ukraine's aspiration for European integration puts across the agenda a number of important issues that require a thorough study. Modern migration flows of the Muslims to the countries of the European Union have a significant impact on the political, ethno-social, cultural and religious situation in the region, which often leads to various misunderstandings and conflicts. In this context, the problem of studying the influence of the Muslim factor on the ethnocultural development of the population of Ukraine deserves

special attention, as well as the issue of the possible consequences of the spreading of Islamic communities in the Ukrainian lands both in the near term and in the distant future. This problem is also actualized by the global character of the expansion of Muslim culture in European countries. This leads not only to changes in the traditional way of life of the Europeans at the domestic level, but also affects the foreign policy formation of the European Union countries in the international arena.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. It is relatively little is written about Islam in Ukraine. In the addition, this literature is of a rather poor quality and does not meet the needs of modern science. In particular, the speculations are very active in the literature on the theme of differences between Sunni and other religious movements in Islam. It is worth mentioning only the myth that the difference between Sunni and Shiites is manifested in the recognition of their authority and holiness not only of the Koran, but Sunnah, which can be found in modern editions (Tyvodar, 2004, p. 177). Such allegations may lead to false notions about non-recognition of Sunnah by Shiites or representatives of other Muslim confessions. We received important information on this issue in the process of communicating with the representatives of the Muslim Sunni community in Kyiv. We use the results of this poll in the paper and often refer to it.

Islam is one of the three world religions. Today it is inferior to Christianity on the number of believers, but scientists record the rapid pace of growth in the number of Muslims in the world. So, if in the mid-80-ies of the XXth century there were about 800 million of Muslims, then in 2004 their number exceeded a billion (Korolev, 2005, p. 8). There are a lot of Muslims on the territory of Ukraine, although today there are no accurate data. In the literature we can find several approaches to this problem. For example, M. Kiryushko gives the data on the minimum (360 thousand) and maximum (2 million) Muslims in Ukraine, while pointing out that their exact number will be somewhere in the middle (Kiryushko, 2005, p. 5). Another approach to this issue was applied by the team of the A. Krymskyi Institute of the Oriental Studies at National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, investigating such a phenomenon as "Islamic Identity". They, obviously, took the data from the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, simply counted representatives of peoples, who traditionally profess Islam, and received a figure of 436 thousand people (Bogomolov, 2005, p. 13). It is worth noting that people from Albania, India and Central Africa were not counted here because it is impossible to say with certainty if they were Muslims. The representatives of the local population, who were converted in Islam, were not taken into consideration either. The tendency of a steady increase in the number of Muslims in the world highlights the importance of studying both Islam in general and Muslim communities in Ukraine in particular.

The purpose of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the ethno-cultural features of carrying out of the month of Ramadan by Sunni Muslims in Kyiv. The study of the spreading of Islam in the territory of Ukraine is a problem that contains not only a theoretical but also a very important component of the applied nature. The Muslim factor must be taken into account both in the formation of the state ethno-policy in Ukraine, as well as in the development of educational institutions, cultural events, etc.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Ramadan is the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. Proceeding from the Islamic doctrine, the Qur'an began to be transmitted to the Prophet Muhammad this month through divine revelation. The fasting ("saum") in Ramadan is the fourth pillar of Islam and is obligatory for all Muslims. This is referred to the verses of the Qur'an, in particular, the 139th verse of the surah al-Bakara it says – "O you who believed! The fast is set for you – just as it was set for those who lived before you. Maybe you will be God-fearing"

(Preslavniy Koran, 2012, p. 37). Despite the fact that Islam is a very widespread religion, the ritual-religious side of Ramadan is identical and proceeds the same for all Sunni Muslims, who are found in different parts of the world. This is confirmed not only by the only approach in the historiography of this problem (At-Tantawi, 2012, p. 38; Balog, 2012, p. 288; Ismailov, 2013, p. 150; Klymovych, 1965, p. 50), but also by the relevant statements of the respondents, which were interviewed (Archive of the Department of Ethnology and Local History at the Faculty of History of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, f. 44, d. 1, c. 2, p. 6).

There are certain rules that a Muslim should follow during the fast. Immediately before dawn, he must consume a certain amount of food and fluid so that he would have enough strength for the next day (this procedure is called “Sukhur”). After sunrise, the Muslims are prohibited from eating, drinking, and performing marital duties throughout the day. Right after the sunset takes place a soft break in the fasting. Traditionally consume dates and water, after which a prayer called “Al-Maghrib” is performed. From that time begins a more nutritious dinner (“Iftar”), after which the Muslims can eat and drink during all night. Of course, as in the fasting tradition of other religions, in Ramadan, the main point is not bodily abstinence, but the limitation of a moral and ethical nature – not to do anything bad from the point of view of a religious doctrine. The Muslim must eradicate such bad habits as lies, jealousy, anger, etc., as well as speak to God more, read the Qur’an. In addition, tarawih-namazi are carried out at night. It is a long prayers during which the Imam tries to read thirtieth part of the Qur’an, in order to recite it completely for the whole of Ramadan (Maksud, 1998, p. 92).

The Muslims should follow fasting after they have reached puberty. The children get accustomed to fasting gradually. There are categories of people who may have the exemption from fasting. These may include following: sick people, whose condition may deteriorate if they will be fasting; old people; pregnant women; nursing mothers; persons currently on the trip (“Mussafir”). There are several options for these people after Ramadan, which depend on their condition and state of health. If their condition changes (e.g. the sickman recovers, the trip ends, breastfeeding period ends), then for each missed day these people should fasting at another convenient time, but, if it is possible, before next Ramadan (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 2, p. 2). If the reason for exemption of fasting can not be eliminated (e.g. refusal from fasting by older adults), then they must feed a person who was fasting on that day at the rate: one day – one person. The Muslim, who conducts the “iftar”, can have a choice to feed one person daily for 30 days or 30 people at one time. Some Muslims with mild illnesses use the advances of modern science to do less harm to the body while fasting (Ibrahim).

The duration of Ramadan is 29 or 30 days. It begins when people see a crescent moon in heaven. Therefore, in different countries, the day of the beginning of the fasting can begin on a day earlier or later. The end of Ramadan is also due to the appearance of a young moon. If it was seen on the 29th night, then it is believed that the next day fasting must be finished, because the holiday “Id-al-Fitr” begins (Bogucharskiy, 2009, p. 152). If the moon was not sighted, then the Muslims will fast another day, but not longer. Recently, the dates of the beginning and end of Ramadan are deduced from astronomical data (Mardanova, 2017). If the community has set the period of Ramadan, then all the Muslims, who belong to it, should keep fasting according to it, because there is a rule which says: “... start and end the prayer with the Muslims of your locality” (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 10, p. 5).

In Islam is commonly used the lunar calendar. It consists of 12 months with 29–30 days each. That leads to the difference with the solar year on which the Gregorian calendar is based. This difference can be up to 10-11 days. As a result, there is an annual displacement of Ramadan. E.g. if it started one year in early July, then in three years it will begin in early June.

Ramadan can be divided into three equal parts, each of which has its own peculiarity and symbolism. The Muslims believe that the first ten days of Ramadan is mercy from Allah, the second decade is the forgiveness of sins by Allah, and the third is liberation from fire (hellish flours) (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 5, p. 3). The most important are the last ten days when for the Muslims are considered to be very desirable of holding a religious procedure called "I'tikaf". It is essential to stay in a mosque for long hours. Ideally not to leave this place at all. In the mosque, believers should deal solely with religious matters: read the Koran and other religious literature, make additional prayers, proclaim the "dhikr" (Allaah's formula for mentioning), etc. The importance of the last ten days is due to the fact that during one of these nights Prophet Muhammad through the divine revelation received the first message about the Qur'an. In the scientific literature, sometimes a specific date is indicated – 27th Ramadan 610 (Matveev, 2005, p. 133). But the religious tradition in this matter proceeds from other postulates. It is believed that nobody probably knows when this event took place, but there is evidence that this is one of the last odd nights that may be on the 25th, 27th or 29th on the month Ramadan. The importance of this date is determined by the fact that it is the time of "Laylat al-Qadr", which can be translated as "Night of Power". According to the Muslim belief, there are six pillars of faith ("iman"). One of them is the belief in the predestination ("cadar"). That is, every person has a certain destiny, but for pious acts it can be changed. According to the Muslims destiny is changing in "Leylyat ul-Kadr", because it is the main night of the calendar year.

Before the end of Ramadan every Muslim must give Zakat ul-Fitr. It is a voluntary donation in favor of poor Muslims (Masse, 1961, p. 117). The testimony of our respondents allows us to trace the peculiarities of this donation (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 4, p. 3). This donation is made exclusively by edible, loose products of a long shelf life, which are prevailing on this territory in the size of four "sa" (Arabic measure of volume, approximately 0,5 kg) from one person. For contemporary Ukraine such products are a variety of cereals (rice, buckwheat, millet) or, e.g., pasta. Instead of minors, their parents give donations and instead of women – their husbands. Ideally, Zakat ul-Fitr is passed directly to the poor, but recently Islamic organizations are involved in the distribution of these alms. This is due to the fact that, to find a poor man who meets all the requirements (the main of which is to be a Muslim) is not so simple in many non-Islamic countries.

After new moon appears in the sky on the 29th or 30th night, Ramadan is believed to end. After this, the first day of the next calendar month "Shawwal" comes and one of the two main Muslim holidays – "Eid al-Fitr" or as it is also called among Turkish speaking nations "Uraza Bayram". At dawn the Muslims gather with their families near the mosque. A festive prayer is carried out. This prayer differs from the prayers "jumma" (held every Friday) by the fact that the sermon ("khutba") is not conducted before the prayer but after. After the imam sermon the Muslims begin to greet each other with a holiday. The celebration of Eid al-Fitr in different countries can be somewhat different. In some countries, where Islam is widespread, people after the ceremonial part of the holiday are inviting guests or visiting someone.

In Ukraine, particularly in Kyiv, a common celebration of "Eid al-Fitr" is held, it takes place either at the mosque or in a specially rented place, which is usually nature-close outdoor location. Since there are only two holidays in Islam: "Eid al-Fitr" and "Eid al-Adha" ("Kurban Bayrami"), a lot of fun and joy accompanies them. This emotional state of the believers is intensified by the fact that many people consider "Eid al-Fitr" the main holiday (Miloslavskiy, 1991, p. 89). The Muslims bring children to this holiday, give them presents and also arrange places where they can play. They are engaged in entertaining games and

sports activities such as wrestling, tug-of-war, etc., both among children and adults. Plenty of food is cooked, mostly oriental dishes – kebab, pilaf, etc. Thus, Eid al-Fitr is the logical ending of Ramadan and one of the most important events for each Muslim in a calendar year.

The principles and rules of Ramadan mentioned above are typical of all Sunni Muslims, what does not exclude its specific characteristics, which we will try to distinguish on the example of the Muslim community of Kyiv. During the ethnographic survey we interviewed both the Ukrainians converted to Islam and the representatives of the Muslims nations (India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, ethnic groups of North Caucasus). For example, the representatives of North Caucasus had the opportunity to compare celebrating Ramadan in Ukraine and in their homeland.

One of the questions, asked to respondents, was how difficult it was to keep fasting. The answer was quite anticipated. The Muslims say that it is not difficult to follow Ramadan if a person is motivated, because then the Almighty Himself gives additional forces. However, some immigrants from the southern countries emphasized that they experienced it harder in Ukraine than it was in the lands they came from. In particular, the Karachai by name Murad noted that in Kyiv the light-day is longer on for an hour and a half or two hours than in the North Caucasus (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 3, p. 3). The same statement was given by the native of the Northeast India, Assam Afzal Hussein Rahman, who noted that in Ukraine he must keep fasting for eighteen hours thirty minutes each day, while in Assam it is six hours less (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 9, p. 1). In this context it should be emphasized that taking into account the more northern location of Ukraine in comparison with the countries of the traditional spread of Islam, there is a significant change in the length of day and night, depending on the season. And given that Ramadan in 2015 (at the time when the survey was conducted) lasted from June 18 to July 17 was in the period when the day was the longest, then foreigners' complaints towards this circumstance have a completely rational explanation.

In our research we considered another, in our opinion, rather interesting aspect of Ramadan in Kyiv, namely: the dishes prepared for fasting. It should be noted here that there is no special Muslim dishes for fasting. The main rule is that food must not be from the category of forbidden ("haram"), that is must be allowed ("halal"). There are products of the same character for all Muslims, as well as those that can be banned only in a certain law school ("madhhabi"). The first category belongs, first of all, to all food received in a dishonest way or purchased for dishonestly earned money. Secondly, it is prohibited to drink alcohol and eat the pork, blood and carrion, which is mentioned in the Quran. Under the carrion Muslim theologians understand any animal that was slaughtered in a way that does not correspond to Sharia. Only the Muslims and the so-called "People of the Book" (Ahl Qitab), including the Christians and the Jews are allowed to slaughter animals (Adygamov, 2014). At the same time, there are certain local food bans and restrictions. For example, the Malikite madhab prohibits eating a horse, whereas the Hanafite madhab says it is allowed (Samatov).

Considering that the Muslim community of Kyiv has a polyethnic structure, it is possible to try traditional dishes from different parts of the world during collective "iftars". Due to the growing number of the converted Muslims among the Ukrainians, Ukrainian cuisine becoming a part of the "iftars". Among them of course there are no prohibited products of Islam (pork fat or blood), but there are well-known borsch, potatoes with meat, pies and the like. Even among foreigners Ukrainian cuisine is gaining popularity. In particular, the Tajik from Afghanistan by name Ahmad noted the presence of the first dishes as a positive feature of the Ukrainian cuisine and also admitted that he is very fond of how salads are cooked in Ukraine (ADEL, f. 44, d. 1, c. 8, p. 2). Oriental cuisine at the collective "iftars" is mainly represented

by Arabian and Central Asian dishes. Our respondents in particular liked a Palestinian-Jordan dish called “Mansef”, which is prepared from a dairy broth with the addition of cream and certain varieties of meat. This dish is often served with rice and is characterized by special taste and nutritional value (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 10, p. 3).

At the same time the main difference between holding Ramadan, in Kyiv in comparison with other cities of Muslim countries, is the lack of an appropriate specific atmosphere, which is emphasized by all respondents of foreign origin. In regions where Islam is the dominant religion the spirit of Ramadan can be felt. Here, as the respondents note, “you go and feel Ramadan” (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 7, p. 3). Even people who, according to certain circumstances, do not adhere to all the rules of Islam, often feeling a social shock and also begin to fasting (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 3, p. 3).

One can identify a family component in the conduct of Ramadan. At this time, families or even entire households with 3-4 generations of the Muslims from different places gather for collective prayers, evening meals (“iftars”) and joint pastime (Yeremeev, 1990, p. 102). This custom is important for a traditional society and serves as a communication function between close and distant relatives of Sunni Muslims. The same goes for the celebration of “Eid al-Fitr”. E.g. the respondent from Chechnya named Timur noted that on this holiday all Chechens from different parts of the world, if possible, are trying to come to their homeland. Tickets for trains or planes, they begin to book one month in advance or trying to get them with the help of friends, because they are quickly buy out (ADELH, f. 44, d. 1, c. 6, p. 2). Therefore “spirit of Ramadan” in Kyiv during this fasting and the relevant holidays is something what is missing immigrants from the Muslim countries in Ukraine.

The Conclusions. The analysis of this problem suggests that the celebration of the month of Ramadan by the Sunni Muslims of Kyiv has its culturally specific aspects. This is due to a number of factors that influence it, namely: a cultural diversity of ethnic communities, whose representatives celebrate Muslim holidays; the predominance of Christian denominations in Ukrainian lands, in particular, Orthodoxy, which is viewed by many as an integral part of the Ukrainian nation; as well as the constant change of the ethno-cultural palette of Muslim communities in Ukraine as a result of globalization and international migration. Summarizing the above-mentioned it is worth emphasizing the topicality of the study of the Muslim community in Kyiv, as it is the part of a wider problem connected with studying the peculiarities of the spread of Islam in Ukraine. In our opinion, in order to fulfill the research task, we need to involve actively the data of ethnological surveys, because these materials contain the most actual and close to the reality information about the current situation of the Muslims in Ukraine. This will allow us to trace the peculiarities of the functioning of Muslim communities both at the domestic level and at the level of certain doctrines formation of an ideological and religious nature. At the same time it is possible to highlight the problems of the existence of the Muslims in the territory of Ukraine, their needs and identify possible issues related to the spread of Islam in the Ukrainian lands. This should include the problem of coexistence of Ukrainian Muslims with representatives of other religious denominations, especially with Christian religious communities. Promising for a further scientific research is also the problem of studying such coexistence at the level of cultural interactions, studying the peculiarities of the mentality of converts to Islam of Ukrainian citizens, etc. The research of these problems is especially important for the administrative decisions adoption of an ethno-political nature, which is the key to the effective development of Ukraine in the context of an ever-increasing process of globalization on a worldwide scale.

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CATALONIA AND CATALANS IN CARLES PUIGDEMONT POLITICAL DISCOURSE: IN SEARCH OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Abstract. *The purpose of the paper is to determine the peculiarities of the construction of Catalan identity in C. Puigdemont public speeches in 2016 – 2018. The specificity of the chosen theoretical and methodological model of the research is to involve diverse tools of analysis (critical discourse analysis, linguistics, history, political science and sociology) to study the images of Catalonia and Catalans in the modern Spanish political discourse. The authors assumed that Catalan identity has features of national identity in C. Puigdemont political discourse and is used as one of the leading levers of influence on public opinion. The article defines the historic context and main components of the discursive construction of Catalan identity. For analysis and systematization of information, such methods as historical approach, content and event analysis, discourse analysis and elements of statistical analysis were used. The Scientific Novelty.* For the first time it was made an analysis of the role of discursive strategies in the verbalization of Catalan identity in specific texts – in the public speeches of C. Puigdemont, the politician who had a significant impact on the evolution of the Constitutional Crisis in Catalonia in 2017 – 2018. **The Conclusions.** The analysis allowed to

explore the historical context and main mechanisms of the verbalization of the cultural and national values of Catalonia and nationalist ideology in political discourse. We found that C. Puigdemont uses different strategies to achieve his communicative goal and create positive images of Catalonia and Catalans in the minds of his audience. The politician is guided by the strategy of self-identification and self-representation to conceptualize the central images of his political speeches. The strategy of division into “us” and “others” is realized by contrasting Catalan and Spanish identities, as well as by comparing Catalonia and Spain as a higher and dependent, aggressor and victim, oppressor and defender. The polarization of the society and the economic decline of Catalonia can be considered as the effects of the implementation of C. Puigdemont policy.

Key words: Catalonia, Catalans, Spain, Spaniards, political discourse, national identity, discourse analysis, discursive strategy.

КАТАЛОНИЯ ТА КАТАЛОНЦІ У ПОЛІТИЧНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ К. ПУЧДЕМОНТА: У ПОШУКАХ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – визначити специфіку формування каталонської ідентичності у публічних виступах К. Пучдемонта у 2016 – 2018 рр. **Специфіка обраної теоретико-методологічної моделі дослідження** полягає у залученні комплексу різнопланового інструментарію (досягнення у галузі критичного дискурсу-аналізу, лінгвістики, історичній науці, політології та соціології) для аналізу образів Каталонії та каталонців у сучасному політичному просторі Іспанії. Автори висунули гіпотезу дослідження, яка полягає у припущенні, що каталонська ідентичність, яка має ознаки національної у політичному дискурсі К. Пучдемонта, використовується як один з провідних важелів впливу на суспільну думку. У статті визначено історичні умови, в яких К. Пучдемонтом було сформовано основні складові каталонської ідентичності в рамках визначених дискурсивних стратегій. Для аналізу і систематизації інформації були використані такі методи, як історичний підхід, контент- та івентаналізи, дискурс-аналіз та елементи статистичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна роботи** полягає у тому, що вперше в історичному контексті аналізуються дискурсивні стратегії у формуванні ідентичності, які були використані К. Пучдемонтом у публічних виступах. Саме цей політик мав значний вплив на зародження та розгортання Конституційної кризи у Каталонії у 2017 – 2018 р. **Висновки.** Під час дослідження автори зазначили історичні умови, які, з одного боку, вплинули на формування механізмів вербалізації культурних та національних цінностей Каталонії та націоналістичної ідеології у політичному дискурсі, а з іншого, слугували плідним тлом для реалізації цих механізмів. З'ясовано, що К. Пучдемонт використовує різні стратегії для досягнення комунікативної мети і створення позитивних образів Каталонії та каталонців у свідомості аудиторії. Політик орієнтується на стратегію самоідентифікації та авторепрезентації для концептуалізації центральних образів його політичних промов. Стратегія поділу на “своїх” та “чужих” реалізується за допомогою зіставлення Каталонії і Іспанії як вищого й залежного, агресора і жертви, гнобителя та захисника. Політичними наслідками такого дискурсу можна вважати поляризацію суспільства та економічний спад Каталонії.

Ключові слова: Каталонія, каталонці, Іспанія, іспанці, політичний дискурс, національна ідентичність, дискурс-аналіз, дискурсивна стратегія.

The Problem Statement. The historical conditions in which political communication is implemented largely influence the perception of discourse by the audience, which verbalizes the values and historical orientations of society. In our case, political discourse served as a channel of communication between the power representatives and the people, directly participating in the reevaluation of regional and national identities and polarizing society. That is why it is crucial to analyze political discourse, which will allow researchers to identify the main trends of change in the way society thinks and to predict certain ideological transformations.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Let us note, that the problems of Catalan autonomy have attracted the attention of historians (Andrés, 2015; Elliott, 2018; Rogge, 2011), as well as politicians and journalists (in particular *Sambio16*, *Diario16*, *Nueva sociedad*, *El País*, *El Mundo*, *El Periodico*, *La Vanguardia*) who are highlighting the historical background of the 2017 Catalanian crisis and current economic and political problems of the region, although the particularities of political communication during crises remain out of focus of research.

The chosen aspect of identity analysis through the prism of political discourse is resulted from the interest of modern science in the analysis of peculiarities of communication between the power institutions and the people. A lot has been written about the characteristics of political discourse (Butova, 2009, about relation between language, identity and political communication (Wodak, 1989; Zelinskyi, 2018), stylistic peculiarities of political discourse (Muniru Oladayo, 2017), gender aspects of communication in the politics (Nurseitova, 2013).

Contemporary Critical Discourse Analysis has achieved remarkable results in this field explaining how power, language, ideology and national identity are interrelated (T. van Dijk, N. Fairclough, M. Meyer, R. Wodak). Critical Discourse Analysis considers text structures as means of power implementation and generation of new ideologies or sustaining of existing ideologies (Wodak, 2009, p. 8). National identity acts as one of the central elements of the conceptualization of the nation in discourse and as a means of manifestation of power that can separate or unite different ethnic groups and generate/erase borders. Despite the considerable amount of studies devoted to various aspects of the conceptualization of the national identity of different nations (Kutsyi, 2018; Ryazanova-Clarke, 2008; Triandafyllidou, 1998; İnaç, Üna 2013) or to the issue of transnational identity (Hashieva, 2014; Yavorskaya, 2008), the transformation of Catalan identity in the modern historical context remains out of view among researchers and has not been considered in details. **The purpose of the article** is to apply the achievements of contemporary discourse-analysis to study the process of reshaping of Catalan identity in Carles Puigdemont public speeches.

The Statement of the Basic Material. “The Catalan problem is an irresolvable problem that can only be tolerated”, said José Ortega and Gasset in May 1932 during Republican debate (Andrés, 2015). We can only agree with the Spanish thinker of generation “98”, and predict the aggravation of relations between the central government of Spain and Catalonia and the further polarization of society. It is known that the Catalan question (the desire for autonomy, and eventually independence), has not appeared today, and dates back more than a century. In Catalonia, the idea of a differentiated linguistic and cultural community has its historical traditions since XVIII century. Today we are witnessing the stage of exacerbation of this problem, which is connected not only with the historical confrontation between Catalan and Spanish nationalism, but also with the triple crisis (economic, political and territorial) that Spain has been experiencing since 2007 (Serra, González, Martí and Puig, 2018) In fact, these circumstances have provided a wonderful background for the propagation of nationalist policy of C. Puigdemont. The situation was aggravated by the state of Catalan society: “We live in a politics of fear ... Yes, when the society is shocked, it is very easily with it, if it is a bubble. And Catalonia is the perfect tool to use such policy” (Andrés, 2015).

The decision to analyze C. Puigdemont public speeches can be explained by the fact that this politician not only promoted the Catalan national idea and held a referendum on independence against the will of Spanish authorities, but, unlike his predecessor Artur Mas, managed to proclaim the Declaration of Independence of Catalonia on the results of this referendum (at least 90% of participants supported the independence of Catalonia but the turnout was only 42,3%). Carles Puigdemont is a Spanish journalist and politician who was the President of the Generalitat de Catalunya from 2016

to 2017 and the Mayor of Gerona from 2011 to 2016. As a journalist he worked at *El Punt* (joined in 1982), *Agència Catalana de Notícies* (1999 – 2002), *Casa de Cultura de Girona* (2002 – 2004), *Catalonia Today* (2004 – 2006). During his presidency, the Generalitat held a referendum on the independence of Catalonia, which provoked the Constitutional crisis in Spain and led to special elections in Catalonia. On October 28, 2017, the Senate of Spain invoked article 155 of the Constitution and dismissed C. Puigdemont together with the Catalan government and imposed direct rule on Catalonia. The charges of rebellion and misuse of public funds at the *Audiencia Nacional* were laid against C. Puigdemont (*El poder judicial*, 21/03/2018). On March 25, 2018, C. Puigdemont was arrested in Germany, and on April 5, German justice released him on bail (*La vanguardia*, 06/04/2018). On October 4, 2019, the Spanish Supreme Court sentenced him to 13 years in prison and issued an international arrest warrant, but the Belgian Court suspended the deportation order to Spain because of his immunity as a Member of the European Parliament.

Considering the historical context, we assume that in the discourse of C. Puigdemont, Catalan identity is verbalized as an element of national consciousness, rather than a regional one. Accordingly to this, the politician must use specific discursive strategies that polarize the idea of the Catalans about themselves and others and contribute to the differentiation of Catalan identity from other nations. The principle of sameness and difference, which is considered as one of the main principles of construction of national identity (Wodak, 2009, p. 26), is realized through the verbalization of a positive self-image (“us”) and the negative image of “others”. In the discursive space of politician, the ethno-cultural group of Catalans, the group of “us” is united geographically and ethnically. The group of “others” is associated with the population of Spain in other regions and representatives of the Spanish Government.

For the organization of the research, the authors passed three stages. In the first stage, the authors put forward the main hypothesis of the study and identified the range of issues to be analyzed. We hypothesized that the Catalan identity has features of national identity in the political discourse of C. Puigdemont. This assumption is based on his political views and on his desire to gain Catalan independence from the Spanish monarchy. In our opinion, C. Puigdemont used his public speeches to form nationalistic mood among the population of Catalonia, using the idea of Catalan identity as one of the means of influence on public opinion.

In the second stage, the chronological boundaries of the texts for analysis were determined, and the achievements of foreign scientists were analyzed to supplement the research tools of our research. Therefore, these actions comprised the Information Search.

The third stage consisted of analysis, processing and systematization of the information and the formulation of conclusions. The authors used such political methods as content and event analysis, through which the authors identified C. Puigdemont’s vision of Catalans as a nation. The study also used the method of discourse analysis and the elements of statistical analysis to determine the frequency of the use of key concepts for the identity verbalization.

The corpora comprise the public speeches of C. Puigdemont from May 2016 to March 2018 (40,000 words, the access to the texts http://www.president.cat/pres_gov/president/ca/president/discursos.html). The time frame can be explained by historical events in Catalonia. We start our analysis with the year 2016 because this year C. Puigdemont became the President and started to promote his ideas. And we finish with the year 2018 as on March 25, 2018, C. Puigdemont was arrested in Germany.

First of all, we need to clarify the concept of “identity” and define the strategies for its construction in the discourse. The term “identity” is studied in many sciences and several types of identities can be singled out: cultural, social, national, civic, gender, ethno-religious

identity. Of course, in everyday life it's difficult to distinguish these types of identities one from one another as they intersect creating circles, similar to the Venn diagram. Therefore, there is no single viewpoint on this socio-political phenomenon among scholars.

The same situation can be observed with the term "national identity" which is commonly used by ordinary citizens and politicians of any country. Despite the intensive use of this notion, the researchers are still trying to define the national identity, to single out its components and to answer the question whether one can manipulate a person through its national self-image and consciousness. The degree of belonging/unbelonging of person to a nation affects the level of internal and external security of the state. In the twenty-first century, the danger of the erosion of nations and the formation of new states is still present that can lead to the destabilization of international relations. Thus, the analysis of conceptualization of national identity in different types of discourse represents a particular interest and, in our case, the study of discursive strategies used in C. Puigdemont speeches to separate the identities of Spaniards and Catalans enriches the contemporary, scientific ways of understanding of the notion "national identity".

Regarding the definition of "national identity", Ukrainian researcher L. Loyko notes that in the history of our socio-political thought it is possible to trace different approaches to understanding of this notion that single out either the ethno-cultural, or the national-public component. In the opinion of modern Ukrainian scholars, national identity is not an innate trait of the nation, but the result of implementation of social and cultural practices, civil and political traditions, the development of institutional, economic and social space. Under certain circumstances national identity can become the driving force of socio-political transformations. According to L. Loyko, not the nation itself but ideologists proclaim the unity of the nation basing on the common history of the ethnos, common culture and religion (Loyko, 2011). In other words, the national self-identification is a result of "national agitation". The propaganda and consolidation of the nation by the cultural elite and politicians are extremely necessary for the creation of national identity. Politicians can also play a destructive role and split the nation. We will try to determine the role played by C. Puigdemont in this process.

In the framework of our study, we define the national identity as a social level of self-identification, characterized by "the sense of belonging to a community that recognizes itself as a nation" (Morris, 1995, p. 14). Thus, the members of a certain ethnic group are aware of their uniqueness and difference from others, which is realized through comparing themselves to other ethnic groups. This sense of belonging is generated by a variety of social practices that ensure the territorial and ethnic integrity of the nation. Considering this idea, Catalan identity in C. Puigdemont political discourse may also contribute to the generation of nationalist moods in the region, since, according to contemporary theories of nationalism, identity, and not ideology, plays a leading role in the formation of the latest nationalist movements (see, for example, Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1995). Thus, identity as an element of the discursive space of political communication of C. Puigdemont may be understood as a discursive object and as a means of impact on the public consciousness. Let us consider the means of conceptualization of Catalan identity in the discursive space.

In public speeches of the politician, the process of identity construction is implemented through several discursive strategies. We understand the strategy after R. Wodak as "a more or less precise plan that is being implemented to achieve a certain political, psychological or other goal" (Wodak, 2009, p. 31). The politician as the President of Catalonia addresses his audience mostly in Catalan. The language choice is not accidental. The Catalan language is inseparable from the identity dimension, and the politician chooses this linguistic strategy to

emphasize his belonging to the Catalan people. Although there may be exceptions in some cases. For example, in his speech of October 4, 2017 C. Puigdemont resorts to the language code switching: “...Seguim un camí democràticament marcat per la voluntat dels ciutadans, i això enlloc de ser combatut hauria de començar a ser comprès i a ser respectat. Por eso quiero dirigirme a los ciudadanos españoles que en estos días han expresado su compromiso con las demandas de los catalanes; ciudadanos que nos han enviado su amistad y su solidaridad muy valiosa en los momentos que estamos viviendo...” (Puigdemont, 4/10/2017) (underlining is ours. – author). In this example, C. Puigdemont delivers a part of his speech in Spanish and emphasizes that he is referring to the Spaniards and not to the Catalans. The Castilian language is associated with Spain, while the politician communicates with the citizens of Catalonia in Catalan. Thus, already on the linguistic level, the implementation of the macrostrategy of division (opposition of “us” and “others”) can be traced. In the discursive space of C. Puigdemont, the macrostrategy of division is also realized through the implementation of several other strategies – the strategy of conceptualization of the image of Catalonia, of positive presentation of “us”, of negative presentation of “others”, of idealization of Catalonia and Catalans, of demonizing “other”. Let us consider each of the strategies in more detail.

The central element of the conceptualization of Catalan identity is the verbalization of the image of Catalonia. In the discourse this strategy focuses on the representation of Catalonia as a complex ethnic and national formation characterized by exceptional individual characteristics. The nominations “Catalunya”, “los Catalans” and “el poble de Catalunya” are used very frequently as well as phrases such as “ciutadans de catalunya, la societat catalana, el Govern de Catalunya, el Parlament de Catalunya, les infraestructures de Catalunya, les autoritats catalanes, la legalitat catalan, les institucions dels Catalans”.

The appeal to the Catalans as a single nation (“nostre país, los Catalans, ciutadans de Catalunya”) and the identification of Catalonia with its population contribute to the consolidation of the citizens and helps to create a common desire for independence. The use of the names of various power institutions is intended to give the impression of Catalonia as a self-sufficient country with all the features of an independent state. We have been able to identify the main language units that conceptualize the image of Catalonia with the help of the statistical analysis of key words (Table 1).

Table 1

Verbal images of conceptualization of Catalonia

Important verbal images	Number
Catalunya	348
nostre país	25
los Catalans	66
ciutadans de Catalunya	11
la societat catalana	11
el poble (català\de Catalunya)	22
nostra nació	10
l'economia catalana \ nostra economia	14
llengua	8
cultura catalana	4
ciutadans i ciutadanes	3

As we can see, the main images used by the politician are related to key components of the identity – cultural and geographical integrity, ethnic and national uniqueness, economic independence. The politician tries to present Catalonia as a region that has its own language, its own culture and its own lifestyle: “...la llengua, la cultura i la manera de ser i de viure del nostre país” (Puigdemont, 10/20/2017). Such a positive vision of Catalonia and, to a certain extent, the idealization of the image of the region aims to prove the maturity of Catalan national identity and the right to establish an independent sovereign country.

The conceptualization of the image of Catalonia is also realized in temporal dimension. Catalonia is verbalized as a region with centuries-old history of the nation’s creation (“...la voluntat de convocar els ciutadans i ciutadanes del nostre país, en exercici del legítim dret a l’autodeterminació que té una nació mil·lenària com Catalunya...” (Puigdemont, 09/06/2017) where people are aware of their uniqueness and rich cultural heritage of the country («Somos un solo pueblo, que ama las lenguas que habla, que no tiene ningún problema con las identidades, las nacionalidades y las culturas...») (Puigdemont, 4/10/17). The positive vision of the future of the region and the focus on shaping the vivid image of independent Catalonia contributes to the idealization of the image of the country and reinforces the influence on the audience.

In addition, according to the results of analysis, C. Puigdemont sees in Catalonia a highly developed industrial zone, which serves as the basis for the progress of the entire country. Catalonia is portrayed as a region that differs not only in cultural and ethnic dimension but also in terms of economic progress. We can illustrate our generalizations with following examples: “Catalunya ha estat no només el motor econòmic d’Espanya, sinó també un factor de modernització i d’estabilitat” (Puigdemont, 10/10/2017), “...Catalunya creix, Catalunya exporta, Catalunya atrau inversions, Catalunya crea riquesa” (Puigdemont, 14/06/2017) (underlining is ours. – author). Such strategic vision of Catalonia is justified as this region produces 20% of GDP of the country and comprises only 16% of the population of Spain. It’s true that Catalonia is fourth in terms of investments among the Euroregions, every third Spanish exporter is Catalan, and 1% of the world’s scientific publications are written by Catalans (data available at the site of Generalitat de Catalunya, <http://economia.gencat.cat>). As a result, the idea of superiority of Catalonia over other Spanish regions is supported by real facts and peculiarities of the regional development.

As we see, the vision of Catalonia in C. Puigdemont speeches has a geographical, institutional, temporal and economic dimension. Catalonia is verbalized as an element of Catalan identity and a symbol of the fulfillment of the Catalan aspirations for self-identification: “Catalunya sempre defensa i porta molts anys defensant la seva identitat i els seus interessos nacionals. I passi el que passi ho continuarà fent, perquè aquesta és la característica del nostre poble i de la nostra nació” (Puigdemont, 16/01/2017). It is also represented as the guarantor of the nation’s security: “Catalunya és una nació que protegeix tots els seus ciutadans, sense excepció” (Puigdemont, 5/10/2016). The idealization of Catalonia contributes to enhancing the sense of uniqueness and intensifying the desire for independence.

The strategy of positive representation is also used to verbalize the image of the Catalan people. In the discursive space of politician, the Catalans are described as people united by common aspirations: “Una vegada més, el poble de Catalunya va demostrar ahir que està unit, que és un sol poble, que fa pinya en la defensa dels valors de la democràcia...” (Puigdemont, 4/10/201) (underlining is ours. – author). According to C. Puigdemont, Catalans are a free community (“...és ... una nova era de la història de Catalunya; l’era d’una

Catalunya lliure” (Puigdemont, 16/01/2017»), peaceful (“Som gent de pau, ho hem demostrat en totes les ocasions” (Puigdemont, 1/03/2018) and respectful to the cultural diversity of others (“Somos, en efecto, una sociedad enormemente congregada en la diversidad” (Puigdemont, 10/4/2018). The generalization of positive features creates a unified image of “us”, which is intended to unite all Catalans.

At the same time, we can trace the tendency towards the victimization of the Catalans. They are portrayed as victims of the policy of the Spanish government, which, according to C. Puigdemont, does not respect the right to vote and the right to freedom of expression of Catalonia’s citizens: “...els catalans que han estat víctimes d’una violència policial que ha glaçat el cor a mig món” (Puigdemont, 4/10/2017). The politician thinks that the people must find strength to defend their rights because they have the will to decide their future (“la voluntat del nostre poble de decidir el seu futur” (Puigdemont, 1/03/2018). It should be noted that the victimization as a part of the strategy of self-presentation is able to unite the nation against a common enemy and to make it stronger and more decisive.

Another strategy used by C. Puigdemont is the strategy of division. This strategy is realized through the opposition between the image of Catalonia and Catalan people and other nations with the aim to present Catalonia as a separate country/nation. This is where the regional identity is transformed into the national identity. The most explicit is the opposition between Spain (“other”) and Catalonia. Spain and its state institutions are shown as hostile forces that hold back the Catalans’ desire for independence. Firstly, C. Puigdemont, defines the relations between Catalonia and Spain as the main source of conflict: “Creiem que la millor manera de saber quin projecte gaudeix de més suports (la permanència a Espanya o la creació d’un estat) és votant. Davant d’un conflicte polític –pacífic– entre Catalunya i Espanya...” (Puigdemont, 24/01/2017) (underlining is ours. – author). According to the politician, this conflict is the reason why the Catalans are not able to fulfill their aspirations, as the Spanish monarchy implements the policy of occupation and restriction in relation to Catalonia. The root of the conflict is seen in the reluctance of the Spanish government to recognize the rights of the Catalans to decide their future: “...la defensa de la legitimitat i la legalitat catalanes injustament i il·legalment atacades per l’Estat espanyol, que continua negant-se a acceptar la voluntat dels Catalans” (Puigdemont, 1/03/2018) (underlining is ours. – author). Here we can also trace the tendency towards the victimization of Catalans who can not speak freely. In this case the Government of Spain is portrayed as aggressor, the source of all kinds of violence: “els altres posen violència policial, judicial i econòmica” (Puigdemont, 1/03/2018). In addition, the politician claims that the Government of Spain pursue the policy of occupation and ignores Catalan’s voice: “Ara Madrid no hi tindrà cap excusa per continuar la seva política d’ocupació. No hi haurà cap excusa perquè Madrid ignori la nostra veu, o que no accepti les nostres decisions, o que imposi una visió colonialista sobre el nostre futur” (Puigdemont, 1/03/2018) (underlining is ours. – author). It is worth noting that the Catalans are shown not as passive victims of the conflict but as active actors who resist the aggression and try to overcome injustice: “...perquè hem de defensar el dret dels catalans a decidir el seu futur. Davant de la covardia dels qui usen la violència i els recursos de manera il·limitada de l’Estat m’admira i m’emociona la valentia dels milers de ciutadans que estan defensant les urnes i estant defensant els collegis electorals perquè la gent pugui participar” (Puigdemont, 1/10/2017) (underlining is ours. – author).

To dramatize the conflict situation and strengthen the image of Catalonia as a victim, the politician also mentions not only the violations of national values, but also violations of family

and individual values. In this way C. Puigdemont tries to raise awareness of issue in Catalonia among wider audience: “Han fet mal a persones i famílies, i sobretot han fet mal a tots els catalans tallant en sec polítiques i inversions en àmbits com el social, el cultural i l’econòmic només, només, per castigar un poble que ha gosat exercir un dret que és reconegut a tots els pobles del món per la Carta dels Drets Civils i Polítics de les Nacions Unides” (Puigdemont, 1/03/2018). Here, C. Puigdemont focuses his attention on the victims of the Spanish policy, simple people suffering from social, economic and cultural oppression. The motivation of the Spanish government is shown rather brutally – they want to punish people who dared to exercise their legitimate rights. Such vision of Spain as aggressor state is even more intense in comparison with the positive image of Catalonia and the Catalans, the peace-loving people (“gent de pau”). At the same time, the politician is trying to justify the situation in Catalonia: “No Somos unos delincuentes, ni Unos locos, ni Unos golpistas, ni Unos abducidos: somos gente normal que pide poder votar y que ha estado dispuesta a todo el dialogo que Fuera Necesario para realizarlo de manera acordada” (Puigdemont, 10/10/2017).

It has to be pointed out that in the discourse of C. Puigdemont the main hostile forces are not Spaniards as a nation, but the state structures of the Spanish state (“el Govern espanyol, l’Estat espanyol, el sistema polític espanyol, les institucions espanyoles”). They are the main source of unlawful acts and violence against the Catalans. Despite the fact that Catalan identity is being realized through denial of belonging to the Spanish nation and affirmation of differentness, there are still no accusations against the Spaniards in the speeches. The desire to consolidate two ethnic groups and the attempt to bring compassion for the simple Spaniards to the Catalan people can be traced in the discourse of C. Puigdemont.

In general, our analysis helped distinguish several oppositions between Catalonia and Spain that depict the confrontation between the autonomous region and the Spanish state (Table 2):

Table 2

Main verbal oppositions between Spain and Catalonia

l’Estat espanyol / Madrid	Catalunya /la república catalana
oppressor imperfect institutional system supervised freedom	victim state of law and justice republic of free men and women
unfair hostile violent / cruel intransigent	peaceful democratic civil brave
commits abuses occupies illegitimately criminalizes the ideology applies the political offensive ignores the voice of the Catalans introduces tension in Catalan society	denounces and prosecutes abuses defends the people wants to express freely wants to build a decent future

We can observe that “l’Estat Espanyol” is portrayed as formation that incarnate all the negative features and is very violent towards Catalonia. These key oppositions contribute to the construction of the negative image of the “other” demonizing it to some extent.

The Conclusions. The authors found that Catalonia issue dates back more than a hundred years and escalated at the beginning of the 21st century, which was connected to the economic,

political and territorial crisis in Spain. The construction of the national identity of Catalans in C. Puigdemont speeches took place under difficult historical conditions, which influenced the Catalans' positive reaction to nationalistic discourse of the politician.

The analysis allowed us to explore the mechanisms of the verbalization of the cultural and national values of Catalonia and nationalist ideology in political discourse. We found out that C. Puigdemont uses different strategies to achieve his communicative goal and create positive images of Catalonia and Catalans in the minds of his audience. The politician is guided by strategies of self-identification and auto representation to conceptualize the central images of his political speeches. The strategy of division into "us" and "others" is realized through the opposition of the Catalan and Spanish identities, as well as comparison of Catalonia and Spain as a superior power and dependent agent, aggressor and victim, oppressor and defender. It should be noted that the image of the Spanish state and the Spanish people is built differently. Catalonia opposes to the Spanish state as a hostile and unfair organization, there is no direct opposition between the Spaniards and Catalans. With the help of combination of discursive strategies and the use of contrast images of Spain and Catalonia, C. Puigdemont succeeded to idealize his country and his people on the one hand and demonize the image of Spain on the other hand.

Regarding the political consequences of such discourse, we can note that the politician divided not only the Spanish society (Spaniards and Catalans), but also created discord among the Catalans themselves. This is evidenced by the fact that only small part of the Catalans came to a referendum and voted, thus, the will was revealed by a minority. However, the Declaration of Independence of Catalonia was proclaimed and the conflict between the central Spanish authorities and the autonomous government of Catalonia escalated and continues to this day. Consequently, C. Puigdemont succeeded to unite with his speeches only a part of the Catalans and people were divided by the idea of independence. In addition to such a division of society, Catalonia has also received an economic downturn for several years. As we see, the polarization of society and the economic downturn of Catalonia can be considered as consequence of C. Puigdemont political discourse on Catalan identity and political strategy.

By the perspective of the study, we consider expanding the analysis of Catalan identity conceptualization in the political discourse by the study of public speeches of the representatives of Spanish central government.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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NEW VIEW ON THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY OF ANNALISTIC PLISNESK
Monograph Review: Radosław Liwoch. Zabytki z wykopalisk Teodora Nieczuja-Ziemięckiego w latopisowym Pleśniku (Podhorce na Ukrainie). Kraków: Ekodruk, 2018. 168 s.

НОВИЙ ПОГЛЯД НА ПОЧАТКИ ІСТОРІЇ ЛІТОПИСНОГО ПЛІСНЕСЬКА
Рецензія на монографію: Radosław Liwoch. Zabytki z wykopalisk Teodora Nieczuja-Ziemięckiego w latopisowym Pleśniku (Podhorce na Ukrainie). Kraków: Ekodruk, 2018. 168 s.

The Polish archaeologist T. Ziemencki, during the excavation of burials on the territory of the Plisnes'k hill-fort and its surroundings in 1881 – 1883 (today it is hamlet near Pidhirtsi, Brody district, Lviv region) acquired a spectacular collection of the artifacts that represented the burial inventory of the Xth – XIIIth centuries. At the same time, these items were transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Krakow for the deposition, where they are still stored. During all this time, the “Plisnes'k” collection was inaccessible for all scientists, including the Ukrainian ones. However, in 2003 the young researcher Radosław Liwoch began to introduce some categories of finds into the scientific usage periodically. The monograph, written by the scientist and published

in 2018, represents the entire collection of the complete study, based on the comparative analysis of the manuscripts of field diaries from the excavations and the preserved artifacts (their technical and technological characteristics, morphology, analogies), R. Liwoch verified the available burial inventory in order to clarify the burials' chronology and periodization, the buried persons' ethnic origin, the religious identity determination and the social status of one of the oldest fortresses in the Rus' inhabitants', located on the edge of Volyn southern borders.

The structure of the monograph consists of the introduction and three chapters, which are combined by a through numbering. The full text that consists of 52 pages is presented in two languages – Polish (pages 1–52) and later in English (pages 53–98). The total list of used literature covers pages 99–100. The monograph is accompanied by the illustrated material at the final pages of the monograph, presented in the form of appendices – graphic drawings and photographs with a through numbering (Figs. 1–56).

General information about the transfer of the collection of Plisnes'k to the Archaeological and Anthropological Museums in Krakow, the artifacts' storage and the initial stage of studying of them are noted at the introduction part. The second chapter is dedicated to the extremely brief biography of the researcher of Plisnes'k collections – T. Ziemencki (1845 – 1916). The main positions occupied by the scientist are listed: a museum worker (collections keeper, director); Member of the Archeological Commission of the Polish Academy of Knowledge (Polska Akademia Umiejętności); an archaeologist; a publisher and an editor; a publicist. Even from this list, we can conclude that T. Ziemencki occupied an active public and scientific position. That is why, such extremely little-known biography details of the well-known personality leave a feeling of hunger for information about him. However, the author only remarked that not much is known about the researcher. It is worth using contemporary works in the history of archaeology, from which it is possible to find out that T. Ziemencki, in particular, participated in the Archaeological Congresses, organized antiquities' exhibitions actively, etc. It will be also good to know about the evaluation of scientist's achievements, which is extremely important in the context of the formation and development of archaeology as a science during the second half of the XIXth century.

The third chapter includes the analysis of the general state of study of the complex of annalistic Plisnes'k from the beginning of the XIXth century and until 2016 (Mykhailo Fylypchuk's death, who excavated the site during 1990 – 2016). Outlining the last date makes impression on the reader that the Plisnes'k studies were stopped there. In fact, the activity of the research processes has only accelerated, since in 2015 Historical and Cultural Reserve “Ancient Plisnes'k” was created based on the archaeological site and the archaeological excavations are actively carried out by Andriy Fylypchuk. At the same time, R. Liwoch only states which objects were excavated and by whom. Sometimes he does not even mention the materials chronology. It is worth giving a general scientific evaluation of these finds, to outline their importance for understanding of spatial organization of the site and its planning structure. The chapter ends with three quotations from the Old Rus' written sources (the chronicles and “The Tale of Ihor's Campaign”), where Plisnes'k was mentioned (1185, 1188, 1233). In the footnotes, the reader is directed to the historiography on the Rurik dynasty genealogy, written by the authoritative Polish researchers (D. Dombrowski, A. Yusupowicz). Instead, the work of a well-known Ukrainian historians-medievalists, first of all, L. Voitovych, who fruitfully studies this period in the history of Ukraine, is presented in a sketchy way and selectively. It is difficult to assume that R. Liwoch is unfamiliar with this literature (we are deeply convinced in the opposite), but the absence of at least references to monographs, topical in this context, makes the impression that there are gaps in the Ukrainian studies of the Middle Ages that are not true. The passage about the possible falsification of “The Tale of Ihor's Campaign” (which is inappropriate in the context of the problems under consideration) appears even

more surprising. However, the author of the monograph can be excused by his own words that “evaluation of this work is beyond his competence”. Though, noted in this chapter is a slight drift in the characterization of Plisnes’k research, deepened in the following text, which, unfortunately, gives the monograph a certain one-sidedness.

The fourth chapter is the most important. The detailed analysis of the obtained material (both the burials and the artifacts) is presented by T. Ziemencki. The characteristics of the objects and findings are presented separately according to the field seasons in 1881, 1882, 1883 (subsections). During the research carried out in 1881, a trench was dug up in the central part of the hill-fort along its diameter. Within it, numerous materials were found in the cultural layer: clay products (pots, lamps, whorls and amphorae), iron (knives, keys, fire strikers, notches, bits, arrowheads and tridents), non-ferrous metals (bracelets), glass (bracelets, beads). The ceramic material is presented on five graphic tables and amphorae on the sixth table, which can be found in the museum collection. R. Liwoch’s main attention is focused on the analysis of three reconstructed pots. The remaining fragments are presented in the consolidated table. A careful description of the ceramics is indisputable, which makes it informative for professionals, unlike the proposed dating. The fragments of wheel tableware shown on the figures (and partly on the photos) generally have a considerable range of using – the XIth – the first half of the XIIIth century. However, among these fragments, some specimens can be clearly distinguished, forms of which were dominant during the XIth and XIIIth centuries. Instead, there are no vessels from the Xth and the first half of the XIIIth century. It is also difficult to agree with the chronology of some other categories of items, including glass bracelets, the time of use of which is dated back to the 20-ies and 30-ies of the XIIIth century. In this case, the references to the analogy from Kholm and other places requires a differentiated approach. Separately, in this sub-section studies of Velyka mohyla on the public area are analyzed. There a pair of burials of a man and a woman were discovered in the sub-barrow mound. The deceased persons were placed in a wooden chamber, with the head oriented to the west, the gold plaque was put to the mouth of the man (obol of dead); gifts (two wooden buckets with remains of food) were spread around. The equipment of the dead attracts special attention. The man wearing a chainmail was accompanied by a sword; the woman wore decorations (necklace, the bracelet made of golden plate). In the context of characterization of these items, R. Liwoch presented a chemical analysis of individual finds (belt buckle and bronze ring, lead-tin hoops from a wooden bucket). The author of the monograph, sharing the opinion of the previous researchers, rightly identifies the burial with the representatives of the social elite, the funeral of whom was carried out in accordance with the pagan ritual. The time of the burial (up to or shortly after 988) is a matter of debate. In addition to Velyka mohyla, a several smaller barrows were examined, where separate finds were found (cross-shaped suspension, temporal ring, necklace that consists of three slate whorls, circle from a pot).

The materials from the excavations carried out in 1882 – Velyki mohyly № 1 and № 2, in which the dead were buried in the wooden chambers with their heads turned to the west are considered at the second sub-section. Burial № 1 where a man and a woman laid, stands out of the inventory wealth. The man was accompanied by the sword in a wooden sheath with bronze edging and ax; wore jewelry (silver bracelet, gold and two silver rings); the woman has silver temporal rings, necklace which consists of colorful beads, three silver rings. The wooden buckets with knives inside were placed to the grave. Both had a gold plaque in the mouth, and a silver cross on the chest. In the grave № 2, among remains of the wooden chamber only the burial of a man armed with an ax was found. He was decorated only by two gold rings. Instead, a sickle and a knife were placed on his stomach, and on the right were two wooden buckets with food and a knife inside it and a bowl. The notable items included a bronze encolpion on the shoulder and a silver cross on the chest. Based on the detailed analysis of the material R. Liwoch rightly dates

the burial by the first half of the XIth century and associate them with the military elite who have already professed Christianity in a distinctly pagan environment.

In the third chapter there is the burials and burial inventory characteristics discovered in 1883 in almost destroyed graves, as well as the separate artifacts are presents.

In conclusions, R. Liwoch underlines the importance of interpretation of the burials for understanding of the origins of statehood and the Christianity in Western Ukrainian lands. It is precisely these ancient processes on the territory of Halychyna land that are the least described in the written sources and poorly reflected in the archaeological sources. The materials from Plisnes'k work, demonstrate the state of the society on the turning point of the traditions, since the burials clearly record the the combination of such features as the pagan and the Christian burial ritual (with the clear dominance of the first one), wealth of the burial inventory (gold and silver artifacts, presence of refined jewelry) belonging of men to the military stratum. The results of a careful analysis of obtained material remain only in accordance with the features mentioned above already constitute a significant source for further historical conclusions. Add to this a reasonable periodization of the material, a scientific value of the source base will increase significantly. And in this case, it is only necessary to pay tribute to the efforts of T. Ziemienky, directed in his time to carrying out of the excavations (until nowadays these graves could not be preserved!), and to R. Liwoch's works – for a complex and comprehensive research and introduction of the material into the scientific use. And we can finish here if it had not been a particular tendency that was given to the study from the beginning. First of all, it is notable that during examination of the material publications of scientists from Central Europe is widely used but modern works of East European researchers (including Ukrainian ones), who study the medieval antiquities, are not sufficiently applied. The non-peculiar periodiation should only allow avoiding but also to present typical and at the same time special character of the finds from Plisnes'k on the broader background of the analogies. At the same time, the range of issues that allow representing the artifacts considered in the monograph is quite broad and significant. Simultaneously, these materials, despite their effectiveness, are not quite suitable for solving problems of the interethnic relations. Instead, R. Liwoch subordinated the material to the final conclusion logically and methodically that we are dealing with the “*lędziańskim Pleśniskiem*”, which is “*spodobać się musiało zdobywcy*” (to knyaz Volodymyr the Great) and in addition, placing the hill-fort on the south-east outskirts of the tribal territory of Lendians (Lędzianie). It is a pity that actually the good case of the respectful publication of important sources are intertwined with the old-world debate about the location of area of habitation of Lendians. To the very large historiography of this issue, in which the opposite approaches to solving the problem clearly appeared, the available materials from Plisnes'k could not add anything (neither confirm nor refute the existing views). On the other hand, as R. Liwoch rightly points out, the burials with the body crosses are, without any doubt, representing the earliest evidence of the appearance of the Christians in the western territories of modern Ukraine. Their presence in Plisnes'k work was the result of the state-creation processes in the Rus'. As the representatives of the Great Knyaz-of Kyiv and at the same time – part of the social elite, these individuals, who formed the contingent of the Plisnes'k stronghold, controlled strategic territory on the western borders of the emerging state. The materials presented in the monograph, at the same time, reflect the everyday culture and peculiarities of the spiritual life of these people.

Summarizing, it should be emphasized that R. Liwoch's book “*Zabytki z wykopalisk Teodora Nieczuja-Ziemieckiego w latopisowym Pleśnisku (Podhorce na Ukrainie)*”, which is based on a diligent long-term work on the understanding of the old museum collections is a professional research, which represents the important distribution to the learning of history of Ukraine in the early period of the development of state.

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TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF THE PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTES OF UKRAINE IN THE 1920 – 1960s THROUGH THE PRISM OF EVERYDAY LIFE Review of the monograph: Oleksandr Lukianenko. “The closest friends of the party”: collectives of pedagogical higher education institutions of Ukraine in the images of daily 1920s – the first half of 1960s. Poltava: “Simon” Publishing House, 2019. 658 p.

ВИКЛАДАЧІ І СТУДЕНТИ ПЕДАГОГІЧНИХ ІНСТИТУТІВ УКРАЇНИ 1920 – 1960-х рр. КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ

Рецензія на монографію: Олександр Лук'яненко. “Найближчі друзі партії”: колективи педагогічних вишів України в образах щодення 1920-х – першої половини 1960-х років. Полтава: Видавництво “Сімон”, 2019. 658 с.

The history of everyday life as a field of scientific historical research has become widespread in Ukraine over the last twenty years. Both large social communities (intelligentsia, peasantry), and small social and socio-professional groups have become the focus of researchers' attention. Among the latter, particular attention was given to primary and secondary school teachers, researchers, teachers of higher education institutions, and students. In particular, a few years ago O. Komarnitskyi's thorough work “Educational Students in the Modernization of Higher Education in Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s” appeared (Kamianets-Podilskyi, 2017). A young scientist Oleksandr Lukianenko works in the same

direction. Certainly, his monograph is a thorough study of the everyday life of teachers and students of institutions of higher pedagogical education of Ukraine in the 1920s – 1960s.

The peer-reviewed monograph consists of an introduction, six sections, conclusions, a list of reference links and literature used, nominal and geographical indications. The first section, “Theoretical and Methodological Foundations of the Research,” analyzes the state of scientific development of the problem, the source base of the research and, in fact, its methodology. Relying on a semantic approach, O. Lukianenko highlighted several levels of research that were devoted to the subject under study, namely: macrolevel – works on history and theory of everyday life; mezzanine level – works that illuminate the awakening of Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and 1960s; microlevel – works on the history of high school of Ukraine; nanolevel – works on the history of everyday life of pedagogical collectives. The macrolevel is mainly represented by the works of I. Karivets, M. Halushko, and Ya. Kudenko. The author used I. Karivets’s view of everyday life as a “dynamic picture”, which is characterized by conflict, intentionality, divisions and discontinuities, as well as deliberate rationalization while understanding it as the unity of actions of the entities that produce sociality (p. 17). The historiographic microlevel of historical studies analyzed by O. Lukianenko is of interest to us. The author placed there works of both Soviet authors of the 1920s (for example, publications of People’s Commissar of Education of Soviet Ukraine H. Hrynko) and works of modern scholars (O. Zaplotynska, S. Tarnavska, N. Vitraniuk). However, the author completely ignored the large-scale edition initiated by the President of the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine V. Kremen “Higher Pedagogical Education and Science of Ukraine”, which has two dozen volumes dedicated to each area.

Analyzing the historiography of the problem, let us note that O. Lukianenko presented his interpretation of the concept of “collective” – a group of people connected by working together in one institution. The researcher emphasized: “Ascending to the level of a homogeneous group of higher education educators, connected with the only problems, with similar life orientations, guided by identical state acts, held with respect to homogeneous ideological boundaries, makes it possible to identify generalized motives for activities that become clearer and reactions become more specific” (p. 23). Certainly, O. Lukianenko focused not only on the “motives of activity” of subjects of the collective, but also on the material foundations of their lives. Finally, he identified the subject of his research as “the everyday life of the collectives of the higher pedagogical school of Soviet Ukraine as a complex of material (everyday life, food, earnings, etc.) and ideal daily practices of educators (morality, ideals, preferences, etc.)” (p. 6). We should also note that O. Lukianenko distinguished two areas of study of pedagogical collectives: 1) biographical approach; 2) the history of everyday life. By the way, among the works of the first direction he mentioned only the edition “History of Poltava Pedagogical University in Persons” (Poltava, 2004). However, almost every institution of higher pedagogical education in Ukraine has a similar publication. For example, in 2010 in Drohobych a collection of “History of Drohobych State Pedagogical University in Names” was published.

The source base of O. Lukianenko’s work is quite large-scale. He has worked on the documents of the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, the Central State Archives of Public Associations of Ukraine, the State Archives of Kyiv, and a number of regional archives (state archives of Poltava, Sumy, Kharkiv, Cherkasy regions). However, the researcher completely bypassed the archives of western and southern regions of Ukraine. The scientist worked on the archive of Poltava V. G. Korolenko National

Pedagogical University particularly careful. However, he did not visit any archive of another higher education pedagogical institution. However, he used published archival materials to the history of Berdyansk State Pedagogical University.

The scientist has divided the source base into several groups: 1) sources of official external influence (normative documents: laws, government decrees, orders and instructions); 2) sources of official internal influence (orders on institutes, decisions of public organizations operating in educational establishments); 3) personal sources – personal affairs of employees and students, their memories, as well as (which is very interesting) creative work of students; 4) sources of influence on the masses (the press, works by famous writers of the studied era).

The research methodology chosen by the researcher is characterized by an interesting attempt to apply the civilization theories of M. Danylevskiy and A. Toynbee to characterize the phenomenon of pedagogical collectives. O. Lukianenko introduces the concept of “pedagogical civilization”, considering different groups of people as separate closed social organisms, which are not determinative in the general development of the country, but are real subjects of history, carriers of micro- and often macro-historical reality (pp. 44–46). The author extrapolated the laws of civilization development of M. Danylevskiy to pedagogical collectives. However, in our opinion, such an approach is somewhat tense. One can still agree with the extrapolation of M. Danylevskiy’s first law, which presupposes the existence of linguistic affinity of societies as the first sign of belonging to a particular civilization. In this context, the author speaks about the presence of his own professional terminology in the teaching collectives.

However, O. Lukianenko’s attempt to see the following civilizational laws of M. Danylevskiy in the life of pedagogical collectives is somewhat grotesque. For example, the second law states the need for political independence of the people for shaping their culture. The author of the peer-reviewed monograph is trying to see the effect of this law in the autonomy of higher education institutions that seemed to have the right to self-government. Recognizing that in the Soviet totalitarian state there could be no question of the autonomy of institutions and universities, O. Lukianenko writes about the existence of self-governing institutions, their own structure, a system of levers of influence, awards and punishments in institutions of higher education. In fact, in the USSR, not the higher self-government was illusory, declarative, because neither the rector (director) nor the academic councils (and the latter, by the way, did not act in pedagogical colleges and teachers’ institutes) were independent in decision-making and were always guided by the instructions “from above” or have taken into account the opinion of local branches of the Communist Party.

The third law of M. Danylevskiy provided for the originality of peoples, their material and spiritual culture, and the impossibility of transferring them to other peoples. Again, it is impossible to talk about the identity of the collectives of pedagogical universities, because their financial support and outlook were determined by national economic and ideological policy. The identity of the teaching collectives can only be referred to as a system of interpersonal connections, which are formed within the social group and depend on the psychology of the subjects of the collective, their communication style and behavior. The following law of M. Danylevskiy argued for the necessity of the existence in society of various ethnographic elements, which with certain independence make up the federation. O. Lukianenko could not see any ethnographic diversity in the pedagogical collectives, so he depicted each collective as a separate complex of all-Ukrainian and all-union “federation” of higher education institutions, that is, changed the perspective of the image from internal to external. The last

law of civilizational development likens a certain society to a living plant organism that has periods of flowering, fruiting, decay and death. The use of such organizational rhetoric on human communities and social groups is considered an outdated approach. Moreover, among the pedagogical collectives of Ukraine in the 1920s – 1960s, several dozen of them ceased to exist, but not because of aging, but with a view to the liquidation or reorganization (unification) of a higher education institution by the state. Moreover, many pedagogical universities that existed during the period under study are still in operation today. And if we adapt the organism's rhetoric to them, then we have to admit that they will have an inevitable death. It is interesting if the author is aware of the social "death" of collective of the university at which he is affiliated.

For this reason, we do not agree with the use of the term "pedagogical civilization" by O. Lukianenko in his understanding. The interpretation of pedagogical collectives as "microcivilizations" leads to the erosion of the very concept of "civilization". After all, if you take the position of author, you can talk about "the collective farm civilization" or "Housing Maintenance Office civilization". However, this is no longer the language of science, but the language of postmodernist non-scientific publicism.

In Section 2, "General Characteristics of Soviet Ukraine's Teachers' Colleges in the 1920s and the First Half of the 1960s", O. Lukianenko tries to define more clearly the subject of the study – pedagogical collectives. This is really important, because at different times not only pedagogical institutes, but also teachers' institutes, pedagogical colleges and even pedagogical schools were enrolled in higher education institutions. The researcher quite reasonably shows the stages of changes in the substantive interpretation of the concept of "collective of higher education institution" and finally concludes that in the early 1960s there were 33 collectives of pedagogical universities (pp. 90–93). The author carefully calculated the contingent of students and teachers of pedagogical universities, and made a periodization of quantitative changes in the composition of these collectives in Ukraine from 1920 to 1964. It is important that O. Lukianenko explored the gender aspect, pointing to the aspect of feminization of the student collective of pedagogical higher education institutions in the post-war period (pp. 102–105). Determining the national composition of students, the researcher found it quite a problem, given the lack of appropriate statistics and political realities, in which Jews, Ukrainians, Germans often had to hide their nationality. Instead, the gender composition of teachers of pedagogical colleges of Ukraine O. Lukianenko showed only on the example of Poltava Pedagogical Institute, dominated by men. However, it is certainly not possible to extrapolate these ostensible to all pedagogical universities of Ukraine. It is interesting to study the situation of students of the correspondence form of study, whom the author expressively called "theirs among strangers, strangers among their own". It determines the difference between full-time and part-time students by the difference between the intellectual space in which the first and the second are rotated.

At the same time, the researcher showed the evolution of the requirements for admission to pedagogical higher education institutions during the study period, and also outlined the "motivation for group membership" – motives, which were guided by young people who wanted to become educators. The scientist studied 1028 cases of students of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute for the years of 1943 – 1953 and singled out the following motives: continuation of interrupted war training, desire for knowledge, random choice of profession, search for any specialty, mercantile interests (student scholarship), health status (poor health made it impossible to study and work in another profession), a wrong choice. Somewhat

incorrectly the author considers the so-called “professional orientation” to the motives of the entrants, which should rather be interpreted as a way of attracting the entrants to the ranks of students, during which various motivation of the entrants was emphasized.

The scientist paid attention to the taxonomy of pedagogical collectives, examining the division within the group (for example, scientific-pedagogical staff, teaching support and administrative and economic staff). He showed the “rules of the game” for state-established pedagogical staff (competitions, appointments, etc.). Finding out the ways of “outsourcing” by the author, removing to the margins of the community through conscious social distance, social and academic cleansing, denunciations, detecting unwanted family ties, exposing manifestations of dissent are important for understanding the mental characteristics of student collectives. Equally interesting in this context is O. Lukianenko’s depiction of the mechanisms of student renewal in the community of pedagogical education providers, ways of their social rehabilitation.

The fourth section “Space of Life of Pedagogical Higher Education Institutions Collectives” is devoted to the historical-genetic and systematic analysis, first, the territorial location of educational institutions in the provinces/districts/regions, second, structural architectonics of pedagogical institutes, institutes of social education, pedagogical technical schools, teacher’s institutes (division into faculties, departments, laboratories), third, the working space of pedagogical collectives (premises of institutes, organization of housing, including dormitories, etc.), and fourth, intellectual space of the higher education institution. The latter aspect seemed particularly interesting to us. The author paid attention to the description of the industry elite, the procedures of raising the mental and production capacity, the problems of promotion on the career ladder, questions of remuneration for advanced training, etc. (pp. 249–266). In general O. Lukianenko presented a unique picture of the low scientific level of teaching staff of pedagogical institutes in the 1920s – 1960s on the basis of archival materials. In addition, the researcher successfully characterized the process and consequences of introduction of polytechnical education of pedagogical institutes in the 1950s – early 1960s.

The fifth section, “Filling in Working and Leisure Time” is of particular interest, in which the researcher revealed the transformation of the work schedule of full-time and part-time teachers during the study period. O. Lukianenko cites many interesting facts, including the presence of “long working days” of collectives, teacher overload, which led to cheating, fraud (for example, adding hours) (pp. 289–291). The scientist also focuses on the difficulties of traineeship in primary and secondary schools as they find themselves “on the edge of two collectives”. The work provides many interesting illustrations of the types of leisure members of the staff of pedagogical higher education institutions (entertaining, interactive, educational, cultural, creative (artistic), religious, sports, recreation, medical leisure, tourism). The study of the so-called “religious leisure” of students is of particular interest. O. Lukianenko not only talks about the facts of the activities of anti-religious, atheistic societies in pedagogical institutes, but also presents numerous manifestations of religious views and practices among students (pp. 362–374).

The sixth section, “Space for the Basic Needs of Teachers of Pedagogical Higher Education Institutions” identifies ways to meet the basic needs of educators (food, money, clothing, health care). However, the first sentence of this section is alarming, in which the author asserts that “daily existence is, in fact, the satisfaction of basic (physiological) needs” (p. 383). This view can only be partially agreed, since spiritual, intellectual needs in the life of the teaching community may not always play the first, but not the second, role.

In the last section O. Lukianenko tried to show the life of the micro collective in extreme conditions. The researcher cited many facts about the life and emotions of the educated people during the “Great Famine” (1932 – 1933), during the genocide of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet authorities. In a separate paragraph, the scientist described the difficult conditions of everyday life of students in the Nazi occupation of 1941 – 1944.

The peer-reviewed study is an example of a thorough scientific analysis of the problem under study, a meticulous collection and analysis of facts, an understanding of the complex aspects of the daily life of colleges of pedagogical colleges in the 1920s – 1960s, which pushed the author to psychological aspirations. It is important that the author tried to give a theoretical characterization to each issue under study, in particular by constructing properly justified periods of unfolding of one or the other aspect within the specified chronological frameworks. Certainly, the monograph shows some inaccuracies. Thus, on page 77, the author provided a map showing the network of pedagogical institutes in Ukraine as of 1962. The map shows the city of Lviv as the center of one of the pedagogical institutes. However, it is known that Lviv Pedagogical Institute was annexed to the Drohobych Pedagogical University in 1960, so in 1962 there was no higher institution of pedagogical education in Lviv. Also the chronological framework of the study causes caution. The lower boundary (1920) is connected with the emergence of the Soviet system of higher pedagogical education. Instead, the upper boundary is tied not to the educational, but to the political aspects – the curtailment of the policy of de-Stalinization and the removal from power of Khrushchev in 1964. It is obvious that there is no correlation between the chronological boundaries of the study. However, these shortcomings do not obscure the pleasant impression of O. Lukianenko’s monograph. We wish the author further achievements in the scientific field.

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